



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

A perspective View  
Top, wherein the Cross  
was fixt, from an Ele-  
vation of the ocular Ho-  
rizon



On a Fillet on the North  
Side.

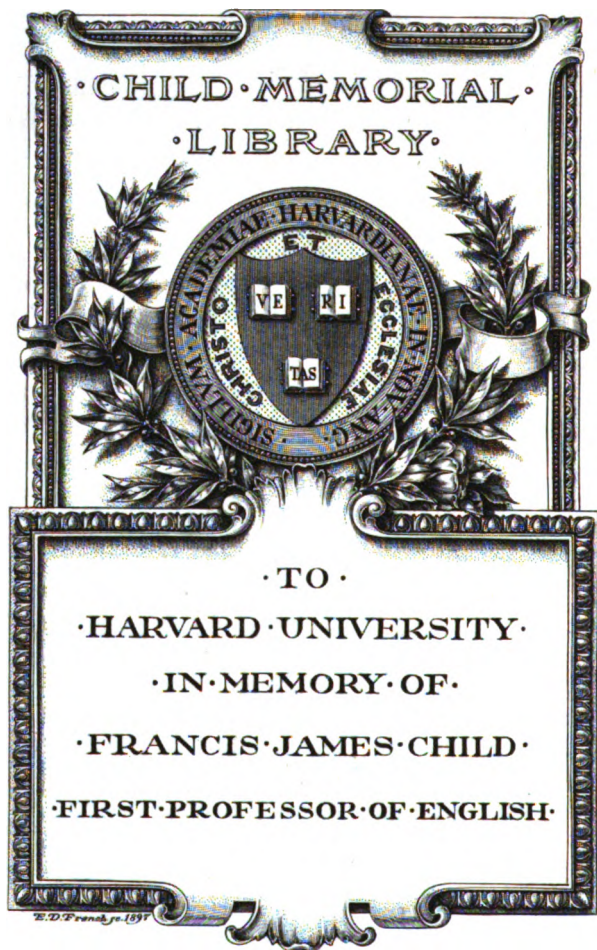
The Prospects of the  
South and East  
Sides will be in  
our next.

See the Runic Inscription  
on the West Side, p. 132.

Yale Studies in English

Wernock S.

Philol 674.20



TRANSFERRED









YRABBU ITATS  
TO  
ATTORHOZAM

YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

XLIX

THE LATER VERSION  
OF THE  
WYCLIFFITE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS,  
COMPARED WITH THE LATIN ORIGINAL:

A STUDY OF WYCLIFFITE ENGLISH

BY

EMMA CURTISS TUCKER, PH.D.

Dean of Women and Assistant Professor of English, Olivet College

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale  
University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



NEW YORK  
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY

1914

Philol 674.20 STATE LIBRARY MASSACHUSETTS

APR 4 1914  
STATE HOUSE, BOSTON,  
MASS.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
DEPOSITED BY  
MASSACHUSETTS STATE LIBRARY

Dec. 21, 1929

TRANSFERRED TO  
CHILD MEMORIAL LIBRARY

YHABU IITAT  
TO  
XTIBU DAZAM

WEDMAR: PRINTED BY R. WAGNER SOHN.

## P R E F A C E

The present study of fourteenth-century English was undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Albert S. Cook, to whose constant and kindly interest and aid it owes most of its real value.

A portion of the expense of printing this thesis has been borne by the English Club of Yale University, from funds placed at its disposal by the generosity of Mr. George E. Dimock, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, a graduate of Yale in the Class of 1874.

E. C. T.

YALE UNIVERSITY,  
May 1, 1913.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	
I. General Aim of the Study . . . .	vii
II. Studies in Vocabulary and Syntax . .	xii
<b>PARALLEL TEXTS: LATER WYCLIFFITE, PAUES FRAG- MENT, AND VULGATE . . . .</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS . . . .</b>	<b>59</b>
<b>NOTES . . . . .</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>LATIN-ENGLISH GLOSSARIAL INDEX . . .</b>	<b>138</b>
<b>ENGLISH-LATIN WORD-LIST . . . . .</b>	<b>160</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .</b>	<b>176</b>





# INTRODUCTION

## I. GENERAL AIM OF THE STUDY

The field of Middle English language and literature is at last receiving the attention that it deserves for its importance in English literary history. Long a tangled wilderness, dreaded and shunned by scholars, who realized the difficulties and labor involved in clearing so vast a tract, and how little could be accomplished by any one person, it is now invaded by scores of busy workers. The first tract to be cultivated was naturally that which promised the readiest and richest returns, the works of Chaucer. Many eminent scholars have put their best efforts upon this great poet, so that to-day more people perhaps than ever before wander with delight through his pages,

As it were a meede,  
Al ful of fresshe floures, whyte and reede.

From Chaucer, interest gradually broadened to include writers of lesser magnitude, of whose works critical editions have been published. Investigations into the language and literary history of the period are going rapidly forward.

No worker in the Middle English field could, of course, entirely neglect the two Wycliffite versions of the Bible, and some have given them rather careful study. It has usually, however, been for the purpose of ascertaining the authorship, or of determining the exact relations of the Wycliffite to later versions. There have been a few German dissertations on the 'Sprache und Syntax' of various

portions or forms, discussed in purely technical fashion. But thus far there has been little effort to evaluate the language of the Wycliffite versions as a living medium for the expression of thought, and to establish it in its place in the development of the English language. In order to accomplish this result, a very careful study must be made, both of the semantics and the syntax, in their relation to current usage, so far as that may be discovered. There are many difficulties in the way, if one would discover the power of a language at any given period, among them the difficulty of knowing just what thought the writer intended to express, and what facilities the language offered him. These difficulties are, however, partially overcome when the passage under consideration is a translation, and still further if it is a translation of a standard text. For such an investigation of the language, the Wycliffite versions are ideal. They are the translation of a text which had been sacred and standard for centuries; a text, portions of which had been translated again and again, from early Old English times, and which is still, in new translations, the intimate possession of every modern nation.

It is my purpose, then, to make a small beginning in the study of the Wycliffite versions, with a view to discovering the resources and capacities of the English language in the last quarter of the 14th century. I have chosen the Epistle to the Romans as the basis of my investigation, on the ground that its philosophy and logic make larger demands upon the translator than does simple narrative like the greater part of the Gospels, without entangling him in the abstruse and highly imaginative writing of such a book as the Apocalypse. Of the two versions, the one which, since the edition of Forshall and Madden, is admittedly the earlier, is far more crude and slavishly literal in translation than the later, so-called

Purvey revision, though some of the apparent crudities resolve themselves, upon close examination, into current usages. It is as though the first writer, be he Wyclif or another, not only held his text so sacred that not one letter of it must be lost in the translation, but also felt keenly the momentous importance of his experiment, and the criticism to which he was subjecting himself. His tense nerves never relax, and his painstaking care never allows him free idiomatic expression. In the revision, the case is different. The bold first step had been taken, and the result had not been disastrous. The nervous tension was relaxed. The reviser could see that the first translator's painful anxiety had overshot the mark. Accordingly, his great desire was to 'make the sentence opyn.' Freer, more idiomatic English is the result. I have therefore chosen the later version as the chief subject of my study, since it is more truly representative of the English language of its day. The necessity of constant reference to the Latin original, if one would fully understand the English, has required the printing of the corresponding Vulgate at the foot of the page.

In his prologue 'vnto the Cristen Reader,' Bishop Coverdale says: 'Sure I am, that there commeth more knowledge and vnderstandinge of the Scripture by theyr sondrie translacyons, then by all the gloses of oure sophistical doctours.' One might well make a similar statement about the language, and, happily, the materials for such a comparative study are now fairly well in hand. The series of Biblical quotations, begun by Professor Cook, and brought up to 1350 by Dr. Smyth, furnishes the student with material for an illuminating comparison of early English idioms. The Wycliffite versions, and the valuable fragment of a fourteenth-century version edited by Miss Paues, carry the translations through the confused

Middle English period ; and the English Hexapla, with the recent revised versions, complete the series up to the present. It must not, however, be forgotten that all versions from Tyndale to the present day, with the exception of the Rheims, are made primarily from the Greek text, and therefore do not perpetuate the errors of the Vulgate. There is thus a long series of translations of a given passage, even a cursory study of which gives one an insight into the genius of the English language scarcely to be obtained in any other way. Object-lessons, in language as in the physical sciences, are much more enlightening and convincing than any amount of theorizing and generalizing, while at the same time they form a secure foundation for the building of theories.

For the most part, my work has been confined to the presentation of object-lessons. To facilitate a comparison with the nearly contemporary version edited by Miss Paues, the extant fragments of that version have been placed upon the page along with the later Wycliffite version and the Vulgate. In the word-lists, I have brought within convenient compass the lexicographical peculiarities of the later version, making possible a careful intensive study of the semantic content of the translator's words. In the textual notes I have collected all the variations in translation between the two Wycliffite versions (disregarding the manuscript variants) and the Paues version, adding the Authorized Version for the sake of ready comparison with the modern idiom, and all earlier renderings given by Professor Cook and Dr. Smyth, in order to complete the historical survey. The selected studies are by no means exhaustive, but are intended rather to discuss a few syntactical problems, and to suggest still further study of such problems, and of the principles of semantic change in the English language.

Much has been said, at one time or another, about the influence of the French language upon the English during the period from the Norman Conquest to the death of Chaucer. That the influence was enormous is evident ; to determine precisely its sources and extent is more difficult. Very early in my study of the Epistle to the Romans, it seemed possible that one or both of the translators had actually before him a French version of the Bible. There is nothing inherently improbable in the suggestion. French books of devotion were common in English monasteries, and a complete French version of the Bible was made in the 13th century, ample time for it to become well known in England by Wyclif's day. In the General Prologue, the reviser of the Wycliffite text speaks of gathering together old Bibles and commentaries, mentioning Lyra, the French commentator, among them. It is very likely that the translator turned to a French Bible for assistance in difficult places, and that, consciously or unconsciously, many of its words and phrases slipped from his English pen.

In order to prove beyond question such direct influence, it would first be necessary to establish the use of an identical Latin text for both English and French versions. That cannot be done, and, in fact, it is very unlikely that there was any really standard text, in the modern critical sense, in use in either country. Yet it is perhaps equally unlikely that there were many important variations in the Latin texts. Until further investigation has enlightened us upon this point, we should therefore be free to assume for the moment a Latin original, substantially identical, for both versions.

The next question which arises presents a still greater difficulty. Which French text did the English translator use, if he used any ? The investigations of M. Berger in regard to the manuscripts of French Biblical versions

are invaluable, but they are obviously insufficient for the settlement of this question. In order to build upon a secure foundation, it would be necessary to collate the various manuscripts, or at least the most important families of manuscripts, to determine which were extant in Wyclif's time. The history of manuscripts should be traced, to discover, if possible, which ones were taken to England, and whether any of them were easily accessible to the Wycliffites. Such extensive preliminary labors are beyond my sphere, but there is opportunity for very interesting and valuable investigation in this direction.

The only hints which I could gather are from the work of M. Berger, and from the text of the Epistle to the Romans in the French Bible printed by Antoine Vérard in 1510. This edition, according to M. Berger, is substantially the same as the thirteenth-century version, the only complete French version known to be in existence at the time of Wyclif. There are, however, indications that the text had been modernized, so that, for a close comparison of diction, sentence-structure, and the like, the edition is useless.

Such is the baffling situation, and the English student can do nothing but wait until French scholarship has opened the way. The indications point to direct French influence upon the Wycliffite versions, but the available evidence is too slight to be brought into court. Some day the work must be done, if the problems connected with the influence of French upon Middle English are to be solved satisfactorily.

## II. STUDIES IN VOCABULARY AND SYNTAX

A necessary step toward a full appreciation of the language of the Wycliffite versions is a thorough study of the historical development of the vocabulary and

syntax. This study is immediately fruitful in results. Phrases which seem awkward literal renderings, and words misapplied, become effective and luminous when seen in relation to current usage and historic association. Here the greatest difficulties are also encountered. One awaits with eager impatience the completion of the *New English Dictionary*, and longs for a grammar which shall do for the whole of Middle English what Einkenel (*Streifzüge durch die Mittelenglische Syntax*) has done for Chaucer. The great variety of the influences which have affected our composite English makes the study of its semantic changes almost equally fascinating and baffling.

It will be observed that the greater number of my illustrative examples are taken from the early part of the Epistle. I have noted each word or construction at its first occurrence; and, in a logical discussion, such as this epistle contains, it is to be expected that the significant words will be repeated many times. It is accordingly true that if the first three chapters are fully studied, there remains comparatively little new material in the rest of the book, although I have by no means, in these illustrations, exhausted any section of it.

Variant spellings of the Hexapla versions are here noted in every case, but the Authorized Version, in accordance with my practice throughout this work, is given in the modernized form. The reader should also be warned that, in order to avoid a constant succession of 'apparently,' 'so far as records show,' and similar phrases, conclusions are stated categorically, especially negative conclusions (for example, that such and such a form does not occur in Wyclif), even when some doubt exists as to their absolute truth.

I. I. **clepid.** Cf. I. 6, 7, 8. 30, 9. 7, etc. The verb, through the L. *vocare*, translates the Gr. *καλέω*, in the sense of 'to invite one to something.' See Thayer, *Greek-English*



*Lexicon*, καλέω, 1. b. β, and κλητός. *Call*, though occurring in this sense from ca. 1300, is not found in Wyclif.

**departid.** L. *dividere*, *separare*, *discedere*, *distribuere*, *segregare* are severally translated in LV, in the course of the Bible, by the single term 'departe,' in spite of the fact that 'divide,' 'discern,' 'part' were all in use at the time. This obsolete meaning of 'departe,' and the consequent misunderstanding, gave rise to a dispute in the Savoy Conference of 1661, met for the revision of the *Book of Common Prayer*. The Dissenters demanded, and the Bishops finally granted, 'That these words, "till death us depart," be thus altered, "till death us do part."'

1. 2. **bihote.** Hex. *promised*. OE. *behātan*, 'to vow, promise.' During its obsolescence in the 16th and 17th centuries, the word acquired, in poetic and archaic usage, the senses 'to command, to name,' still current in poetry.

**tofore.** EV *before*; T, C, G, AV  *afore*; R *before*. OE. *tōforan*, *ætforan*, *beforan* became *tofore*,  *afore*, *before*, of which *tofore* became obsolete in the 17th century;  *afore* dropped out of literary use about the same time, but has been very generally retained in dialects to the present time. *Afore* is also kept in the *Book of Com. Prayer*, *Athanasian Creed*: 'In this Trinity none is afore, or after other.'

1. 3. **bi.** T, G as *perlayninge* (*perteynnyng*) *to*; C *after*; R, AV *according to*. OE. *bī*, like *æfter*, was used to translate L. *secundum*, but is still very common in such phrases as 'by your leave'; 'by birth he is English,' etc. See the discussion of *astir* in 2. 2.

1. 4. **vertu.** So in 1. 16, 1. 20, 8. 38, etc. Here the word means 'power.' In other passages in both EV and LV, it signifies 'miracle,' 'moral excellence,' 'army,' 'order of angels.' The same range of meaning is found in the mediæval Latin *virtus* (see Du Cange, *Glossarium*); all the above senses except 'army' and 'order of angels' are found also in OF. (see Godefroy, *Dictionnaire*). For *in vertu*, T, C, AV have *with* (*wyth*) *power*; R *in power*; G *mightely*.

1. 5. **folkis.** The earliest example given by NED. of the word 'Gentile' is 1380, in the *Works* of Wyclif. It is not

anywhere used in LV, so far as I am aware, but is used in EV some 24 times in the OT, 15 of them being in the book of Isaiah. In LV the rendering is 'hethen (men),' 'folkis,' or 'naciouns.'

**obeie to.** When the intransitive L. *obedire*, through the French *obeir*, was taken into English in the 13th century, 'the English construction was either with a simple object, representing the dative, or with the preposition *to*. . . . The construction with *to* has now become obsolete' (NED.). The latest example of the construction with *to*, so far as I can find, is Milton, *Paradise Lost* I. 337: 'Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed Innumerable.'

**I. 7. ben.** So also I. 32, 2. 8, 2. 13, etc. The use of *ben* for the 3d plur. of the present indicative of the verb *be* was discontinued in the 16th century. It is not used in Hex., but Coverdale says, 1548, in *Paraphrase of Erasmus* 2. 40: 'And what thinges bene they?' 'Ben' or 'bin' is still used in several dialects (Wright, *Eng. Dial. Dict.*).

**I. 10. if . . . Y haue a spedi weie.** T, C, G *that . . . a prosperous iorney (iourney) . . . myght fortune me*; R *if . . . I may . . . haue a prosperous iourney*; AV *if . . . I might haue a prosperous journey*. The tendency of the language to substitute for the simple subjunctive a verb with an auxiliary is not marked until after W. Cf. I. 12, I. 13, I. 24, I. 28, I. 29, 2. 25, 2. 26, 3. 4, etc. In later English, the tendency has been checked somewhat by the influence of the AV and the *Book of Com. Prayer*: Luke 12. 13: 'Speak to my brother that he divide the inheritance with me'; *General Thanksgiving*: 'That we shew forth thy praise not only with our lips but in our lives.'

**I. 11. parten.** T, C, G *myght bestowe (amonge you)*; R, AV *may impart(e) (unto you)*. *Impart* in the sense of 'share' was not introduced until Caxton, 1477.

**I. 12. togidere.** The same word is used twice in this verse, translating L. *simul* and *invicem*, and carries the two senses which are common in later use, 'at the same time,' and 'in co-operation or mutual action.' The word is also found in 3. 12, 6. 6, 6. 8, 12. 10, etc.

I. 13. **nyle**. The word is a survival from OE., and is not used in Hex., though it is found rather commonly until the beginning of the 17th century: Spenser, *Shepheardes Calendar*, May 151: 'If I may rest, I nill live in sorrowe'; 1650, Baxter, *Saints' Rest*, IV, IX: 'If it appeare evil to us, then we nill it.' It is still extant in dialects, especially in some form of 'willy-nilly', 'will he, nill he.'

I. 16. **schame**. OE. *sceamian*, 'to be ashamed,' or 'to cause shame.' The sense 'to be ashamed' was used as late as Shakespeare: *As You Like It* 3. 5. 18: 'I do not shame to tell you what I was.' But the present is the only known instance of *schame*, meaning 'to be ashamed of,' followed by a direct object.

**heelthe**. Hex. *salvacion* (*salvacyon*, *-tion*). The word *salvation* was in use as early as ca. 1225, *Ancren Riwele*, but apparently does not occur in Wyclif. In the Hexaplar Psalter, Coverdale and the Great Bible agree in using *health* where all the other versions use *salvation*, in Ps. 51. 14, 119. 123, 132. 16, etc. In Ps. 119. 166, 174, Coverdale and the Great Bible have *saving health*, the others *salvation*, while in Ps. 67. 2 all except Bishops' have *saving health*. This sense of *health* is also retained in several instances in the *Book of Com. Prayer*: in the *General Confession*: 'there is no health in us'; *Prayer for the Clergy and People*: 'the healthful spirit of thy grace.' Milton uses *saving health* in the translation of Ps. 85. 13, 27.

I. 17. **of feith into feith**. T, C, G, AV *from fayth (faith) to fayth (faith)*; R *by faith into faith*. The original sense of OE. *of* was 'away, away from,' and, among other senses, the word was used as here to express the notion of 'starting-point, spring of action.' It rendered L. *ab*, *de*, *ex*, and its development has been very complex (*NED.*). *From* and *off* have taken over some of the earlier meanings of *of*.

I. 18. **vnpite**. T, C, G, AV *ungodliness*; R *impietee*. *NED.* says 'The sense of L. *pietas*, 'piety,' was in late L. extended so as to include 'compassion, pity,' and it was in this sense that the word first appears in OF., in its two forms *pitié* and *piété*. . . . In ME., both *pite* and *piete* are found first

in the sense 'compassion,' subsequently both are found also in the sense 'piety'; the differentiation of forms and senses was here scarcely completed by 1600.'

**tho.** OE. *þā*, which is the nom. and acc. plur. of the article and dem. pron. *se*. The form became *þo* ca. 1200, and remained in use as *tho* until ca. 1550. It is used as a 'dem. adj. in concord with a sb. antecedent to a relative' (NED.) in Rom. I. 18, I. 20, I. 28, 2. 14, 4. 21, 13. 1, 14. 19, 15. 18. In one instance, 4. 17 (b), *tho* is used as an 'antecedent pronoun followed by a relative clause' (NED.), and in two instances, I. 32, 2. 3, as a simple demonstrative adjective.

I. 20. **creature.** The word was used in its original Latin sense, 'thing created,' from ca. 1300, *Cursor Mundi*. It is found in AV 8. 19, 20, 21, although in 8. 22 the word *creation* is used in precisely the same sense. It is used in the *Book of Com. Prayer*, in the Communion Service, *Prayer of Consecration*: 'these Thy creatures of bread and wine'; 1878, Hooker and Ball, *Morocco*, p. 274: 'The gentian and saxifrage . . . and the other bright creatures that haunt the mountain tops.'

**ouerlastyng.** Hex. *eternal*(l). The distinction between Gr. *αἰώνιος* and *ἀίδιος* was kept by L. *aeternus* and *sempiternus*, but is disregarded by W. The group of words *eterne*, *eternal*, etc. is found often in Chaucer, but apparently nowhere else before 1400, with the single instance of *eternity* in EV, *Pref. Ep. Jerome* 4. 64.

I. 21. **vanyschiden.** T, C, G *waxed* (*waxed*) *ful of vanities*; R *are become vaine*; AV *became vain*. L. *evanescere* occurs only 5 times in the whole Bible, and is always rendered *vanisch* in the Wycliffite versions. It is impossible to elucidate the term in the present state of information. There is apparently no other instance of *evanescere* in this sense, and the Gr. *ἐπαραιώθησαν*, according to Thayer, is not found outside of the Bible.

I. 23. **deedli.** T, C, G *mortall*; R, AV *corruptible*. In the sense of 'subject to death,' the word became obsolete in the 16th century.

1. 24. **bitook**. So also 1. 26, 1. 28, etc. In these senses, 'to deliver, give up,' the word became obsolete in the 17th century.

1. 25. **the whiche**. So also 1. 32, 5. 14, 8. 32, etc. *Which*, formerly an interrogative, began to be used as a relative in the 14th century. *Which* and *the which* seem to be used with little or no distinction of meaning. The form *the which* may be due partly to OE. *se* with the relative *þe*, but is more directly influenced by OF. *li quels* (Mätzner). Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, explains the use of the article by the desire for definiteness, *which* being considered as an indefinite adjective.

**to**. The verbs seem to govern *creature* in the accusative, but here the construction changes.

**into worldis of worldis**. This expression is a survival of OE. *on worulda woruld* or *in woruld worulde*, used to translate L. *in sæcula sæculorum*, and rests upon an early temporal significance of the word *world*.

1. 26. **passiouns of schenshiþe**. T, C, G *shamful(l) lusts*; R *passions of ignominie*; AV *vile affections*. Late L. *passio* is chiefly a religious word, and most of its applications grew out of its use to designate the sufferings of Christ. It is used only twice in the OT, Lev. 15. 13, 25, of physical disease. In the present instance, as in 1 Thess. 4. 5, it means 'a powerful feeling or emotion of the mind.' *Shend*, the verb, 'to shame, confound,' has been retained in poetic use as late as Browning, *Sordello* 3. 746: 'Shall your friend (not slave) be shent For speaking home'? Keats uses the adjective *unshent* in *Lamia* 197:

As though in Cupid's college she had spent  
Sweet days a lovely graduate, still unshent,  
And kept his rosy terms in idle languishment.

1. 28. **preueden**. Cf. 2. 18, 12. 2, 14. 18, 14. 22. In every instance but one (15. 26) in Romans, L. *probare* is translated by EV LV *preue*, but the L. word is not always an accurate rendering of the Greek text. In the present instance the Gr. word is *ἐδοξμασαν*, rendered by Thayer 'did think worthy.' See 15. 26, *assaied*.

**repreuable.** T, C, G *leawde* (*lewde*); R, AV *reprobate*. The Vulgate here lost the precision of Gr. ἀδόκιμος, by rendering it *reprobus*, the idea of 'failing to stand a test' being omitted. The Wycliffite *repreuable*, 'subject to reproof,' and the later *lewd*, 'vile,' follow the Latin. *Reprobate*, introduced in the 15th century, is used almost entirely in senses derived from Biblical passages, 'rejected, condemned as worthless.'

**wit.** So also 11. 34, 12. 2, 14. 5. T, C, G, AV *mynd(-e, mind)*; R *sense*. *Wit*, in this sense of 'mind, understanding,' seems to have fallen into disuse in the 17th century. It is still retained in a few expressions, such as 'at one's wits' end,' 'to lose one's wits.'

**couenable.** T, C, G *comly*; R, AV *conu(v)enient*. The word means 'fit, suitable,' and was in frequent use until the 16th century. It became obsolete in the 17th.

1. 29. **envye.** So also 10. 19, 13. 13. Hex. uses the same word. This meaning, 'malice, ill-will,' did not become obsolete until the 18th century. Chaucer uses it in *Parson's Tale* 483: 'Envye cometh proprely of malice, therefore it is proprely agayn the bountee of the holy goost'; Shakespeare, *J. C.* 2. 1. 162-4:

Our course will seem too bloody, Caius Cassius,  
To cut the head off and then hack the limbs,  
Like wrath in death and envy afterwards.

1. 30. **ladir and modir.** The word 'parent' was not introduced from the French until the 15th century.

**vnmanerli.** This is a feeble rendering of the L. *incompositos*, which is a false rendering of the Gr. ἀσυνθέτους. T, C, G, AV read correctly 'covenant breakers'; R 'dissolute.' For a complete discussion of this and *without boond of pes*, see Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, Part 2, p. 8. Cf. also John Selden, *Table Talk* 39: "'T is true the Christians, before the civil state became Christian, did by covenant and agreement set down how they would live; and he that did not observe what they agreed upon, should come no more amongst them; that is, be excommunicated.'

Such men are spoken of by the Apostle, Rom. i. 31, whom he calls ἀσυνθέτους καὶ ἀσπόνδους; the Vulgate has it, in-compositos et sine fœdere; the last word is pretty well, but the first not at all.'

1. 31. **without boond of pes.** T, C *trucebreakers*; G *promes-breakers*; R *without fidelitie*; AV *implacable*. For discussion, see the preceding word *vnmanerli*. Here also, the correct rendering of the Gr. is found in AV.

1. 32. **worthi the deeth.** Hex. *worthy(ie) of death (deeth)*. The omission of *of* after *worthi*, combined with the retention of the definite article, is rare, and seems not to occur after the early 17th century. There are a few examples in Shakespeare, as in *J. C.* 2. 1. 316–7:

I am not sick, if Brutus have in hand  
 Any exploit worthy the name of honour.

AV uses it once, 2 Macc. 4. 25, 'bringing nothing worthy the high priesthood.' These examples, however, are not exactly parallel to the case in hand, since they are all more or less figurative. 'Merit' or 'desert' can literally be applied only to persons, and in no case except the present have I found a personal subject used in this construction. Sir Thomas More, *Works*, p. 54. e., uses the personal subject with omission of *of*, but he also omits *the*: 'thei be worthy heinouse punishment.'

2. 2. **attir.** So also 2. 5, 2. 6, 2. 16, etc. L. *secundum*; EV *vp*; Hex. *according(-ynge, -inge) to*. 'According to' is a sense of *after* retained from OE. *æfter*, and still in occasional use, as in the Litany, 'Deal not with us after our sins,' and in the phrase, 'a man after his own heart.' The EV *vp* is not so easily accounted for. There is no record of this use of the word outside of the Wycliffite versions. In the Epistle to the Romans, LV never uses *vp*, EV uses it very irregularly. For instance, *secundum* occurs 9 times in ch. 8, but is not once translated *vp*, as against some 20 times in the rest of the book where it is so translated. In the OT, *secundum* is sometimes translated *vp* in LV: Ps. 5. 11, 27. 4, etc. In the General Prologue, ch. 15, the translator says: 'This word

*secundum* is taken for *astir*, as manie men seyn, and comynli, but it signifieth wel *bi*, either *vp*, thus *bi zoure word*, either *vp zoure word*.'

2. 3. **ascape.** Hex. *escape*. *Ascape* is the common form found to 1523, due to phonetic leveling of proclitic *ǣ* and *ǣ*. Cf. *amend*, *abash*, etc. (NED.).

2. 4. **forthenkyng.** T, C, G, AV *repentance(-aunce)*; R *penance*. *Forthenkyng* goes back to two distinct words, OE. *forþencan* and the prefix *for* + OE. *þyncan*. In Middle English it is used to render L. *pœnitentia*, though the more common rendering is *penaunce*, equivalent to the modern word *repentance*. *Forthinking* in this sense became obsolete in the 16th century, and *penance* was dismissed from Protestant religious writings, because of the controversy with the Roman Catholics. The latter maintained that penance was one of the seven sacraments, and necessarily included giving satisfaction for sin. The word is frequently used in the (Douay) Rheims version.

**whether.** So also 3. 3, 3. 5, 3. 29, 6. 3, etc. L. *an*, or *numquid*; OE *hwæðer*. The use of *whether* to introduce a simple direct question, though retained from OE., is rare in ME. outside of the Wycliffite versions of the Bible. It is found 14 times in the Epistle to the Romans. The *Century Dict.* cites two examples: 1549, Latimer, 1st *Sermon bef. Edw. VI*: 'Well then, if God will not allow a king too much, whether will he allow a subject too much?' 1596, Spenser: 'What authoritye thinke you meete to be given him? whether will ye allowe him to protecte, to safe conducte, and to have marshall lawe as they are accustomed?' The second example, it will be noticed, is a dubious one, since the alternative *or not* is vaguely implied. I have found no example later than Latimer.

2. 7. **sotheli.** Here the word renders L. *quidem*; in 4. 5 it renders *vero*. In EV the frequent use of *sotheli* and *forsothe* to translate L. *quidem*, *autem*, *enim* is a mannerism which betrays the intense desire of the translator to follow closely his sacred text. *Sotheli* (in modern spelling, *soothly*) is used by Spenser, *F. Q.* 3. 2. 14:



Ne soothlich is it easie for to read  
Where now on earth, or how, he may be fownd.

**ben.** This destroys the sense, which requires something like 'to hem that, bi pacience of good work, seken glorie, and onour, and vncorruptioun, euerlastyng lijf.'

2. 11. **anentis.** Hex. *with.* The meaning, as in 2. 13, 4. 2, 9. 14, is 'with (figuratively), according to the way or manner of.' The fundamental form is *anen*, to which by 1200 a final *-t* or *-d* had been added. It was again extended by final *-e* or *-es*, by analogy with words like *onbute* (*n*) and *onzeanes*. In the 14th century, final *-s* became *-st*, resulting in the forms *anentist*, *anentst*, *anonest*. Modern dialect, chiefly Scottish, has *anent*, which has, in the last century, been often affected by English writers, in the sense 'respecting, concerning.' Cf. Scott, *Rob Roy* 22: 'I... came... to see what can be dune anent your affairs.' Cf. *NED.* and Mätzner, *English Grammar*, for conflicting views of the development of the word.

2. 12. **without.** But *withouten* later in the verse.

2. 14. **kyndli.** By kind; by nature.

**such manere lawe.** The same construction appears in AV, Rev. 18. 12, 'all manner vessels of ivory,' and is usually considered noteworthy because of the omission of the preposition *of*. The phrase should be approached from the other side, since it is the insertion of the preposition in the modern phrase which requires explanation. *NED.* says: 'After *manner*, *kind*, *sort*, etc. *a*, orig. the "indef. article," was taken as = *of*. Orig. *what manner* was in the genitive relation, thus: what manner a man? *cujusmodi homo*? what manner men? *cujusmodi homines*? By being taken as = *of*, *a* was first extended to the plural, as 'what manner a men'? then changed to *of*, as in the mod. 'what manner of men'? which no longer answers to *cujusmodi homines*? but to *qui modus hominum*? The dialects retain the original "kind a" as *kinda*, *kinder*.'

2. 15. **bytwixe.** So also 14. 5. This form, like *betwixt*, *between*, is OE., but there is a remarkable agreement with French *entre* in the general uses of this preposition. The

dual idea of the original has gradually been lost, and *between* is often used as equivalent to *among*. In both instances in Romans, the Latin has been followed so literally that the English is almost unintelligible.

2. 20. **kunnyng**. T *that which ought to be knowen*; C, G, AV *knowledge*; R *science*. Trench, loving to draw moral lessons from word-histories, says: 'The fact that so many words implying knowledge, art, skill, obtain in course of time a secondary meaning of crooked knowledge, art which has degenerated into artifice, skill used only to circumvent, which meanings partially or altogether put out of use their primary, is a mournful witness to the way in which intellectual gifts are too commonly misapplied.' The word is derived from OE. *cunman*, but the substantive does not occur until the 14th century.

2. 22. **maumetis**. 'Mahomet,' 'idol.' Under the mistaken notion that Mahomet was worshiped as a god, his name became a synonym of 'false gods.' Thus ca. 1205, Layamon: 'per inne he hafde his maumet, þa he heold for his god'; 1647, Trapp, *Commentary Acts* 19. 25: 'Wealth is the worldlings god, which he prizeth as Micah did his mawmet.'

2. 23. **wlatist**. OE. *wlætian*, 'to loathe, abominate.' Chaucer uses the adjective *wlatsom*, in the *Nonne Preestes Tale* 233:

Mordre is so wlatom and abhominable  
To God, that is so iust and resonable,  
That he ne wol nat suffre it heled be.

2. 26. **arettid**. T, C, G, AV *counted*; R *reputed*. Here *arettid* translates L. *reputabitur*, but in other cases it renders L. *imputare* (see Latin-English Glossarial Index). The word became obsolete in the 16th century. It was used by Spenser as an archaism, but he mistakenly employed it as meaning 'entrust, deliver' (F. Q. 2. 8. 8):

The charge, which God doth unto me arett,  
Of his deare safety, I to thee commend.

2. 28, 29. **in opens . . . in hid**. T, C, G *outwarde . . . hid* (*hyð*) *wythin*; R *in open shew . . . in secret*; AV *outwardly . . .*

*inwardly*. The adverbial forms found in AV did not come into use until the 15th century. *Secret*, or its earlier form *secree*, was known in the 14th century, but does not seem to have been used by Wyclif. The present forms are over-literal renderings of the Latin, though in the same verse a second *in manifesto* is rendered by the adverb *openli*.

3. 2. **myche bi al wise**. T, C, G *surely very moch(e)* (*much*); R *much by al meanes*; AV *much every way*. The word *modum* illustrates very well the mechanical fashion in which the Latin is often translated in LV. The word occurs in the Vulgate some 80 times, in 68 of which it is rendered *maner*, in 5 *mesure*, and in the remaining instances by various words. *Ultra modum* and *super modum* are translated by *ouer* or *aboue maner* or *mesure*. *Over measure* was evidently a current phrase, being used by Chaucer, *Parlement of Foules* 300:

right so over mesure  
She fairer was than any creature.

*Above measure* is still current in AV, 2 Cor. II. 23: 'in stripes above measure.' But it seems that *aboue maner* and *ouer maner* must have been as awkward and meaningless in Wyclif's day as in our own.

3. 2. **spekyngia**. T *word*; C, R *words*; G, AV *oracles*. L. *eloquium* is usually translated in the Wycliffite versions of the Bible by 'word' or 'speche.' The present is the sole instance of the use of *spekyng* in this sense. It is found once in *Ayenbite of Inwyte*, ca. 1340 (E.E.T.S. p. 50): 'ine zenne of kueade tonge, þet is ine fole spekinge.'

3. 3. **auoided**. T, C, G, AV *make without* (*wythout*) *effect(e)*; R *made frustrate*. *Avoid* in the sense of 'make void or of no effect,' used first in Wyclif, *Sermons*, has been employed chiefly as a legal term, in which connection it is still found. It is found in Milton, *Divorce*, *Introd.*: 'Yet if the wisdom, the justice, the purity of God be to be cleared from foulest imputations, which are not yet avoided; . . . then I dare affirm', etc. The sense 'keep away from' is expressed in W. by 'bowe awei from.' Cf. 16. 17.

3. 3. **God forbede**. So also 3. 6, 3. 31, 6. 2, etc. L. *absit*;

Gr. *μὴ γένοιτο*. Though used with an indirect object or a dependent clause from ca. 1225 (*Ancren Riwele*), the expression is first employed absolutely by W. Here EV has *fer be it*.

3. 7. **what**. So also 5. 6, 9. 20, 14. 10. OE. *hwæt*; Hex. *why*. *What* is used in this sense by Chaucer, *T. and C.* 2. 292: 'What sholde I lenger proces of it make?' Shakespeare, *J. C.* 2. 1. 123: 'What need we any spur but our own cause?' AV, Luke 22. 71: 'What need we any further witness?' Milton, *P. L.* 2. 329: 'What sit we then projecting peace and war?'

3. 8. **do we yuele thingis**. Cf. 5. 1, 5. 21, 6. 4, 6. 12, etc. T, C, R, AV *let us (us) do (doe) evyll (euyll, evil)*; G *why do we not evil*. Modern usage has substituted for this construction the imperative of *let* with an object, followed by the significant verb in the infinitive. So far as appears, W. does not use the modern construction, which was, however, coming into use in his day. Chaucer, in the *Man of Lawe's Tale* 855, says: 'Lat us stynte of Custance but a throwe, And speke we of the Romayn Emperour.'

3. 9. **schewid bi skile**. T, C, G *have already (all ready) proved (proven)*; R *have argued*; AV *have before proved*. *Skill*, in the sense of 'reason, argument,' became obsolete in the 15th century. This is the only known instance of its use in W.

3. 12. **noon til to oon**. 'Til is used to qualify *to, into, unto*. In Wyclif rendering L. *usque (ad, in)*, even, as far as, on (to). 'Even, intimating that the sentence expresses an extreme case of a more general proposition implied (Fr. *même*) seems not to have arisen before the 16th century (NED.),' though this use is suggested by an occasional earlier translation of *usque ad* as 'even to': 1546, Wyclif's *Wycket* 1: 'In greate sufferance of persecution euen to the death.'

3. 24. **azenbiyng**. Hex. *redemcion (redempcyon, redemption)*. *Redemption* and *ransom* were also used by W., but he seemed to prefer the English to the French term.

3. 25. **loryyuer**. EV *helpere*; T *seat of mercy*; C *obtainer of mercy*; G *pacification*; R, AV *propitiation*. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, Part 2, pp. 134 ff., considers C, G, R, AV imperfect renderings of Gr. *ἰλαστήριον*, but does

not suggest a better. The passage has been a theological battle-ground, but there seems to be no justification for EV and LV. The word *forgiver* was in use ca. 1225, *Ancren Riwe*.

4. 12. **suen.** T, C, G, AV *walk(e) in*; R *folow*. *Sue*, 'follow,' was common in the 14th century: Chaucer, *Gentillesse*: 'Vertu to sewe, and vyces for to flee.' In Shakespeare's time, the word had developed its modern sense 'plead or petition': *Lear* 1. 1. 30: 'I must love you, and sue to know you better.' Spenser uses it in the archaic meaning 'follow':

Great travail hath the gentle Calidore  
And toil endured, sith I left him last  
Suing the Blatant Beast.

4. 18. **grauel.** EV *grauel*, or *sond*. The clause (from *as the sterris*) is interpolated by both EV and LV, not being found in the Vulgate. C and R give part of it, and both use *sand* (*sonde*). Properly, the particles which constitute sand are smaller than those of gravel, but in literary use the words have been practically interchangeable: Shakespeare, *T. Gent. of V.* 4. 3. 33: 'Even from a heart As full of sorrows as the sea of sands'; *K. Hen. VIII* 1. 1. 155: 'Proofs as clear as founts in July when We see each grain of gravel.'

4. 20. **was coumfortid.** T, G *was made stronge*; C *became strong*; R *was strengthened*; AV *was strong*. Wright, in *The Bible Word-Book*, says: 'The idea of strengthening and supporting has been lost sight of in the modern usage of the word, which now signifies 'to console'; and the substantive 'comfort,' when employed in a material sense, does not convey the idea of needful support so much as of that which is merely accessory. In the 7th art. of the truce between England and Scotland in the reign of Rich. III, it was provided that neither of the kings "shall maintayne, fauour, ayde, or comfort any rebell or treytour" (Hall, *Rich. III*, fol. 19a).'

5. 1. **haue we pees at God.** T, C *we are at peace with God*; G, AV *we have peace with God*; R *let vs haue peace toward God*. Here *at* renders 'L. *ad*, but it is also used by LV to render L. *apud* in John 1. 1: 'the word was at God.' *At*, in the sense of 'proximity to, in the presence of,' was

used with persons in OE: *Exon.* 67a: 'Ic ære æt him finde.' It is found several times in Chaucer, as in *The Hous of Fame* 1592-3: 'Rys up . . . and faste hye, Til that thou at my lady be.' This usage became obsolete during the following century.

5. 6. **sijk.** So also 8. 3, 14. 1-2, 15. 1. T, C, R *weake*; G *of no strength*; AV *without strength*. *Sijk* in the sense 'spiritually or morally ailing' became obsolete in the 18th century. The word is glossed in EV, *unsadde in feith*, that is, 'wavering, uncertain.'

**affir the tyme.** T, C, R *accordyng(e)(-ing) to the tyme (time)*; G *at his tyme*; AV *in due time*. *Due*, applied to time, was first used by Chaucer, in the *Legend of Good Women*, Prologue 364: 'To heryn here excusacyons . . . In duewe tyme whan they schal it profre.'

5. 7. **vnnethis.** T, C, G, R *scace (scarce, scarce)*; AV *scarcely*. OE. *unðaðe*, 'with difficulty,' survived as ME. *uneath*, or *vnnethis*. *Scarce, scarcely*, from the French, had been in use for nearly a century in Wyclif's time, but *uneath* was not entirely superseded in Shakespeare's day: 2 *K. Henry VI* 2. 4. 8:

Uneath may she endure the flinty streets,  
To tread them with her tender-feeling feet.

5. 15. **gilt** (1). T, C *synne*; G, R, AV *offence*. EV and LV usually discriminate carefully between *delictum* and *peccatum*, the former being translated *gilt* in all but two instances (3. 25, 4. 25), and the latter *synne*. Of the Hex. versions, T, C fail to note any distinction between the two Latin words, AV usually renders *delictum* by *offence*, and the other versions vary. The placing of emphasis upon the condition of the person who committed the deed, or upon the quality of the deed as guiltiness, gradually resulted in the modern usage of the word.

6. 3. **whiche enere we.** T, C, G, R *all (al) we which (whych)*; AV *so many of us as*. In modern usage, *whichever* is followed by an *of*-phrase, as in Addison, *Spectator*, No. 327: 'Whichever of the Notions be true, the Unity of Milton's Action is preserved according to either of them'; or is used as an adjec-

tive modifying a substantive, as: 'whichever road you take.' The present is the only instance I have found of *whichever* modifying a personal pronoun, and is apparently the result of a literal rendering of the Latin.

7. 3. **auoutresse.** T, C *wedlocke breaker*; G *adulterer*; R *aduouteresse*; AV *adulteress*. Paues uses *spousebrekere*. *Auoutresse* is the feminine of *adulter*, or *avouter*, both of which derive from L. *adulter*. These two words were interchangeable in Wyclif's time, and not until the 17th century did the modern *adulterer* entirely displace the earlier forms.

7. 7. **but** (3). T, C, G, AV *except(e)*; R *vnlesse*. In 9. 29, 10. 15, 13. 1, 13. 8, *but* is also used in the sense of 'except.' In 11. 15 the meaning is 'unless.'

7. 11. **disceyuede.** R uses *seduced*; the other Hex. versions and EV agree with LV, but Paues' version renders L. *seduxit* by *bygyled*. *Seduce* was not introduced until Caxton, ca. 1477, but *deceive* and *beguile* were both in good and frequent use in the 14th century. In the translation of the Bible, both EV and LV render L. *seduco*, apparently without distinction, by *deceive* or *beguile*, though EV shows a slight preference for *beguile*.

7. 13. **ouer maner.** T, C, G *out of measure*; R *aboue measure*; AV *exceeding*. See 3. 2 for discussion.

7. 18. **wille lieth to me.** Hex. *to wil(l) is present with me*. Paues' version has *wille falleþ to me*. The same construction is used in 7. 21. I have found no other example of this construction, which therefore seems due to an over-literal rendering of the L. *adjacet*.

7. 23. **caitif.** T, C, G *subduynge*; R *captiuing*; AV *bringing into captivity*. *Caitif* is used here in its original meaning, 'captive,' L. *captivus*, which gradually shifted to include any person in a pitiable condition, then to designate a person of a wretched or villainous character. The original sense was already becoming obsolete at the time of the AV.

7. 24. **vnceli.** EV *wooful*; T, C, G, AV *wretched*; R *vnhappie*. The word is an exact equivalent of the L. *infelix*, being derived from OE. *sælig*, 'blessed, fortunate,' with the negative prefix *un*. The negative form has been entirely

lost, and the positive has degenerated through 'innocent,' 'harmless,' to 'weakly foolish': Chaucer, *Leg. of Good Women* 1252: 'O sely woman, ful of innocence'; AV, 2 Tim. 3. 6: 'lead captive silly women laden with sins.'

8. 1. **no thing of dampnacioun.** The construction is used in EV, but not in Hex. From ca. 1000, *nothing* has been used with a dependent genitive, signifying 'no part, share, etc., of some thing (or person)' (*NED.*). Although in this passage the phrase is a literal rendering of L. *nihil damnationis*, yet it is parallel to such expressions as the following: ca. 1375, *Sc. Leg. Saints* 34 (*Pelagia*), 23: 'Wantande nathing of bewte, þat in a woman suld fundyn be'; 1610, Shakespeare, *Temp.* 1. 2. 399: 'Nothing of him that doth fade'; 1872, Holmes, *Poet at the Breakfast-table* 6 (1906). 137: 'There was no atmosphere in it, nothing of the light that never was.'

8. 5. **saweren.** So also 11. 20, 12. 3, 12. 16. T, C *are mynded*; G *are wise*; R *are affected*; AV *do mind*. This is the common Middle English rendering of L. *sapere*. Cf. Matt. 16. 23. Chaucer uses the word in this sense in *Truth* 5: 'Savour no more than thee bihove shal.' The word belongs now to archaic usage.

8. 7. **nether it may.** Hex. *nether (neither) can (it) be*. The ellipsis of *be* after *may* was common from early OE. times: *Beowulf* 679 (Sedgfield): 'forþan ic hine sweorde swebban nelle, aldre benēotan, þēah ic eal mæge.' *May* in the sense of 'can' has been used, since the 17th century, only as an archaism.

8. 9. **nethelless.** So in 8. 17. L. *tamen*; OE. *nā þē l̥æs*. Other obsolete forms are *natheless* and *notheless*. *Natheless* is still used as an archaism. The modern *nevertheless* was already in use in the 14th century: Chaucer, *Anelida and Arcite* 99:

But never-the-les ful mikel besinesse  
Had he, er that he mighte his lady winne.

8. 15. **eftsoone.** So in 11. 23. L. *iterum*; T, C, G *eny moare (any more)*; R, AV *again(e)*. The original meaning of *eftsoone* was 'a second time, again,' but in modern usage



as an archaism the element *soon* has been emphasized, and the word usually means 'immediately.' The form *eftsoons* is also common. Cf. Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner* 12:

'Hold off! unhand me, grey-beard loon!'  
Eftsoons his hand dropt he.

8. 15. **seruage.** T, C, G, AV *bondage*; R *servitude*. *Seruage* became obsolete in the 15th century. In the 17th century, the new formation of the same word was made, *serfage*, to indicate the particular kind of servitude in France, etc. (NED.).

8. 22. **trauelith with peyne.** T, C, G *trauayleth in payne*; R *trauailleth*; AV *travaileth in pain together*; L. *parturit*. EV here uses the quaint old verb *childith*, with an explanatory gloss, 'or worchith with angwis.' The word *travail* or *travel*, used as both verb and noun, originally meant 'labor, toil,' and is so used in 16. 6, 12. Cf. Bacon, *Essays* 29, *Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms, etc.*: 'Generally all warlike people are a little idle; and love danger better than travaille'; Milton, *Divorce*, Introd.: 'Who among ye of the foremost that have travailed in her behalf to the good of Church or State, hath not often been traduced,' etc. The spelling *travail* became, after a time, limited to the single meaning, 'labor, as in child-birth,' now archaic, while the general word developed into our modern *travel*, 'journey.'

8. 22. **til ȝit.** T, C, G *unto this tyme*; R *til now*; AV *until now*. For discussion of *til*, see 3. 12.

8. 38. **principatus.** T, C *rule*; G, R, AV *principalities*. EV LV in the New Testament translate L. *principatus* variously: *potestatis*, *princes*, *princehodes*, *principat*, *principatis(-us)*. The corresponding AV is *principalities(-y)*, except in 1 Cor. 15. 24, where AV has *rule*. The meaning in the present passage, taken in conjunction with 'aungels' and 'vertues,' is, evidently, 'one of the higher orders of angels.' EV adds another order, 'potestatis.'

9. 10. **liggyng-bi.** L. *concubitu*. Cf. modern English *lying-in*. I can find no other instance of *by* with the participle *liggyng* or *lying* used as a substantive in this sense. *Lie with* is common in AV: Gen. 39. 7, etc., and Chaucer uses *by* with a verb in the *Monkes Tale* 290:

Save o thing, that she never wolde assente  
By no wey, that he sholde by hir lye  
But ones, for it was hir pleyn entente  
To have a child, the world to multiplie.

Manuscript variants noted by Forshall and Madden give the following renderings: 'kyndely knowinge; ligginge by, or of oo knowinge of man.'

9. 13. **the more . . . the lesse.** Hex. *the elder . . . the yonger (younger)*. In this sense, *more* and *less* became obsolete in the 16th century, surviving only in a few instances, as 'James the Less.' EV and LV, Gen. 27. 1, have: 'He clepide Esau, his more sone.'

9. 18. **endurith.** L. *indurat*. The L. word occurs in two other places in NT: John 12. 40; Acts 19. 9. EV translates by *endure* in all three instances; LV only in the present instance. Hex. uses *harden*, or *make hard*, except R, which renders by *indurate*. In this sense, 'harden,' used figuratively of the heart, the word seems rare. NED. gives the following example: 1588, King, *tr. Canisius' Catech.* 146: 'That suithlie, quhilk maks the mynde of man stubbornlie indured agains gud admonition.' From the 15th century to the present day *indurate* has been used in this sense, with allusion to the 'hardening of Pharaoh's heart,' expressed in the Vulgate by *indurare*: 1891, Farrar, *Darkness and Dawn* 1. 318: 'That such a spectacle . . . should indurate still further the callosity of hardened hearts.'

9. 21. **dispit.** T, C, G, AV *dishonour(e)*; R *contumelie*. *Dispit*, in the sense of 'contempt, scorn,' is employed ca. 1300, *Cursor Mundi* 2037 (Cott.): 'If o pi fader pou haue despite,' etc., and has not yet entirely disappeared from poetry: ca. 1845, Longfellow, *King Christian IV*: 'Receive thy friend, who, scorning flight, Goes to meet danger with despite.' It is also retained in AV, Heb. 10. 29, 'hath done despite unto the spirit of grace.'

9. 22. **able into deeth.** T, C *ordeyned to damnacion(-cyon)*; G *made ready to damnation*; R *apte to destruction*; AV *fitted to destruction*; EV *able into perdition*. Fierce theological battles have been waged over this whole passage, and that

fact accounts in part for the great variety in the translations. *Apt* was known, but not in common use, in Wyclif's time, and *fitted* in this sense was not used until the 15th century.

9. 27. **relifs.** So also 11. 5. T, C, G, AV *remnant(-naunt)*; R *remaines*. In the sense of 'remainder, or remnant, of a people,' *relif* is first found in 1387: Trevisa *Higden* (Rolls) 3. 113: 'Whan he hadde . . . i-brouȝt þe relyf of Israel and of Iuda out of Egipte.'

10. 11. **for whi.** So also 9. 9, 10. 11, 11. 34, 14. 9. L. *enim*; Hex. *for*. *Whi* is the instrumental of OE. *hwā*, 'who,' and, with the preposition *for*, usually means 'wherefore, for what reason, because.' In Romans, LV uses *for whi* 4 times as a rendering of L. *enim*, where EV uses *sotheli* or *forsothe*. Since the 17th century *for why* has had occasional archaic or jocular use: 1883, Freeman, *MS. letter*: 'It will be pleasant if you go to the Old Borough. . . Forwhy in that case you will certainly come on hither.'

11. 8. **compuncocioun.** T, C *vnquyetnes*; G *heauy slepe*; R *compunction*; AV *slumber*. This passage is quoted from Isa. 29. 10, in which in the Hebrew a word is used which means 'lethargy, or trance.' This word was translated by the Septuagint *κατάρρηξις* (cf. Thayer), meaning: '1. a pricking, piercing; 2. severe sorrow, extreme grief; 3. insensibility or torpor of mind'; the tertiary sense corresponding fairly well with the Hebrew. When the Vulgate rendered by *compunctio*, the correspondence was with the primary sense of *κατάρρηξις*, and the thought of the Hebrew was lost. OF. EV LV R, using the word derived from the Latin, departed still further from the original meaning, since in both French and English the word had acquired a secondary meaning, 'pricking of conscience, remorse.' This secondary meaning is the one selected by T and C in the rendering 'vnquyetnes,' sufficiently far removed from the original 'lethargy.'

11. 9. **gryn.** EV *gnare*; Hex. *snare*. *Grane*, *gryn*, *gnare*, *snare*, are according to *NED*. perfectly distinct words, but having the same primary significance. There seems to have been considerable confusion among editors of early texts, who have inclined to the belief that these words were

variant spellings of *snare*. *Gryn* is still used in many English dialects, Scottish *girn* being the most familiar form in literature.

II. 10. **algatis.** T *ever*; C, AV *al(l)way(e)*; G, R *alway(i)es*. *Gate*, of uncertain origin, means 'road, way'; *algate* was extended to *algates* ca. 1300, probably after the analogy of *always*, etc. (NED.). It is still in use in the northern counties of England as a dialectal word, meaning 'in every way, at all events.'

II. 16. **gobet.** T, C *heepe*; G *lompe*; R *masse*; AV *lump*. The word means 'a lump, or mass, esp. of coagulated substances,' and is rarely used after the 18th century.

II. 17. **felowe.** T, C, G, R *par(t)taker*; AV *partakest*. In the figurative sense of 'sharer, partaker,' *fellow* has been in use since ca. 1300, *Cursor Mundi*.

II. 22. **farnesse.** T, C, G *rigorousnes*; R, AV *seueritie* (*severity*). This is the only instance in the Vulgate of the word *severitas*, and the only instance in AV of *severity*; nor is *farnesse* used in this sense anywhere else in W. Milton, *Divorce*, Introd., uses *fierceness* in this sense of 'rigorousness': 'Marriage, the ordinance of our solace and contentment, . . . will not admit now either of Charity or Mercy, to come in and mediate, or pacify the fierceness of this gentle ordinance.' Ruskin, in a discussion of the use of the heads or paws of animals as decoration—*Stones of Venice*, Vol. I, ch. 20, 32 (10)—says: 'Wherever there is throughout the architecture any expression of sternness or severity (severity in its literal sense, as in Rom. II. 22), such divisions of the living form may be permitted.'

12. 8. **stirith softli.** Hex. *exhorteth*. The earliest use of *exhort*, according to NED., is ca. 1400, *An Apology for Lollard Doctrines* 30: 'If prestis ouerwile exort or monest þe peple.' I can find no other instance of 'stirith softli' used in this sense, though it seems a natural and happy circumlocution for 'admonish, warn.'

12. 14. **pursuen.** Hex. *persecute*. The verb *persecute* was not introduced from the French until the late 15th century, although the noun *persecution* was in use as early as ca. 1340, in Hampole's *Psalter*. The sense 'to persecute,

harass' was expressed by *pursue* until the 16th century. A curious example of a return to early usage is found in the Hexaplar Psalter, where, in several instances (7. 1, 7. 5, 31. 15, etc.), the Revised Version of 1885 agrees with the Wycliffite versions in the use of *pursue*, as against *persecute* in all the other versions.

13. 4. **vengere.** *Revenger*, used by R, AV, was not introduced from the French until the 16th century. *Avenger* is used in LV, Ps. 8. 3: 'that thou destrie the enemy and avengere (EV veniere).' *Venger* is used as late as Spenser, *F. Q.* 1. 3. 20:

Him booteth not resist, nor succour call,  
His bleeding heart is in the venger's hand.

13. 12. **hath neized.** T, C *is come nye*; G *hath come*; R, AV *is at hand*. The verb *nigh* was in common use from ca. 1300 to 1500 (*NED.*), but is rare since that time. Cf. 5. 2, *nizgoynng-to*.

14. 2. **wortis.** OE. *wyrt*; T, C *earbes*; G, R, AV *herb(e)s*. Both *wort* and *herb* were in common use from the 13th century, but *herb* gradually assumed all the independent uses of *wort*, the latter being employed only in compounds, as *motherwort*, *liverwort*. Burton, in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* 215, says: 'He drinks water, and lives on wort leaves.' Shakespeare, *Merry Wives* 1. 1. 123, plays upon the word in its specific meaning 'cabbage':

*Evans.* Pauca verba, Sir John; goot worts.  
*Falstaff.* Good worts! good cabbage.

' 15. 1. **saddere.** T, C, G, AV *strong(e)*; R *stronger*. From OE. *sæd*, 'sated, weary.' In the 14th century appear nearly all the derived senses. It is employed frequently in the Wycliffite versions in the sense of 'strong,' as here. Cf. 2 Pet. 1. 19: 'we han a saddere word of prophecie'; 2 Cor. 1. 7: 'that oure hope be sad for 3ou.' The verb is found in Acts 3. 7: 'And he took hym bi the riȝt hoond, and heuede hym vp; and anon hise leggis and hise feet weren sowdid (EV saddid) togidere.' In this sense, *sad* became obsolete in the 15th century.

15. 3. **repreues**. T, C, G *rebukes*; R, AV *reproaches* (*reproches*). In this sense of 'shame; reproach,' the word became obsolete in the 16th century.

15. 19. **bi compas**. From the 14th to the 18th century, *compass* was frequently used for 'roundabout journey, circuit': 1596, Greene, *Groat's Worth of Wit*: 'I am appointed to bring her from the house to the Parke, and from thence fetch a winding compasse of a mile about'; AV, Acts 28. 13: 'And from thence we fetched a compass, and came to Rhegium.'

15. 26. **assaied**. L. *probaverunt*; T, C, G, AV *it hath pleased*; R *haue liked wel*. Gr. εὐδόκησαν is used here and also in verse 27, where it is rendered by L. *placuit*, EV LV *it pleside*.

15. 27. **pleside to**. The construction with *to* corresponds to L. *placere* with the dative, and F. *plaire à*, but the word was also very early used as transitive with a direct object, and in the formation of a passive. The construction with *to* does not seem to have been used after the 15th century.

15. 27. **goostli**. Hex. *spiritual(l)*. *Ghost* in the sense of 'spirit,' becoming practically obsolete in the 15th century, still survives in a few peculiar uses, such as 'Holy Ghost,' 'to give up the ghost.' It is also occasionally found in literary use, as in Tennyson, *In Memoriam* 93:

Descend, and touch, and enter; hear  
The wish too strong for words to name;  
That in this blindness of the frame  
My ghost may feel that thine is near.

*Ghostly* in the sense of 'spiritual' is even less common, though not obsolete until the 17th century. Shakespeare's use of it in *R. & J.* 2. 2: 'Hence will I to my ghostly father's cell,' seems to be responsible for the modern affected use of the word in 'ghostly adviser,' 'ghostly father.'

16. 5. **meyneal**. T, C, G, AV *in thy (their) house*; R *domestical*. *Meinie* was the ordinary word for 'household' in the 14th century, but the corresponding adjective *meyneal* seems to be rare. *Domestic* was not introduced until the 16th century.

16. 7. **cosyns**. T, C, G, R. *cosyns(ins)*; AV *kinsmen*. From

ca. 1300, *Cursor Mundi*, to the 18th century, *cousin* was used to designate a 'collateral relative more distant than a brother or sister,' as well as more strictly the 'son or daughter of one's uncle or aunt.' The latter meaning is the only one in general modern use. *Kinsman*, on the other hand, from its use in ca. 1052, *OE. Chron.*, has always been general, 'a relative by blood,' but has now only a literary use.

16. 7. **euen prisouneris.** T, C *presoners with me*; G *fellow prisoners with me*; R *fellow captives*; AV *fellow prisoners*. OE. *efen* was often prefixed to substantives with the sense of 'fellow-,' L. *co-*: *efenbisceop*, 'co-bishop'; *efenþēowa*, 'fellow-servant.' Later than OE. times, examples occur chiefly in the Wycliffite versions.

16. 20. **tredde.** T *treade*; C, G *shal(l) treade*; R *crush*; AV *shall bruise*. EV uses the stronger word *defoule*, 'to crush by trampling upon,' which became obsolete in the 16th century.

16. 23. **oost.** EV *herborgere*; Hex. *host*. Both words were in free use during the 14th century, but the history of *herborgere* has been more varied. Its form became 'harbinger,' with a secondary meaning of 'forerunner.' The primary sense 'host' was taken up by 'harbourer,' which subsequently acquired a bad connotation, leaving *host* master of the field in its original simple meaning.

16. 25. **holdum styлле.** Hex. *kept secret(e)*. *Secret* is not used by Wyclif, so far as I am aware. *NED.* gives only two instances of the word before 1380, but the form *secre* was used by Chaucer in just this sense of a divine mystery, though the phrase is a translation of the title of a L. book *Secreta Secretorum*: *Can. Yeom. T.* 894:

For this science, and this konnyng, quod he,  
Is of the secree of the secretes pardee.







**PARALLEL TEXTS:**  
**THE LATER WYCLIFFITE,**  
**THE PAUES FRAGMENT, AND**  
**THE VULGATE**

## NOTE

The Wycliffite text has been taken from Forshall and Madden's edition. The punctuation of both the English and the Latin has been freely changed where the sense seemed to demand it. A few English words, such as *into*, *withouten*, *hemsilf*, etc., usually separated in the edition (*in to*, etc.), are here printed as one. Italics in the Wycliffite text indicate words supplied by the translator, as found in the standard edition.

## ROMANS

Poul, the seruaunt of Jhesu Christ, clepid an apostle, 1  
 departid into the gospel of God, which he hadde bihote 2  
 tofore bi his profetis in holi scripturis of his Sone, which 3  
 is maad to hym of the seed of Daudid bi the flesch, and 4  
 he was bifer ordeyned the Sone of God in vertu, bi the  
 spirit of halewyng, of the azenrisyng of deed men, of Jhesu  
 Crist oure Lord, bi whom we han resseyued grace and the 5  
 office of apostle, to obeie to the feith in alle folkis for his  
 name, among whiche 3e ben also clepid of Jhesu Crist : 6, 7  
 to alle that ben at Rome, derlyngis of God, and clepid  
 hooli : Grace to 3ou, and pees of God oure Fadir, and of  
 the Lord Jhesu Crist. First Y do thankyngis to my God 8  
 bi Jhesu Crist for alle 3ou, for 3oure feith is schewid in 9  
 al the world. For God is a witnesse to me, to whom  
 Y serue in my spirit in the gospel of his Sone, that with-

1 Paulus, servus Jesu Christi, vocatus apostolus, segregatus 1  
 in evangelium Dei, 2 Quod ante promiserat per prophetas  
 suos in scripturis sanctis 3 De Filio suo, qui factus est  
 ei ex semine David secundum carnem, 4 Qui prædesti-  
 natus est Filius Dei in virtute, secundum spiritum sancti-  
 ficationis, ex resurrectione mortuorum, Jesu Christi Domini  
 nostri, 5 Per quem accepimus gratiam et apostolatam,  
 ad obediendum fidei in omnibus gentibus pro nomine ejus,  
 6 In quibus estis et vos vocati Jesu Christi: 7 Omnibus  
 qui sunt Romæ, dilectis Dei, vocatis sanctis: Gratia vobis,  
 et pax a Deo Patre nostro, et Domino Jesu Christo. 8 Pri-  
 mum quidem gratias ago Deo meo per Jesum Christum pro  
 omnibus vobis, quia fides vestra annunciatur in universo  
 mundo. 9 Testis enim mihi est Deus, cui servio in spiritu  
 meo in evangelio Filii ejus, quod sine intermissione memoriam

10 outen ceessyng Y make mynde of 3ou euere in my preieris,  
 and biseche, if in ony maner sum tyme Y haue a spedi  
 11 weie in the wille of God to come to 3ou. For Y desire  
 12 to se 3ou, to parten sumwhat of spiritual grace, that 3e  
 be confermyd : that is, to be coumfortid togidere in 3ou,  
 13 bi feith that is bothe 3oure and myn togidere. And,  
 britheren, Y nyle that 3e vnknowun that ofte Y purposide  
 to come to 3ou (and Y am lett to this tyme), that Y haue  
 14 sum fruyt in 3ou, as in othere folkis. To Grekis and to  
 15 barberyngs, to wise men and to vnwise men, Y am dettour ;  
 so that that is in me is redi to preche the gospel also to  
 16 3ou that ben at Rome. For Y schame not the gospel ;  
 for it is the vertu of God into heelthe to ech man that  
 17 bileueth, to the Jew first, and to the Greke. For the  
 ríhtwisnesse of God is schewid in it of feith into feith ;  
 18 as it is writun, For a just man lyueth of feith. For the  
 wraththe of God is schewid fro heuene on al vnpite and  
 wickidnesse of tho men that withholden the treuthe of

vestri facio      10 Semper in orationibus meis, obsecrans,  
 si quomodo tandem aliquando prosperum iter habeam in  
 voluntate Dei veniendi ad vos.      11 Desidero enim videre  
 vos, ut aliquid impertiar vobis gratiæ spiritualis, ad con-  
 firmandos vos :      12 Id est, simul consolari in vobis, per  
 eam quæ invicem est, fidem vestram atque meam.      13 Nolo  
 autem vos ignorare, fratres, quia sæpe proposui venire ad  
 vos (et prohibitus sum usque adhuc), ut aliquem fructum  
 habeam et in vobis, sicut et in ceteris gentibus.      14 Græcis  
 ac barbaris, sapientibus et insipientibus, debitor sum ;  
 15 Ita (quod in me) promptum est et vobis qui Romæ estis  
 evangelizare.      16 Non enim erubesco evangelium ; vir-  
 tus enim Dei est in salutem omni credenti, Judæo primum,  
 et Græco.      17 Justitia enim Dei in eo revelatur ex fide  
 in fidem ; sicut scriptum est, Justus autem ex fide vivit.  
 18 Revelatur enim ira Dei de cælo super omnem impietatem  
 et injustitiam hominum eorum qui veritatem Dei in injustitia

God in vnriȝtwisnes; for that thing of God that is <sup>19</sup>  
knowun is schewid to hem; for God hath schewid to hem.  
For the vnuysible thingis of hym, that ben vndurstondu, <sup>20</sup>  
ben biholdun of the creature of the world, bi tho thingis  
that ben maad, ȝhe, and the euerlastynge vertu of hym  
and the godhed; so that thei mowe not be excusid. For <sup>21</sup>  
whanne thei hadden knowe God, thei glorifieden *hym*  
not as God, nether diden thankynge; but thei van-  
yschiden in her thouȝts, and the vnwise herte of hem was  
derkid. For thei seiynge that hemsilf weren wise, thei <sup>22</sup>  
weren maad foolis; and thei chaungiden the glorie of <sup>23</sup>  
God vncorruptible into the licnesse of an ymage of a  
deedli man, and of briddis, and of foure-footid beestis,  
and of serpentis. For which thing God bitook hem <sup>24</sup>  
into the desiris of her herte, into vnclennesse, that thei  
punysche with wrongis her bodies in hemsilf; the <sup>25</sup>  
whiche chaungiden the treuthe of God into leesyng,  
and herieden and serueden a creature rather than to the  
Creatoure, that is blessid into worldis of worldis. Amen.

detinent;      19 Quia quod notum est Dei manifestum  
est in illis; Deus enim illis manifestavit.      20 Invisibilia  
enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quæ facta sunt, intel-  
lecta, conspiciuntur, sempiterna quoque ejus virtus et divini-  
tas; ita ut sint inexcusabiles.      21 Quia cum cognovissent  
Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt, aut gratias egerunt;  
sed evanuerunt in cogitationibus suis, et obscuratum est  
insipiens cor eorum.      22 Dicentes enim se esse sapientes,  
stulti facti sunt;      23 Et mutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis  
Dei in similitudinem imaginis corruptibilis hominis, et volu-  
crum, et quadrupedum, et serpentium.      24 Propter quod  
tradidit illos Deus in desideria cordis eorum, in immunditiam,  
ut contumeliis afficiant corpora sua in semetipsis;      25 Qui  
commutaverunt veritatem Dei in mendacium, et coluerunt  
et servierunt creaturæ potius quam Creatori, qui est bene-  
dictus in sæcula. Amen.      26 Propterea tradidit illos  
Deus in passiones ignominie: nam femine eorum immu-

26 Therfor God bitook hem into passiouns of schenscipe:  
 for the wymmen of hem chaungiden the kyndli vss in-  
 27 to that vss that is aȝens kynde; also the men forsoken  
 the kyndli vss of womman, and brenned in her desiris  
 togidere, and men into men wrouȝten filthehed, and  
 resseyueden into hemsilf the meede that bihofte of her  
 28 error. And as thei preueden that thei hadden not God  
 in knowyng, God bitook hem into a repreuable wit, that  
 29 thei do tho thingis that ben not couenable; that thei  
 ben fulfillid with al wickidnesse, malice, fornyacioun,  
 coueitise, weiwardnesse, ful of enuye, mansleyngis, strijf,  
 30 gile, yuel wille, preuy bachteris, detractouris, hateful to  
 God, debateris, proude, and hiȝ ouer mesure, fynderis  
 31 of yuele thingis, not obeschyng to fadir and modir,  
 vnwise, vnmanerli, withouten loue, withouten boond  
 32 of pees, withouten merci. The whiche, whanne thei  
 hadden knowe the riȝtwisnesse of God, vndirstoden not  
 that thei that don siche thingis ben worthi the deth;  
 not oneli thei that don tho thingis, but also thei that  
 consenten to the doeris.

taverunt naturalem usum in eum usum qui est contra naturam;  
 27 Similiter autem et masculi, relicto naturali usu feminæ,  
 exarserunt in desideriis suis in invicem, masculi in masculos  
 turpitudinem operantes, et mercedem quam oportuit erroris  
 sui in semetipsis recipientes. 28 Et sicut non probaverunt  
 Deum habere in notitia, tradidit illos Deus in reprobum  
 sensum, ut faciant ea quæ non conveniunt; 29 Repletos  
 omni iniquitate, malitia, fornicatione, avaritia, nequitia,  
 plenos invidia, homicidio, contentione, dolo, malignitate,  
 susurrones, 30 Detractores, Deo odibiles, contume-  
 liosos, superbos, elatos, inventores malorum, parentibus non  
 obedientes, 31 Insipientes, incompósitos, sine affectione,  
 absque fœdere, sine misericordia. 32 Qui, cum justitiam  
 Dei cognovissent, non intellexerunt quoniam qui talia agunt  
 digni sunt morte; et non solum qui ea faciunt, sed etiam  
 qui consentiunt facientibus.

Werfor thou art vnexcusable, ech man that demest ; 1 2  
 for in what thing thou demest anothir man, thou con-  
 dempnest thisilf, for thou doist the same thingis whiche  
 thou demest. And we witen that the doom of God is 2  
 aftir treuthe azens hem that don siche thingis. But 3  
 gessist thou, man, that demest hem that doen siche  
 thingis, and thou doist tho thingis, that thou schalt  
 ascape the doom of God ? Whether dispisist thou the 4  
 richessis of his goodnesse, and the pacience, and the long-  
 abidyng ? Knowist thou not that the benygnyte of  
 God ledith thee to forthenkyng ? But aftir thin hardnesse 5  
 and vnrepentaunt herte, thou tresorist to thee wraththe  
 in the dai of wraththe, and of schewyng of the riȝtful  
 doom of God, that schal ȝelde to ech man aftir his werkis : 6  
 sotheli to hem that ben bi pacience of good werk, glorie, 7  
 and onour, and vncorruptioun, to hem that seken  
 euerlastynge lijf ; but to hem that ben of strijf, and that 8  
 assenten not to treuthe, but bileuen to wickidnesse,  
 wraththe and indignacioun, tribulacioun and angwisch, 9

1 Propter quod inexcusabilis es, o homo omnis qui iudicas ; 2  
 in quo enim iudicas alterum, teipsum condemnas, eadem  
 enim agis quæ iudicas. 2 Scimus enim quoniam iudicium  
 Dei est secundum veritatem in eos qui talia agunt. 3 Exis-  
 timas autem hoc, o homo, qui iudicas eos qui talia agunt,  
 et facis ea, quia tu effugies iudicium Dei ? 4 An divitias  
 bonitatis ejus, et patientiæ, et longanimitatis, contemnis ?  
 Ignoras quoniam benignitas Dei ad poenitentiam te adducit ?  
 5 Secundum autem duritiam tuam et impoenitens cor, thesau-  
 rizas tibi iram in die iræ, et revelationis justi iudicii Dei,  
 6 Qui reddet unicuique secundum opera eius : 7 Iis  
 quidem qui secundum patientiam boni operis, gloriam, et  
 honorem, et incorruptionem quærunt, vitam æternam ;  
 8 Iis autem qui sunt ex contentione, et qui non acquiescunt  
 veritati, credunt autem iniquitati, ira et indignatio, 9 Tri-  
 bulatio et angustia, in omnem animam hominis operantis



10 into ech soule of man that worchith yuel, to the Jew first,  
 and to the Greke; but glorie, and honour, and pees  
 to ech man that worchith good thing, to the Jew first,  
 11 and to the Greke; for accepcioun of persones is not  
 12 anentis God. For whoeuere han synned without the  
 lawe schulen perische withouten the lawe; and who-  
 euere han synned in the lawe, thei schulen be demyd bi  
 13 the lawe. For the hereris of lawe ben not iust anentis  
 14 God, but the doeris of the lawe schulen be maad iust.  
 For whanne hethene men, that han not lawe, don kyndli  
 tho thingis that ben of the lawe, thei, not hauynge suche  
 15 manere lawe, ben lawe to hemsilf; that schewen the werk  
 of the lawe writun in her hertis; for the conscience  
 of hem ȝeldith to hem a witnessyng bytwixe hemsilf  
 16 of thouȝtis that ben accusyng or defendyng, in the dai  
 whanne God schal deme the priuy thingis of men aftir  
 17 my gospel, bi Jhesu Crist. But if thou art named a Jew,  
 and restist in the lawe, and hast glorie in God, and hast  
 18 knowe his wille, and thou, lerud bi lawe, preuest the more

malum, Judæi primum, et Græci; 10 Gloria autem, et  
 honor, et pax omni operanti bonum, Judæo primum, et  
 Græco; 11 Non enim est acceptio personarum apud  
 Deum. 12 Quicumque enim sine lege peccaverunt sine  
 lege peribunt; et quicumque in lege peccaverunt per legem  
 judicabuntur: 13 Non enim auditores legis justi sunt  
 apud Deum, sed factores legis justificabuntur. 14 Cum  
 enim gentes, quæ legem non habent, naturaliter ea quæ  
 legis sunt faciunt, ejusmodi legem non habentes, ipsi sibi  
 sunt lex; 15 Qui ostendunt opus legis scriptum in cor-  
 dibus suis, testimonium reddente illis conscientia ipsorum,  
 et inter se invicem cogitationibus accusantibus aut etiam  
 defendentibus, 16 In die cum judicabit Deus occulta  
 hominum, secundum evangelium meum, per Jesum Christum.  
 17 Si autem tu Judæus cognominaris, et requiescis in lege, et  
 gloriaris in Deo, 18 Et nosti voluntatem ejus, et probas

profitable thingis, and tristist thisilf to be a ledere of 19  
 blynde men, the list of hem that ben in derknessis, a  
 techere of vnwise men, a maistir of ȝonge children, 20  
 that hast the foorme of kunnyng and of treuthe in the  
 lawe; what thanne techist thou another, and techist 21  
 not thisilf? Thou that prechist that me schal not 22  
 stele, stelist? Thou that techist that me schal do no  
 letcherie, doist letcherie? Thou that wlatist maumetis, 23  
 doist sacrilegie? Thou that hast glorie in the lawe,  
 vnworschipist God bi brekyng of the lawe? (For the 24  
 name of God is blasfemed bi ȝou among hethene men,  
 as is writun.) For circumcision profitith, if thou kepe 25  
 the lawe; but if thou be a trespassour aȝens the lawe,  
 thi circumcisioun is maad prepucie. Therfor if pre- 26  
 pucie kepe the riȝtwisnessis of the lawe, whethir his  
 prepucie schal not be arettid into circumcisioun? And 27  
 the prepucie of kynde, that fulfillith the lawe, schal deme  
 thee, that bi lettre and circumcision art trespassour aȝens  
 the lawe. For he that is in opene is not a Jew, nether 28

utiliora, instructus per legem, 19 Confidis teipsum esse  
 ducem cæcorum, lumen eorum qui in tenebris sunt, 20 Eru-  
 ditorem insipientium, magistrum infantium, habentem for-  
 mam scientiæ et veritatis in lege; 21 Qui ergo alium  
 doces, teipsum non doces; qui prædicas non furandum, fu-  
 raris; 22 Qui dicis non mœchandum, mœcharis; qui  
 abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis; 23 Qui in lege  
 gloriaris, per prævaricationem legis Deum inhonoras.  
 24 (Nomen enim Dei per vos blasphematur inter gentes,  
 sicut scriptum est.) 25 Circumcisio quidem prodest, si  
 legem observes; si autem prævaricator legis sis, circumcisio  
 tua præputium facta est. 26 Si igitur præputium justitias  
 legis custodiat, nonne præputium illius in circumcisionem  
 reputabitur? 27 Et judicabit id quod ex natura est  
 præputium, legem consummans, te, qui per litteram et  
 circumcisionem prævaricator legis es? 28 Non enim qui  
 in manifesto Judæus est, neque quæ in manifesto in carne,

29 it is circumcisioun that is openli in the fleisch ; but he that is a Jew in hid, and the circumcision of herte, in spirit, not bi the lettre ; whos preisyng is not of men, but of God.

3. What thanne is more to a Jew ? or what profit of circumcisioun ? Myche bi al wise ; first, for the spekyngis of God weren bitakun to hem. And what if summe of hem bileueden not ? whethir the vnbileue of hem hath auoidid the feith of God ? God forbede ; for God is sothefast, but ech man a liere ; as it is writun, That thou be iustified in thi wordis, and ouercome whanne thou art demed. But if oure wickidnesse comende the riht-wisnesse of God, what shulen we seie ? Whether God is wickid, that bryngith in wraththe ? (aftir man Y seie). God forbede ; ellis hou schal God deme this world ? For if the treuthe of God hath aboundid in my leesyng into the glorie of hym, what zit am Y demed as a synner ? And not (as we ben blasfemed, and as sum men seien that we seien), Do we yuele thingis, that gode thingis

est circumcisio ; 29 Sed qui in abscondito Judæus est, et circumcisio cordis, in spiritu, non littera ; cuius laus non ex hominibus, sed ex Deo est.

- 3 1 Quid ergo amplius Judæo est ? aut quæ utilitas circumcisionis ? 2 Multum per omnem modum ; primum quidem, quia credita sunt illis eloquia Dei. 3 Quid enim si quidam illorum non crediderunt ? numquid incredulitas illorum fidem Dei evacuabit ? Absit ; 4 Est autem Deus verax, omnis autem homo mendax ; sicut scriptum est, Ut justificeris in sermonibus tuis, et vincas cum judicaris. 5 Si autem iniquitas nostra justitiam Dei commendat, quid dicemus ? Numquid iniquus est Deus, qui infert iram ? (secundum hominem dico). 6 Absit ; alioquin quomodo judicabit Deus hunc mundum ? 7 Si enim veritas Dei in meo mendacio abundavit in gloriam ipsius, quid adhuc et ego tamquam peccator judicor ? 8 Et non (sicut blasphemamur,

come? whos dampnacioun is iust. What thanne? 9  
 passen we hem? Nay; for we han schewid bi skile  
 that alle, bothe Jewis and Grekis, ben vndur synne; as 10  
 it is writun, For ther is no man iust; ther is no man 11  
 vndurstondynge, nethir sekyng God; alle bowiden' a- 12  
 wey; togidere thei ben maad vnprofitable; ther is noon  
 that doith good thing, there is noon til to oon; the throte 13  
 of hem is an opyn sepulcre; with her tungis thei diden  
 gilefuli; the venym of snakis is vndur her lippis; the 14  
 mouth of whiche is ful of cursyng and bitternesse; the 15  
 feet of hem *ben* swifte to schede blood; sorewe and 16  
 cursidnesse *ben* in the weies of hem; and thei knewen not 17  
 the weie of pees; the drede of God is not bifor her 18  
 19 And we witen that whateuere thingis the lawe spekith,  
 it spekith to hem that ben in the lawe; that ech mouth  
 be stoppid, and ech world be maad suget to God; for 20  
 of the werkis of the lawe ech fleisch schal not be iustified  
 bifor hym; for bi the lawe ther is knowyng of synne.

et sicut aiunt quidam nos dicere), Faciamus mala ut veniant  
 bona? quorum damnatio justa est. 9 Quid ergo? præcellimus  
 eis? Nequaquam; causati enim sumus Judæos et Græcos om-  
 nes sub peccato esse; 10 Sicut scriptum est, Quia non est justus  
 quisquam; 11 Non est intelligens, non est requirens Deum.  
 12 Omnes declinaverunt; simul inutiles facti sunt; non est qui  
 faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum; 13 Sepulchrum patens  
 est guttur eorum; linguis suis dolose agebant; venenum  
 aspidum sub labiis eorum; 14 Quorum os maledictione  
 et amaritudine plenum est; 15 Veloces pedes eorum ad  
 effundendum sanguinem; 16 Contritio et infelicitas in  
 viis eorum; 17 Et viam pacis non cognoverunt; 18 Non  
 est timor Dei ante oculos eorum. 19 Scimus autem  
 quoniam quæcumque lex loquitur, iis qui in lege sunt  
 loquitur; ut omne os obstruatur, et subditus fiat omnis  
 mundus Deo; 20 Quia ex operibus legis non justificabitur  
 omnis caro coram illo; per legem enim cognitio peccati.

21 But now withouten the lawe the riȝtwisnesse of God  
 is schewid, that is witnessid of the lawe and the profetis.  
 22 And the riȝtwisnesse of God is bi the feith of Jhesu Crist  
 into alle men and on alle men that bileuen in hym;  
 23 for ther is no departyng; for alle men synned, and han  
 24 nede to the glorie of God; and ben iustified freli bi his  
 25 grace, bi the aȝenbiyng that is in Crist Jhesu; whom  
 God ordeynede forȝyuer, bi feith in his blood, to the  
 schewyng of his riȝtwisnesse for remyssioun of biforgoyng  
 26 synnes, in the beryng-up of God; to the schewyng of his  
 riȝtwisnesse in this tyme; that he be iust, and iustifynge  
 27 hym that is of the feith of Jhesu Crist. Where thanne  
 is thi gloriyng? It is excludid. Bi what lawe? of  
 28 dedis doyng? Nay, but by the lawe of feith. For we  
 demen a man to be iustified bi the feith, withouten werkis  
 29 of the lawe. Whethir of Jewis is God oneli? whether  
 30 he is not also of hethene men? Ȝhis, and of hethene  
 men. For oon God is, that iustefieth circumcision bi

21 Nunc autem sine lege iustitia Dei manifestata est, testi-  
 ficata a lege et prophetis. 22 Iustitia autem Dei per  
 fidem Jesu Christi in omnes et super omnes qui credunt in  
 eum; non enim est distinctio; 23 Omnes enim pecca-  
 berunt, et egent gloria Dei; 24 Justificati gratis per  
 gratiam ipsius, per redemptionem quæ est in Christo Jesu;  
 25 Quem proposuit Deus propitiationem per fidem in sanguine  
 ipsius, ad ostensionem iustitiæ suæ propter remissionem  
 præcedentium delictorum, 26 In sustentatione Dei;  
 ad ostensionem iustitiæ ejus in hoc tempore; ut sit ipse  
 justus, et justificans eum qui est ex fide Jesu Christi.  
 27 Ubi est ergo gloriatio tua? Exclusa est. Per quam  
 legem? factorum? Non, sed per legem fidei. 28 Arbi-  
 tramur enim justificari hominem per fidem, sine operibus  
 legis. 29 An Judæorum Deus tantum? nonne et gen-  
 tium? Immo et gentium. 30 Quoniam quidem unus  
 est Deus, qui justificat circumcisionem ex fide, et præputium

feith, and prepucie bi feith. Distruye we therfor the<sup>31</sup> lawe bi the feith? God forbede; but we stablischen the lawe.

What thanne schulen we seie that Abraham, oure fadir : 4  
 aftir the flesch, foond? For if Abraham is iustified of  
 werkis of the lawe, he hath glorie, but not anentis God.  
 For what seith the scripture? Abraham bileued to God, 3  
 and it was arettid to him to riȝtwisnesse. And to hym 4  
 that worchith, mede is not arettid bi grace, but bi dette.  
 Sotheli to hym that worchith not, but bileueth into hym 5  
 that iustefieth a wickid man, his feith is arettid to riȝt-  
 wisnesse, aftir the purpos of Goddis grace. As Dauid 6  
 seith the blessidnesse of a man whom God acceptith,  
 he ȝyueth to hym riȝtwisnesse withouten werkis *of the*  
*lawe*, Blessid *ben* thei whos wickidnessis ben forȝouun, 7  
 and whos synnes ben hid; blessid *is* that man to whom 8  
 God arettide not synne. Thanne whether dwellith this 9  
 blisfulnesse oneli in circumcisioun, or also in prepucie?

per fidem. 31 Legem ergo destruimus per fidem? Absit;  
 sed legem statuimus.

1 Quid ergo dicemus inuenisse Abraham, patrem nostrum 4  
 secundum carnem? 2 Si enim Abraham ex operibus  
 justificatus est, habet gloriam, sed non apud Deum. 3 Quid  
 enim dicit scriptura? Credidit Abraham Deo, et reputatum  
 est illi ad iustitiam. 4 Ei autem qui operatur, merces  
 non imputatur secundum gratiam, sed secundum debitum.  
 5 Ei vero qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum qui  
 iustificat impium, reputatur fides ejus ad iustitiam, secundum  
 propositum gratiæ Dei. 6 Sicut et David dicit beati-  
 tudinem hominis cui Deus accepto fert iustitiam sine operi-  
 bus, 7 Beati quorum remissæ sunt iniquitates, et  
 quorum tecta sunt peccata; 8 beatus vir cui non impu-  
 tabit dominus peccatum. 9 Beatitudo ergo hæc in cir-  
 cumcisione tantum manet, an etiam in præputio? dicimus

for we seien that the feith was arettid to Abraham to  
 10 riȝtwisnesse. Hou thanne was it arettid? in circum-  
 11 cisioun, or in prepucie? Not in circumcisioun, but in  
 prepucie. And he took a signe of circumcisioun, a token-  
 yng of riȝtwisnesse of the feith which is in prepucie; that  
 he be fadir of alle men bileuyng bi prepucie, that it be  
 12 arettid also to hem to riȝtwisnesse; and that he be fadir  
 of circumcisioun, not onely to hem that ben of circum-  
 cisioun, but also to hem that suen the steppis of the feith,  
 13 which *feith* is in prepucie of oure fader Abraham. For  
 not bi the lawe is biheest to Abraham, or to his seed,  
 that he schulde be eir of the world, but bi the riȝtwisnesse  
 14 of feith. For if thei that ben of the lawe ben eiris, feith  
 15 is distried, biheest is don away; for the lawe worchith  
 wraththe; for where is no lawe, there is no trespas,  
 16 nethir is trespassyng. Therfor *riȝtfulnesse* is of the feith,  
 that bi grace biheeste be stable to ech seed; not to that  
 seed oneli that is of the lawe, but to that is of the feith  
 17 of Abraham, which is fadir of vs alle (as it is writun,

enim quia reputata est Abrahæ fides ad justitiam. 10 Quo-  
 modo ergo reputata est? in circumcissione, an in præputio?  
 Non in circumcissione, sed in præputio. 11 Et signum  
 accepit circumcissionis, signaculum justitiæ fidei quæ est in  
 præputio; ut sit pater omnium credentium per præputium,  
 ut reputetur et illis ad justitiam; 12 Et sit pater circum-  
 cissionis, non iis tantum qui sunt ex circumcissione, sed et  
 iis qui sectantur vestigia fidei, quæ est in præputio patris  
 nostri Abrahæ. 13 Non enim per legem promissio Abrahæ,  
 aut semini ejus, ut heres esset mundi, sed per justitiam fidei.  
 14 Si enim qui ex lege heredes sunt, exinanita est fides,  
 abolita est promissio; 15 Lex enim iram operatur; ubi  
 enim non est lex, nec prævaricatio. 16 Ideo ex fide,  
 ut secundum gratiam firma sit promissio omni semini; non  
 ei qui ex lege est solum, sed et ei qui ex fide est Abrahæ,  
 qui pater est omnium nostrum 17 (Sicut scriptum est,

For Y haue set thee fadir of many folkis) bifor God, to <sup>17</sup>  
 whom thou hast bileued, which *God* quykeneth deed  
 men, and clepith tho thingis that ben not as tho that ben.  
 Which *Abraham* azens hope bileuede into hope, that he <sup>18</sup>  
 schulde be maad fader of many folkis, as it was seid to  
 hym, This schal thi seed be, as the sterris of heuene,  
 and as the grauel that is in the brenke of the see. And <sup>19</sup>  
 he was not maad vnstidfast in the bileue, nether he  
 biheelde his bodi thanne nyȝ deed, whanne he was almost  
 of an hundrid ȝeer, ne the wombe of Sare nyȝ deed;  
 also in the biheeste of God he doutide not with vntrist, <sup>20</sup>  
 but he was coumfortid in bileue, ȝyuyng glorie to God, <sup>21</sup>  
 wityng moost fulli that whateuere thingis God hath  
 bihiȝt, he is myȝti also to do. Therfor it was arettid to <sup>22</sup>  
 hym to riȝtwisnesse. And it is not writun oneli for him, <sup>23</sup>  
 that it was arettid to hym to riȝtwisnesse, but also for vs, <sup>24</sup>  
 to whiche it schal be arettid, that bileuen in him that reis-  
 ide oure Lord Jhesu Crist fro deeth, which was bitakun <sup>25</sup>  
 for oure synnes, and roos aȝen for oure iustefiȝng.

Quia patrem multarum gentium posui te) ante Deum, cui  
 credidit, qui vivificat mortuos, et vocat ea quæ non sunt  
 tamquam ea quæ sunt. 18 Qui contra spem in spem  
 credidit, ut fieret pater multarum gentium, secundum quod  
 dictum est ei: Sic erit semen tuum. 19 Et non infirmatus  
 est fide, nec consideravit corpus suum emortuum, cum jam  
 fere centum esset annorum, et emortuam vulvam Saræ;  
 20 In repromissione etiam Dei non hæsitavit diffidentia, sed  
 confortatus est fide, dans gloriam Deo, 21 Plenissime  
 sciens quia quæcumque promisit, potens est et facere.  
 22 Ideo et reputatum est illi ad iustitiam. 23 Non est  
 autem scriptum tantem propter ipsum, quia reputatum est  
 illi ad iustitiam; 24 Sed et propter nos, quibus reputa-  
 bitur credentibus in eum, qui suscitavit Jesum, Christum  
 Dominum nostrum a mortuis, 25 Qui traditus est propter  
 delicta nostra, et resurrexit propter justificationem nostram.



5. Therfor we, iustified of feith, haue we pees at God bi  
 2 oure Lord Jhesu Crist; bi whom we han nizgoynge-to  
 bi feith into this grace in which we stonden, and han  
 3 glorie in the hope of the glorie of Goddis children. And  
 4 not this oneli, but also we glorien in tribulaciouns; witynge  
 5 that tribulacioun worchith pacience, and pacience preuyng,  
 and preuyng hope; and hope confoundith not, for the  
 charite of God is spred abroad in oure hertis bi the Hooli  
 6 Goost that is 3ouun to vs. And while that we weren  
 sijk, aftir the tyme, what diede Crist for wicked men?  
 7 For vnnethis dieth ony man for the iust man; and ȝit  
 8 for a good man perauenture sum man dar die. But God  
 comendith his charite in vs; for if, whanne we weren ȝit  
 9 synneris, aftir the tyme Crist was deed for vs, thanne  
 myche more now we, iustified in his blood, schulen be  
 10 saaf fro wraththe bi him. For if whanne we weren  
 enemyes, we ben recounselid to God bi the deth of his  
 Sone, myche more we, recounselid, schulen be saaf in the

5. 1. *Justificati ergo ex fide, pacem habeamus ad Deum per Do-*  
*minum nostrum Jesum Christum;* 2 *Per quem et habe-*  
*mus accessum per fidem in gratiam istam in qua stamus,*  
*et gloriamur in spe gloriæ filiorum Dei.* 3 *Non solum*  
*autem, sed et gloriamur in tribulationibus; scientes quod*  
*tribulatio patientiam operatur,* 4 *Patientia autem*  
*probationem, probatio vero spem;* 5 *Spes autem non*  
*confundit, quia charitas Dei diffusa est in cordibus nostris*  
*per Spiritum sanctum qui datus est nobis.* 6 *Ut quid*  
*enim Christus, cum adhuc infirmi essemus, secundum tempus*  
*pro impiis mortuus est?* 7 *Vix enim pro justo quis*  
*moritur; nam pro bono forsitan quis audeat mori.* Com-  
 mendat autem charitatem suam Deus in nobis; quoniam  
 cum adhuc peccatores essemus, secundum tempus 9 *Chris-*  
*tus pro nobis mortuus est, multo igitur magis nunc, justificati in*  
*sanguine ipsius, salvi erimus ab ira per ipsum.* 10 *Si*  
*enim cum inimici essemus, reconciliati sumus Deo per mortem*  
*Filii ejus, multo magis, reconciliati, salvi erimus in vita ipsius.*

liȝ of hym. And not oneli this, but also we glorien in 11  
 God bi oure Lord Jhesu Crist, bi whom we han resseyued  
 now recounseling. Therfor as bi o man synne entride 12  
 into this world, and bi synne deth, and so deth passide  
 forth into alle men, in which *man* alle men synned—  
 for til to the lawe synne was in the world; but synne was 13  
 not rettid whanne lawe was not. But deth regnyde from 14  
 Adam til to Moises, also into hem that synned not in  
 licnesse of the trespassyng of Adam, the which is lic-  
 nesse of *Crist* to comyng. But not as gilt, so the ȝifte; 15  
 for if thorouȝ the gilt of oon manye ben deed, myche  
 more the grace of God, and the ȝifte in the grace of o man,  
 Jhesu Crist, hath aboundid into many men. And not 16  
 as bi o synne, so bi the ȝifte; for the doom of oon into  
 condemnacioun, but grace of many giltis into iusti-  
 ficacioun. For if in the gilt of oon deth regnede thorouȝ 17  
 oon, myche more men that takyn plente of grace, and of  
 ȝuyng, and of riȝtwisnesse, schulen regne in liȝ bi oon,

11 Non solum autem : sed et gloriamur in Deo per Dominum  
 nostrum Jesum Christum, per quem nunc reconciliationem  
 accepimus. 12 Propterea sicut per unum hominem  
 peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors,  
 et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo omnes  
 peccaverunt— 13 Usque ad legem enim peccatum erat  
 in mundo; peccatum autem non imputabatur cum lex non  
 esset. 14 Sed regnavit mors ab Adam usque ad Moysen,  
 etiam in eos qui non peccaverunt in similitudinem præ-  
 varicationis Adæ, qui est forma futuri. 15 Sed non sicut  
 delictum, ita et donum; si enim unius delicto multi mor-  
 tui sunt, multo magis gratia Dei et donum in gratia unius  
 hominis, Jesu Christi, in plures abundavit. 16 Et non  
 sicut per unum peccatum, ita et donum; nam judicium quidem  
 ex uno in condemnationem, gratia autem ex multis delictis  
 in justificationem. 17 Si enim unius delicto mors regna-  
 vit per unum, multo magis abundantiam gratiæ, et donationis,  
 et justitiæ accipientes in vita regnabunt per unum, Jesum

18 Jhesu Crist. Therfor as bi the gilt of oon into alle men into condemnacioun, so bi the riȝtwisnesse of oon into  
 19 alle men into iustifiyng of lijf. For as bi inobedience of o man manye ben maad synneris, so bi the obedience  
 20 of oon manye schulen be iust. And the lawe entride,  
 21 that gilt schulde be plenteuouse; but where gilt was plenteuouse, grace was more plenteuouse; that, as synne regnede into deth, so grace regne bi riȝtwisnesse into euerlastynghe lijf, bi Crist Jhesu oure Lord.

6. Therfor what schulen we seie? schulen we dwelle in  
 • synne, that grace be plenteuouse? God forbede. For hou schulen we that ben deed to synne, lyue ȝit therynne?

5 19 Seynt Poule wrytē to þe Romaynes, & seiþ, Ryȝt as [by] þe vnboxumnesse of on man many men beþ ymaad synful men, so by þe boxumnesse of on man many men beþ ymaad  
 20 riȝtful men. & þe lawe entred in, þat sinne were in plente; but pere as sunne was in plente, grace was in more plente;  
 21 þat, riȝt as sunne regned into deþ, so grace schulde regne þorowȝ riȝtfulnesse into an euerelastynghe lyf, by Iesu Crist  
 6 1 oure Lord. What þanne schulde we seye? schulle we ȝet  
 • dwelle stille in sunne, þat grace be plenteuous? God forbede. For we þat beþ dede to sunne, how schulde we ȝit dwelle

Christum. 18 Igitur sicut per unius delictum in omnes homines in condemnationem, sic et per unius iustitiam in omnes homines in justificationem vitæ. 19 Sicut enim per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi, ita et per unius obeditionem iusti constituentur multi. 20 Lex autem subintravit, ut abundaret delictum; ubi autem abundavit delictum, superabundavit gratia; 21 Ut, sicut regnavit peccatum in mortem, ita et gratia regnet per iustitiam in vitam æternam, per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

6 1 Quid ergo dicemus? permanebimus in peccato, ut gratia abundet? 2 Absit. Qui enim mortui sumus peccato,

Whether, britheren, 3e knowen not that whiche euere 3  
 we ben baptisid in Crist Jhesu, we ben baptisid in his  
 deth? For we ben togidere biried with hym bi baptyzm 4  
 into deth; that as Crist aroos fro deth bi the glorie of the  
 Fadir, so walke we in a newnesse of lijf. For if we plaunt-  
 id togidere ben maad to the licnesse of his deth, also  
 we schulen be of the licnesse of his risyng azen; witynge 6  
 this thing, that oure olde man is crucified togidere, that  
 the bodi of synne be distrayed, that we serue no more  
 to synne; for he that is deed is iustefied fro synne. 7  
 And if we ben deed with Crist, we bileuen that also we 8

stille in sunne? Bryperen, wheper 3e ne knowe nozt pat 3  
 whuche of ous bep ybaptyzed in Christ, we bep ybaptized in  
 his dep? For we bep yberyed togidere wiþ hym þorow 4  
 baptysme into dep; þat ryzt as Crist aros up from dep to  
 lyf þorow 3e blysse of his Fader, ryzt so walke we in a newe  
 manere of lyfyng. And 3if we bep yplaunted togeder & 5  
 imad to þe lyknesse of his dep, we schuleþ ben also togeder  
 in þe lyknesse of his rysyng azeyn from dep to lyf: knowyng 6  
 þis þing, þat oure olde man is crucyfied, þat þe body of sunne  
 be destroyed, þat heraftur we ne serue nozt to sunne; for  
 he þat dyed is yiustified from sunne. & 3if we bep dede 7,8  
 wiþ Crist, we byleueþ þat we schulleþ lyuen also wiþ hym;

quomodo adhuc vivemus in illo? 3 An ignoratis quia  
 quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo Jesu, in morte ipsius  
 baptizati sumus? 4 Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per  
 baptismum in mortem; ut quomodo Christus surrexit a mor-  
 tuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitæ ambulemus.  
 5 Si enim complantati facti sumus similitudini mortis ejus,  
 simul et resurrectionis erimus; 6 Hoc scientes, quia vetus  
 homo noster simul crucifixus est, ut destruat corpus peccati,  
 et ultra non serviamus peccato; 7 Qui enim mortuus est  
 justificatus est a peccato. 8 Si autem mortui sumus cum  
 Christo, credimus quia simul etiam vivemus cum Christo;

9 schulen lyue togidere with hym ; witinge for Crist, rysynge  
 10 azen fro deth, now dieth not ; deeth schal no more haue  
 lordschip on hym. For that he was deed to synne, he  
 11 was deed onys ; but that he lyueth, he liueth to God. So  
 3e deme 3ousilf to be deed to synne, but lyuynge to God  
 12 in Jhesu Crist oure Lord. Therfor regne not synne in  
 3oure deedli bodi, that 3e obeische to hise coueityngis ;  
 13 nether 3yue 3e 3oure membris armuris of wickidnesse  
 to synne ; but 3yue 3e 3ousilf to God as thei that lyuen of  
 deed men, and 3oure membris armuris of ristwysnesse  
 14 to God. For synne schal not haue lordshipe on 3ou ;  
 15 for 3e ben not vndur the lawe, but vndur grace. What

9 knowynge pat Crist, pat aros up from dep to lyf, ne dyep nozt  
 nowpe ; ne dep schal neuere hereafter haue lordschupe upon  
 10 hym. For pat he dyed ones, he dyed to sunne : but pat he  
 11 lyueþ, he lyueþ to God. & so trowe 3e pat 3e 3owself been  
 dede to sunne, & lyuynge to God in oure Lord Iesu Crist.  
 12 & perfore ne regne pere no sunne in 3oure dedlyche body,  
 13 pat 3e ben boxum to his coueitynges ; & ne 3eue 3e nozt  
 3oure membris to ben armer of wikkednesse to sunne ; but  
 3efep 3owselfen to God as lyuynge men of dede men, & 3oure  
 14 membrys armer of ristfulnesse to God. For sunne ne schal  
 nozt haue lordschupe in 3ow hereaftur ; for 3e bep nozt vnder  
 15 lawe, but vnder grace. What panne ? schulle we don

9 *Scientes quod Christus resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur ;*  
*mors illi ultra non dominabitur.* 10 *Quod enim mortuus*  
*est peccato, mortuus est semel ; quod autem vivit, vivit Deo,*  
 11 *Ita et vos existimate vos mortuos quidem esse peccato,*  
*viventes autem Deo in Christo Jesu Domino nostro.* 12 *Non*  
*ergo regnet peccatum in vestro mortali corpore, ut obediatis*  
*concupiscentiis ejus ;* 13 *Sed neque exhibeatis membra*  
*vestra arma iniquitatis peccato ; sed exhibete vos Deo tan-*  
*quam ex mortuis viventes, et membra vestra arma justitiæ*  
*Deo.* 14 *Peccatum enim vobis non dominabitur ; non*  
*enim sub lege estis, sed sub gratia.* 15 *Quid ergo ?*

therfor ? schulen we do synne, for we ben not vndur the lawe, but vndur grace ? God forbede. Witen ȝe not <sup>16</sup> that to whom ȝe ȝyuen ȝou seruauntis to obeie to, ȝe ben seruauntis of that thing to which ȝe han obeschild, ether of synne to deth, ether of obedience to riȝtwisnesse ? But Y thanke God that ȝe weren seruauntis of synne, <sup>17</sup> but ȝe han obeischid of herte into that fourme of techyng in which ȝe ben bitakun ; and ȝe, delyuered fro synne, <sup>18</sup> ben maad seruauntis of riȝtwisnesse. Y seie that thing <sup>19</sup> that is of man, for the vnstidefastnesse of ȝoure fleisch ; but as ȝe han ȝouun ȝoure membris to serue to vncle- nesse and to wickidnesse into wickidnesse, so now ȝyue ȝe ȝoure membris to serue to riȝtwisnesse into hooly- nesse.

sunne, for we beȝ noȝt vnder lawe, but vnder grace ? God forbede. Wheȝer ȝe ne knoweȝ noȝt þat to hym þat ȝe ȝefeȝ <sup>16</sup> ȝowselfen to ben seruauntes, to ben buxum to hym, his seruauntes ȝe beȝ to whom ȝe beȝ boxum, wheȝer it be of sunne to deȝ, oȝer of boxumnesse to riȝtfulnesse ? & I þonke <sup>17</sup> God þat ȝe habbeȝ yben seruauntes of sunne, but nowȝe ȝe han obeysched of herte into þat forme of techyng þat ȝe beȝ now ytake to ; & ȝe beȝ ymaad fre of sunne, & seruauntis <sup>18</sup> of riȝtfulnesse. Y seye þing þat parteyneȝ to man, for <sup>19</sup> þe infirmite of ȝoure flesche ; for riȝt as ȝe han yȝefen ȝoure membres for to serfen to vncleynasse & to wickednesse into sunne, so ȝeueȝ ȝe nowȝe ȝowre membres for to seruen

peccabimus, quoniam non sumus sub lege, sed sub gratia ? Absit. <sup>16</sup> Nescitis quoniam cui exhibetis vos servos ad obediendum, servi estis ejus cui obeditis, sive peccati ad mortem, sive obeditionis ad justitiam ? <sup>17</sup> Gratias autem Deo quod fuistis servi peccati, obedistis autem ex corde in eam formam doctrinæ in quam traditi estis ; <sup>18</sup> Liberati autem a peccato, servi facti estis justitiæ. <sup>19</sup> Humanum dico, propter infirmitatem carnis vestræ ; sicut enim exhibuistis membra vestra servire immunditiæ et iniquitati ad iniquitatem, ita nunc exhibete membra vestra servire justitiæ

20 For whanne ȝe weren seruauntis of synne, ȝe weren fre  
 21 of riȝtfulnesse. Therfor what fruyt hadden ȝe thanne  
 22 in tho thingis in whiche ȝe schamen now? for the ende  
 of hem is deth. But now ȝe, delyuered fro synne, and  
 maad seruauntis to God, han ȝour fruyt into holinesse,  
 23 and the ende euerlastinge lijf. For the wagis of synne is  
 deth; the grace of God is euerlastynge lijf in Crist Jhesu  
 our Lord.

7 1 Britheren, whethir ȝe knowun not (for Y speke to men  
 that knowen the lawe) for the lawe hath lordschip in a  
 2 man as long tyme as it lyueth? For that womman that  
 is vndur an hosebonde, is boundun to the lawe while the

20 to riȝtfulnesse into holynes. For whanne ȝe weren seruauntis  
 21 of sunne, ȝe weren fre of riȝtfulnesse. What fruyt had ȝe  
 22 þanne in þilke þinges, in þe whuche þinges ȝe bep aschamed  
 nowþe? for þe ende of hem is deþ. But nowþe ȝe bep  
 ymaad fre of sunne, and seruauntes to God, & ȝe han ȝoure  
 23 fruyt holynesse, & þe ende þerof an euerlastynge lyf. For þe  
 mede of sunne is deþ; but þe grace of God is an euerlastynge  
 lyf in Iesu Crist oure Lord.

7 1 Wheþer ȝe ne knoweþ noȝt, breperen (for to þilke þat  
 knoweþ þe lawe Y speke), for as longe as a man lyfeþ þe  
 2 lawe haþ lordschupe on hym? For a womman þat is vnder  
 here housbonde, whyles þat hure housbonde lyfeþ heo is

in sanctificationem. 20 Cum enim servi essetis peccati,  
 liberi fuistis iustitiæ. 21 Quem ergo fructum habuistis

tunc in illis in quibus nunc erubescitis? nam finis illorum  
 mors est. 22 Nunc vero liberati a peccato, servi autem

facti Deo, habetis fructum vestrum in sanctificationem,  
 finem vero vitam æternam. 23 Stipendia enim peccati

mors; gratia autem Dei vita æterna in Christo Jesu Domino  
 nostro.

7 1 An ignoratis, fratres (scientibus enim legem loquor), quia lex  
 in homine dominatur quanto tempore vivit? 2 Nam  
 quæ sub viro est mulier, vivente viro alligata est legi; si

hosebonde lyueth ; but if hir hosebonde is deed, sche is  
 delyuered fro the lawe of the hosebonde. Therfor sche  
 schal be clepid auoutresse if sche be with another man  
 while the hosebonde lyueth ; but if hir hosebonde is deed,  
 sche is delyuered fro the lawe of the hosebonde, that  
 sche be not auoutresse if sche be with another man.  
 And so, my britheren, ȝe ben maad deed to the lawe bi  
 the bodi of Crist ; that ȝe ben of another, that roos aȝen  
 fro deth, that ȝe bere fruyt to God. For whanne we  
 weren in fleisch, passiouns of synnes, that weren bi the  
 lawe, wrouȝten in oure membris, to bere fruyt to deth.  
 But now we ben vnboundun fro the lawe of deth in which

ybounde to þe lawe ; but ȝif hure housbonde be deed, he  
 is delyuered from þe lawe of hure housbonde. Þanne, whyles  
 hure housbonde lyfep he schal be cleped a spousebrekere  
 ȝif he be wiþ anoper man ; bote ȝif hure housbonde be ded,  
 heo is delyfered from þe lawe of hure housbonde, þat heo ne  
 be noȝt ycleped a spousebrekere þauȝ heo be wiþ anoper  
 man. & so, breþeren, ȝe beþ ymaad ded to þe lawe by  
 þe body of Crist ; þat ȝe ben of anoper, þat ros up from deþ  
 to lyfe, þat ȝe schulden make fruyt to God. For whan  
 we weren in þe flesch, þe passyones of sunnes, þat weren  
 þoroȝ þe lawe, wroȝten in oure membres, þat we schulden  
 make oure fruyt to [deþ]. Bote we beþ now vnbounden  
 from þe lawe of deþ in whom we weren yholden, so þat

autem mortuus fuerit vir ejus, soluta est a lege viri. 3 Igi-  
 tur vivente viro vocabitur adultera si fuerit cum alio viro ;  
 si autem mortuus fuerit vir ejus, liberata est a lege viri ;  
 ut non sit adultera si fuerit cum alio viro. 4 Itaque,  
 fratres mei, et vos mortificati estis legi per corpus Christi ;  
 ut sitis alterius, qui ex mortuis resurrexit, ut fructificemus  
 Deo. 5 Cum enim essemus in carne, passiones peccatorum,  
 quæ per legem erant, operabantur in membris nostris, ut fruc-  
 tificarent morti. 6 Nunc autem soluti sumus a lege mortis  
 in qua detinebamur, ita ut serviamus in novitate spiritus,



we weren holdun, so that we seruen in newnesse of spirit,  
 7 and not in eldnesse of lettre. What therfor schulen  
 we seie? The lawe is synne? God forbede. But Y  
 knew not synne, but bi lawe; for Y wiste not that coueit-  
 8 ynge was synne, but for the lawe seide, Thou schalt not  
 coueyte; and thoruz occasioun takun, synne bi the  
 maundement hath wrougt in me al coueytise; for withouten  
 9 the lawe synne was deed. And Y lyuede withouten the  
 lawe sumtyme; but whanne the comaundement was  
 10 comun, synne lyuede aȝen, but Y was deed; and this  
 comaundement, that was to lijf, was foundun to me  
 11 to be to deth; for synne, thoruz occasioun takun  
 bi the comaundement, disceyuede me, and bi that it

we serfen in þe neweschupe of þe spyryt, & noȝt in þe olde-  
 7 nesse of þe letter. What schulle we seye þanne? Þe lawe  
 is sunne? God forbede. But Y knewe no sunne, bote  
 þorow þe lawe: for Y knew noȝt coueytise, bote for as muche  
 8 as þe lawe sayde, Þou ne schalt not coueyte: & so in takynge  
 an occasyon by þe comaundement of þe lawe, sunne haȝ  
 ywroȝt in me eferiche couetyse; for wiȝouten lawe sunne  
 9 was ded. & Ych lefed sumtyme wiȝouten lawe; bote  
 whanne þat þe comaundement of þe lawe was ycome, sunne  
 10 lyfed aȝeyn, bote Ich was ded; & so þe comaundement, þat  
 11 was yfoundede to lyf, it was to þe dep; for, in takynge an  
 occasyon, sunne þorow þe comaundement bygyled me, &

et non in vetustate litteræ. 7 Quid ergo dicemus? Lex  
 peccatum est? Absit. Sed peccatum non cognovi, nisi per  
 legem; nam concupiscentiam nesciebam, nisi lex diceret,  
 Non concupisces; 8 Occasione autem accepta, peccatum  
 per mandatum operatum est in me omnem concupiscentiam;  
 sine lege enim peccatum mortuum erat. 9 Ego autem  
 vivebam sine lege aliquando; sed cum venisset mandatum,  
 peccatum revixit, 10 Ego autem mortuus sum; et in-  
 ventum est mihi mandatum, quod erat ad vitam, hoc esse ad  
 mortem; 11 Nam peccatum, occasione accepta per man-

slow *me*. Therfor the lawe is hooli, and the comaunde-  
ment is hooli, and iust, and good. Is thanne that thing  
that is good maad deth to me? God forbede. But  
synne, that it seme synne, thorouȝ good thing wrouȝte  
deth to me; that me synne ouer maner thorouȝ the comaun-  
dement. And we witen that the lawe is spiritual; but  
Y am fleischli, seld vndur synne. For Y vnderstonde not  
that that Y worche; for Y do not the good thing that Y  
wole; but Y do thilke yuel thing that Y hate. And if Y  
do that thing that Y wole not, Y consente to the lawe  
that it is good. But now Y worche not it now, but the

poroȝ it slouȝ me. & so ȝit þe lawe is holy, & þe comaunde-  
ment holy, & riȝtful, & good. What þanne, þat þing þat was  
good to me, it was ymaad dep? God forbede. But sunne,  
þat it seme s[un]ne, þor[ow]ȝ þat þing þat was good wroȝte  
dep to me: þat [sunne] be [y]made [sunge] abo[u]e maner  
poroȝ þe comaundement. & we knoweþ þat þe lawe is  
spyrutual; & Ich fleschlyche, [&] sold vndur sunne. For þat  
þing þat Ich worche, Y ne vnderstonde noȝt; for þat þing þat  
is good & þat Ich haue wille to, þat Y ne do noȝt; bote þat  
þing þat is yfel & þat Ich haue yhated, þat Ich do. And ȝif  
Ich do þat þing þat Y wole noȝt do, Ich assente to þe lawe þat  
he[o] is good. Bote now Y ne worche it noȝt, bote þe sunne

datum, seduxit me, et per illud occidit. 12 Itaque lex  
quidem sancta, et mandatum sanctum, et justum, et bonum.  
13 Quod ergo bonum est, mihi factum est mors? Absit.  
Sed peccatum, ut appareat peccatum, per bonum operatum  
est mihi mortem; ut fiat supra modum peccans peccatum  
per mandatum. 14 Scimus enim quia lex spiritualis est;  
ego autem carnalis sum, venundatus sub peccato. 15 Quod  
enim operor nom intelligo; non enim quod volo bonum, hoc  
ago; sed quod odi malum, illud facio. 16 Si autem quod  
nolo, illud facio, consentio legi quoniam bona est. 17 Nunc  
autem jam non ego operor illud, sed quod habitat in me

18 synne that dwellith in me. But and Y woot, that in  
 me, that is, in my fleisch, dwellith no good; for wille  
 lieth to me, but Y fynde not to performe good thing.  
 19 For Y do not thilke good thing that Y wole, but Y do  
 20 thilke yuel thing that Y wole not. And if Y do that  
 yuel thing that Y wole not, Y worche not it, but the synne  
 21 that dwellith in me. Therfor Y fynde the lawe to me  
 willynge to do good thing, for yuel thing lieth to me.  
 22 For Y delite togidere to the lawe of God aftir the ynnere  
 23 man; but Y se another lawe in my membris, azenfistynge  
 the lawe of my soule, and makynge me caitif in the lawe  
 24 of synne that is in my membris. Y am an vnceli man;

18 þat dwelleþ in me. For I wot wel þat it dwelleþ noȝt in me,  
 þat is to seye, in my flesche, þat þing þat is good; & so wille  
 falleþ to me, bote Y ne fynde noȝt to parforme þat þyng þat  
 19 is good. For þat good þat Ich wolde, Y ne do noȝt; bote  
 20 þat efel þat Y nolde noȝt, þat Y do. & ȝif Y do þat þing  
 þat Y nole noȝt, Y ne worche noȝt þat, bote þe sunne þat  
 21 dwelleþ in me. & þefore Y fynde a lawe to me þat wol do  
 22 good, for efyl falleþ to me. & Ich haue delyt to þe lawe of  
 23 good aftur myn inward man; bote Y seo anoper lawe in my  
 membres þat aȝeynstondeþ þe lawe of my þoȝt, & makeþ me  
 24 ytake in þe lawe of sunne þat is in my membres. & who  
 schal delyuere me, þat am an uncely man, from þe body of þis

peccatum. 18 Scio enim quia non habitat in me, hoc est,  
 in carne mea, bonum; nam velle adjacet mihi, perficere  
 autem bonum non invenio. 19 Non enim quod volo  
 bonum, hoc facio; sed quod nolo malum, hoc ago. 20 Si  
 autem quod nolo, illud facio, jam non ego operor illud, sed  
 quod habitat in me peccatum. 21 Invenio igitur legem  
 volenti mihi facere bonum, quoniam mihi malum adjacet.  
 22 Condelector enim legi Dei secundum interiorem hominem;  
 23 Video autem aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem  
 legi mentis meæ, et captivantem me in lege peccati quæ est  
 in membris meis. 24 Infelix ego homo, quis me liberabit

who schal delyuer me fro the bodi of this synne? The<sup>ss</sup>  
 grace of God bi Jhesu Crist oure Lord. Therfor Y my-  
 self bi the soule serue to the lawe of God, but bi fleisch  
 to the lawe of synne.

Therfor now no thing of dampnacioun is to them that : 8  
 ben in Crist Jhesu, whiche wandren not after the flesch.  
 For the lawe of the spirit of lijf in Crist Jhesu hath de- :  
 lyuerid me fro the lawe of synne and of deth. For that : 3  
 that was vnpossible to the lawe, in what thing it was  
 sijk bi flesch, God sente his Sone into the licknesse of  
 fleisch of synne, and of synne, dampnede synne in fleisch ;  
 that the iustefiing of the lawe were fulfillid in vs, that 4

dep? Þe grace of God þoroꝝ oure Lord Iesu Crist. & þerfore : 3  
 Ich myselte serfe in my þouȝt to þe lawe of God, & in my  
 flesche to þe lawe of sunne.

And þerfore þer ne is no þing of dampnacyon to þese þat : 8  
 bep in Iesu Crist, þat walkeþ noȝt after þe flesche. For þe :  
 lawe of þe spiryte of lyf in Crist haþ delyfered me from þe :  
 lawe of sunne & of dep. For þat þat was inpossyble to þe : 3  
 lawe, in þe whuche þing man was ymaad sek þoroꝝ þe flesche,  
 God sende his Sone in þe lykenesse of þe flesche of sunne, &  
 of sunne, he dampned sunne in flesch ; þat þe iustifyenge of 4  
 þe lawe were fulfilled in ous, þat walkeþ noȝt aftur þe flesch,

de corpore mortis hujus? 25 Gratia Dei per Jesum Chris-  
 tum Dominum nostrum. Igitur ego ipse mente servio legi  
 Dei, carne autem legi peccati.

1 Nihil ergo nunc damnationis est iis qui sunt in Christo Jesu, 8  
 qui non secundum carnem ambulant. 2 Lex enim spiritus  
 vitæ in Christo Jesu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis.  
 3 Nam quod impossibile erat legi, in quo infirmabatur per car-  
 nem, Deus Filium suum mittens in similitudinem carnis pec-  
 cati, et de peccato, damnavit peccatum in carne ; 4 Ut justi-  
 ficatio legis impleretur in nobis, qui non secundum carnem

5 goen not aftir the fleisch, but aftir the spirit. For thei  
 that ben aftir the fleisch saueren tho thingis that ben of  
 the fleisch ; but thei that ben after the spirit feelen tho  
 thingis that ben of the spirit. For the prudence of  
 6,7 fleisch is deth, but the prudence of spirit is lijf and pees :  
 for the wisdom of the fleisch is enemye to God, for it  
 8 is not suget to the lawe of God, for nether it may ; and  
 9 thei that ben in fleisch moun not plesse to God. But  
 3e ben not in fleisch, but in spirit, if netheles the Spirit  
 of God dwellith in 3ou. But if ony hath not the Spirit  
 10 of Crist, this is not his. For if Crist is in 3ou, the bodi  
 is deed for synne, but the spirit lyueth for iustefiying.  
 11 And if the Spirit of hym that reiseide Jhesu Crist fro deth  
 dwellith in 3ou, he that reiseide Jhesu Crist fro deth shal

5 bote aftur þe spiryt. For þilke þat bep aftur þe flesch  
 safereþ þilke þinges þat bep of þe flesch ; but þilke þat bep  
 6 aftur þe spiryt feleþ þilke þinges þat bep of þe spiryt. For þe  
 wisdom of þe flesch is deþ, bote þe wysdom of þe spiryt is lyf  
 7 & pes : for þe wysdom of þe flesch is enemye to God, for  
 þe lawe of God heo ne is noȝt soget, ne may not ben soget ;  
 8,9 & þilke þat bep in þe flesch ne mowe not plesse God. & 3e ne  
 bep noȝt in þe flesch, bote in þe spiryt, ȝif þat þe Spiryt of God  
 dwelleþ in 3ow. & who þat haþ noȝt þe Spiryt of Crist, he  
 10 ne is noȝt of hym. & ȝif þat Crist is in 3ow, þanne is þe body

ambulamus, sed secundum spiritum. 5 Qui enim secundum  
 carnem sunt quæ carnis sunt sapiunt ; qui vero secundum  
 spiritum sunt quæ sunt spiritus sentiunt. 6 Nam  
 prudentia carnis mors est, prudentia autem spiritus vita et  
 pax : 7 Quoniam sapientia carnis inimica est Deo, legi  
 enim Dei non est subjecta, nec enim potest ; 8 Qui autem  
 in carne sunt Deo placere non possunt. 9 Vos autem in  
 carne non estis, sed in spiritu, si tamen Spiritus Dei habitat  
 in vobis. Si quis autem Spiritum Christi non habet, hic non  
 est ejus. 10 Si autem Christus in vobis est, corpus quidem  
 mortuum est propter peccatum, spiritus vero vivit propter

quykene also ȝoure deedli bodies, for the Spirit of hym 11  
 that dwellith in ȝou. Therfor, britheren, we ben dettouris, 12  
 not to the flesch, that we lyuen aftir the flesch. For if ȝe 13  
 lyuen aftir the fleisch, ȝe schulen die; but if ȝe bi the Spirit  
 sleen the dedis of the fleisch, ȝe schulen lyue. For who- 14  
 euere ben led bi the Spirit of God, these ben the sones of  
 God. For ȝe han not take eftsoone the spirit of seruage 15  
 in drede, but ȝe han taken the spirit of adopcioun of  
 sones, in which we crien, Abba (Fadir). And the ilke Spirit 16  
 ȝeldith witnessyng to oure spirit that we ben the sones  
 of God; if sones, and eiris; and eiris of God, and eiris 17

deed for sunne; but þe spiryt lyueþ for iustificacyoun. And 11  
 ȝif þe Spiryte of hym þat arered up Iesu Crist from deþ to  
 lyfe dwelle in ȝow, he þat arered up Iesu Crist from deþ to  
 lyfe schal quykene ȝoure dedlyche bodyes, for his Spiryte þat  
 dwelleþ in ȝow. & þerfore, breperen, we beþ dettours, noȝt 12  
 to þe flesch, þat we lyfen aftur þe flesch; for ȝif ȝe lyfeþ 13  
 aftur þe flesch ȝe schuleþ deyȝen; bote ȝef ȝe sleþ þe werkes  
 of þe flesch þorowþ þe Spiryte, ȝe schuleþ lyfen. For who- 14  
 euere beþ ymaad þorowþ þe Spiryte of God, þei beþ Godes  
 chyl dren. For ȝe ne hafeþ noȝt vnderfongen þe spiryt of 15  
 þraddom eftsones in drede; bote ȝe haueþ vnderfongen þe  
 spirit of þe bygetyng of children, in þe whuche spirit we  
 crieþ to God oure Fadir. For þat Spirit ȝefep witesse to 16

justificationem. 11 Quod si Spiritus ejus qui suscitavit  
 Jesum a mortuis habitat in vobis, qui suscitavit Jesum  
 Christum a mortuis vivificabit et mortalia corpora vestra,  
 propter inhabitantem Spiritum ejus in vobis. 12 Ergo,  
 fratres, debitores sumus non carni, ut secundum carnem  
 vivamus; 13 Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, morie-  
 mini; si autem Spiritu facta carnis mortificaveritis, vivetis.  
 14 Quicumque enim Spiritu Dei aguntur, ii sunt filii Dei.  
 15 Non enim accepistis spiritum servitutis iterum in timore,  
 sed accepistis spiritum adoptionis filiorum, in quo clamamus,  
 Abba (Pater). 16 Ipse enim Spiritus testimonium reddit

17 togidere with Crist; if netheles we suffren togidere,  
 18 that also we ben glorified togidere. And Y deme that  
 the passiouns of this tyme ben not worthi to the glorie  
 19 to comynge that schal be schewid in vs. For the abidyng  
 of creature abidith the schewyng of the sones of God.  
 20 But the creature is suget to vanyte, not willynge, but for  
 21 hym that made it suget in hope; for the ilke creature  
 schal be delyuered fro seruage of corrupcioun into liberte  
 22 of the glorie of the sones of God. And we witen that  
 ech creature sorewith and trauelith with payne til ȝit.  
 23 And not oneli it, but also we vssilf, that han the first-  
 17 oure spirit pat we bep Godes children; and ȝef we bep  
 children & eyres, we bep eyres of God, & eyres wiþ Crist; ȝif  
 it is so pat we suffreb togedere, pat we ben ygloryfyed to-  
 18 gydere. & I trowe pat þe suffrynges of þis tyme ne bep  
 noȝt worþi to þe blisse pat schal be schewed in ous heraftur.  
 19 For þe abydyng of creature abydeþ þe schewenge of Goddis  
 20 children. For eferich creature is soget to vanyte, noȝt wil-  
 fullyche, bote for hym pat haþ ymaad hure soget in hope;  
 21 For pat creature schal be delifered from þe þraldom of cor-  
 ruptyoun into þe fredom of þe blisse of Godes chyl dren.  
 22 & we knoweþ pat eferech creature makeþ waymentacyoun ȝit  
 23 nowþe. Noȝt onlyche heo, bote we also, þat habbeþ þe furste-

spiritui nostro quod sumus filii Dei; 17 Si autem filii, et  
 heredes; heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi; si  
 tamen compatimur, ut et conglorificemur. 18 Existimo  
 enim quod non sunt condignæ passionēs huius temporis ad  
 futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis. 19 Nam  
 expectatio creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.  
 20 Vanitati enim creatura subjecta est, non volens, sed propter  
 eum qui subiecit eam in spe; 21 Quia et ipsa creatura  
 liberabitur a servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ  
 filiorum Dei. 22 Scimus enim quod omnis creatura  
 ingemiscit et parturit usque adhuc. 23 Non solum autem  
 illa, sed et nos ipsi, primitias Spiritus habentes, et ipsi intra  
 nos gemimus, adoptionem filiorum Dei expectantes, redemp-

fruytis of the Spirit, and we vssilf sorewen withynne vs for the adopcioun of Goddis sonys, abidyng the azenbiyng of oure bodi. But bi hope we ben maad saaf; for hope <sup>24</sup> that is seyn is not hope; for who hopith that thing that he seeth? And if we hopen that thing that we seen not, <sup>25</sup> we abiden bi pacience. And also the Spirit helpith oure <sup>26</sup> infirmyte; for what we schulen preie as it bihoueth we witen not. but the ilke Spirit axith for vs with sorew- yngis that moun not be teld out; for he that sekith <sup>27</sup> the hertis woot what the Spirit desirith, for bi God he axith for hooli men. And we witen that to men that <sup>28</sup> louen God alle thingis worchen togidere into good, to

fruytes of þe Spirit, we makeþ waymentacioun wiþynne ousself, abydyng þe bygetyng of Godes children, & þe forbuggyng of oure body. & þorow hope we bep ysafed; <sup>24</sup> for hope þat is yseye ne is non hope; for þat þing þat a man seþ, he ne hopeþ noȝt. & ȝif we hope þing þat we <sup>25</sup> se noȝt, þoroȝ pacyence we abydeþ þat þyng. & þe Spirit <sup>26</sup> also helpeþ oure infirmyte: for we ne koneþ noȝt preyen as it byhofeþ, but þe Spiryte preyeþ for ous þoroȝ sykynges þat mowe noȝt ben ytold; and he þat sercheþ hertes knoweþ <sup>27</sup> what þe Spirit desyreþ, þat þoroȝ God preyeþ for seyntes. & <sup>28</sup> we knoweþ þat to þilke þat lofeþ God alle þinges worcheþ togedere into good, to þese men þat bep aftur hure purpos

tionem corporis nostri. <sup>24</sup> Spe enim salvi facti sumus; spes autem quæ videtur, non est spes; nam quod videt quis, quid sperat? <sup>25</sup> Si autem quod non videmus speramus, per patientiam expectamus. <sup>26</sup> Similiter autem et Spiritus adiuuat infirmatē nostram, nam quid oremus sicut oportet nescimus, sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus; <sup>27</sup> Qui autem scrutatur corda scit quid desideret Spiritus, quia secundum Deum postulat pro sanctis. <sup>28</sup> Scimus autem quoniam diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum, iis qui secundum propositum



29 hem that aftir purpos ben clepid seyntis. For thilke  
 that he knewe bifor, he bifor ordenede bi grace to be  
 maad lijk to the ymage of his Sone, that he be the first  
 30 bigetun among many britheren; and thilke that he  
 bifore ordeynede to blis, hem he clepide; and whiche he  
 clepide, hem he iustifiede; and whiche he iustifiede,  
 31 and hem he glorifiede. What thanne schulen we seie  
 32 to these thingis? If God for vs, who is agens vs? The  
 which also sparide not his owne Sone, but for vs alle  
 bitook hym, hou also gaf he not to vs alle thingis with  
 33 hym? Who schal accuse agens the chosun men of God?  
 It is God that iustifieth. Who is it that condempneth?  
 34 It is Jhesus Crist that was deed, 3he, the which roos

29 ycleped holy men. For pilke he knew byfore & ordeyned  
 byfore to ben yconfermed to þe ymage of his Sone, þat he be  
 30 þe furste-bygete sone in many breperen; & pilke þat he  
 ordeyned byfore, pilke he hap ycleped; & pilke þat he hap  
 ycleped, pilke he hap yiustifyed; & pilke þat he hap yiusti-  
 31 fyed, pilke he hap ymaginyfyed. What schulde we seye  
 32 þanne? 3if God is wiþ ous, who is ageyns ous? & he ne  
 spared noȝt his owne Sone, bote 3ef hym for alle ous, & how  
 33 ne he hap noȝt yzeuen ous alle þinges wiþ hym? & who  
 schal accusen ageyn hem þat bep ychosen of God? God þat  
 34 iustifyep. Who is he þat schal demen? Iesu Crist þat dyed,

vocati sunt sancti. 29 Nam quos præscivit, et prædestinavit  
 conformes fieri imaginis Filii sui, ut sit ipse primogenitus  
 in multis fratribus; 30 Quos autem prædestinavit, hos et  
 vocavit; et quos vocavit, hos et justificavit; quos autem  
 justificavit, illos et glorificavit. 31 Quid ergo dicemus  
 ad hæc? Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? 32 Qui etiam  
 proprio Filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradi-  
 dit illum, quomodo non etiam cum illo omnia nobis donabit?  
 33 Quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat.  
 34 Quis est qui condemnet? Christus Jesus, qui mortuus  
 est, immo qui et resurrexit, qui est ad dexteram Dei, qui etiam

azen, the which is on the riȝt half of God, and the which  
 preieth for vs. Who thanne schal departe vs fro the 35  
 charite of Crist ? tribulacioun, or anguysch, or hungur,  
 or nakidnesse, or persecucioun, or perel, or swerd ?  
 (As it is writun, For we ben slayn al dai for thee ; we ben 36  
 gessid as scheep of slauȝtir.) But in alle these thingis 37  
 we ouercomen, for hym that louyde vs. But Y am certeyn 38  
 that nethir deeth, nethir lijf, nethir aungels, nethir prin-  
 cipatus, nethir vertues, nethir present thingis, nethir  
 thingis to comynge, nethir strengthe, nethir heizth, 39  
 nethir depnesse, nethir noon othir creature, may departe  
 vs fro the charite of God, that is in Crist Jhesu oure Lord.

& ros also from deþ to lyfe, & is on þe riȝt syde of God, &  
 preyȝeþ also for ous. Who schal þanne departen ous from þe 35  
 charite of Crist ? tribulacyoun, oþer angwysch, oþer hunger,  
 oþer persecucyoun, oþer nakedschep, oþer pereyle, oþer swerd ?  
 (As it is wryten, For þe we beþ yslawe al day ; & me wenep 36  
 þat we ben scheep of sleynge.) But in alle þese þinges we 37  
 ofercomeþ, for hym þat lofed ous. & Ich am certeyn, þat 38  
 nowþer deþ, ne lyf, ne angeles, ne princypaltees, ne vertues,  
 ne þinges þat beþ nowþe, ne þinges þat schulleþ ben her-  
 aftur, ne strengþe, ne hyȝenesse, ne depnesse, ne non oþer 39  
 creature, may departen ous from þe charite of God, þat is in  
 oure Lord Iesu Crist.

interpellat pro nobis. 35 Quis ergo nos separabit a charitate  
 Christi ? tribulatio ? an angustia ? an fames ? an nuditas ? an  
 periculum ? an persecutio ? an gladius ? 36 (Sicut scriptum  
 est: Quia propter te mortificamur tota die ; æstimati sumus  
 sicut oves occisionis.) 37 Sed in his omnibus superamus,  
 propter eum qui dilexit nos. 38 Certus sum enim quia  
 neque mors, neque vita, neque angeli, neque principatus,  
 neque virtutes, neque instantia, neque futura, neque forti-  
 tudo, 39 Neque altitudo, neque profundum, neque creatura  
 alia, poterit nos separare a charitate Dei, quæ est in Christo  
 Jesu Domino nostro.

9 I seie treuthe in Crist Jhesu, Y lye not, for my con-  
 science berith witnessyng to me in the Hooli Goost,  
 for greet heuynesse is to me, and contynuel sorewe to  
 3 my herte. For Y mysilf desiride to be departid fro  
 Crist for my britheren, that ben my cosyns aftir the  
 4 fleisch; that ben men of Israel; whos is adopcioun of  
 sones, and glorie, and testament, and ȝuyng of the lawe,  
 5 and seruyce, and biheestis; whos ben the fadris, and of  
 which is Crist after the fleisch, that is God aboue alle  
 6 thingis, blessid into worldis. Amen. But not that the  
 word of God hath falle down. For not alle that ben of  
 7 Israel, these ben Israelitis; nethir thei that ben seed of  
 Abraham, alle ben sonys; but in Ysaac the seed schal  
 8 be clepid to thee. That is to seie, not thei that ben sones  
 of the fleisch *ben* sones of God, but thei that ben sones  
 9 of biheeste ben demed in the seed. Forwhi this is the  
 word of biheest, Aftir this tyme Y schal come, and a  
 10 sone schal be to Sare. And not oneli sche; but also  
 Rebecca hadde twey sones of o liggyng-bi of Ysaac,oure

9 1 Veritatem dico in Christo, non mentior, testimonium mihi  
 perhibente conscientia mea in Spiritu sancto, 2 Quoniam  
 tristitia mihi magna est, et continuus dolor cordi meo. 3 Op-  
 tabam enim ego ipse anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus  
 meis, qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem; 4 Qui  
 sunt Israelitæ; quorum adoptio est filiorum, et gloria, et  
 testamentum, et legislatio, et obsequium, et promissa;  
 5 Quorum patres, et ex quibus est Christus secundum carnem,  
 qui est super omnia Deus, benedictus in sæcula. Amen.  
 6 Non autem quod exciderit verbum Dei. Non enim  
 omnes qui ex Israel sunt, ii sunt Israelitæ; 7 Neque qui  
 semen sunt Abrahæ, omnes filii, sed in Isaac vocabitur tibi  
 semen: 8 Id est, non qui filii carnis, hi filii Dei, sed qui  
 filii sunt promissionis æstimantur in semine. 9 Pro-  
 missionis enim verbum hoc est, Secundum hoc tempus veniam,  
 et erit Saræ filius. 10 Non solum autem illa; sed et Re-

fadir. And whanne thei weren not ȝit borun, nether 11  
 hadden don ony thing of good ether of yuel, that the pur-  
 pos of God schulde dwelle bi eleccioun, not of werkis, 12  
 but of God clepynge, it was seid to hym, That the more 13  
 schulde serue the lesse; as it is writun, Y louede Jacob,  
 but Y hatide Esau. What therfor schulen we seie? 14  
 Whether wickidnesse be anentis God? God forbede. 15  
 For he seith to Moyses, Y schal haue merci on whom Y  
 haue merci, and Y schal ȝyue merci on whom Y schal haue  
 merci. Therfor it is not nether of man willynge, nethir 16  
 rennynge, but of God hauynge mercy. And the scripture 17  
 seith to Farao, For to this thing Y haue stirid thee,  
 that Y schewe in thee my vertu, and that my name be  
 teld in al erthe. Therfor of whom God wole he hath 18  
 mercy, and whom he wole he endureth. Thanne 19  
 seist thou to me, What is souȝt ȝit? for who withstondith  
 his wille? O man, who art thou that answerist to 20  
 God? Whether a maad thing seith to hym that made it,  
 What hast thou maad me so? Whether a potter of 21

becca ex uno concubitu habens Isaac patris nostro. 11 Cum  
 enim nondum nati fuissent, aut aliquid boni egissent aut mali,  
 ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, 12 Non  
 ex operibus, sed ex vocante, dictum est ei, Quia major seruiet  
 minori; 13 Sicut scriptum est, Jacob dilexi, Esau autem  
 odio habui. 14 Quid ergo dicemus? Numquid iniquitas  
 apud Deum? Absit. 15 Moysi enim dicit, Miserebor cujus  
 misereor, et misericordiam præstabo cujus miserebor.  
 16 Igitur non volentis, neque currentis, sed miserentis est Dei.  
 17 Dicit enim scriptura Pharaoni: Quia in hoc ipsum excitavi  
 te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam, et ut annuncietur nomen  
 meum in universa terra. 18 Ergo cujus vult miseretur,  
 et quem vult indurat. 19 Dicis itaque mihi: Quid adhuc  
 queritur? voluntati enim ejus quis resistit? 20 O homo,  
 tu quis es qui respondeas Deo? Numquid dicit figmentum  
 ei qui se finxit, Quid me fecisti sic? 21 An non habet

cley hath not power to make of the same gobet o vessel  
 22 into honour, anothere into dispit ? That if God, willynge  
 to schewe his wraththe, and to make his power knowun,  
 23 hath suffrid in greet pacience vessels of wraththe able  
 into deth, to schewe the rȳtchessis of his glorie into  
 24 vessels of merci, whiche he made redi into glorie ; whiche  
 also he clepide not oneli of Jewis, but also of hethene men.  
 25 As he seith in Osee, Y schal clepe not my puple my puple,  
 26 and not my loued my louyd, and not getyng mercy  
 getyng merci ; and it schal be in the place, where it is  
 seid tohem, Not ȳe my puple, there thei schulen be clepid  
 27 the sones of God lyuyng. But Isaye crieth for Israel, If  
 the noumbre of Israel schal be as grauel of the see, the  
 28 relifs schulen be maad saaf : forsothe a word makynge  
 an ende, and abreggyng in equyte ; for the Lord schal  
 29 make a word breggid on al the erthe. And as Ysaye  
 bifor seide, But God of oostis hadde left to vs seed,  
 we hadden be maad as Sodom, and we hadden be lijk

potestatem figulus luti ex eadem massa facere aliud quidem  
 vas in honorem, aliud vero in contumeliam ? 22 Quod si  
 Deus, volens ostendere iram, et notam facere potentiam suam,  
 sustinuit in multa patientia vasa iræ apta in interitum,  
 23 Ut ostenderet divitias gloriæ suæ in vasa misericordiæ,  
 quæ præparavit in gloriam ; 24 Quos et vocavit nos non  
 solum ex Judæis, sed etiam ex gentibus. 25 Sicut in  
 Osee dicit, Vocabo non plebem meam plebem meam, et non  
 dilectam dilectam, et non misericordiam consecutam miseri-  
 cordiam consecutam ; 26 Et erit, in loco ubi dictum est eis,  
 Non plebs mea vos, ibi vocabuntur filii Dei vivi. 27 Isaias  
 autem clamat pro Israel, Si fuerit numerus filiorum Israel  
 tamquam arena maris, reliquæ salvæ fient ; 28 Verbum  
 enim consummans, et abbrevians in æquitate ; quia verbum  
 breviatum faciet Dominus super terram. 29 Et sicut  
 prædixit Isaias, Nisi Dominus sabaoth reliquisset nobis  
 semen, sicut Sodoma facti essemus, et sicut Gomorrha similes

as Gommor. Therfor what schulen we seie? That 30  
 hethene men that sueden not riȝtwisnesse, han gete  
 riȝtwisnesse, ȝhe, the riȝtwisnesse that is of feith. But 31  
 Israel, suyng the lawe of riȝtwisnesse, cam not parfitli  
 into the lawe of riȝtwisnesse. Whi? For not of feith, 32  
 but as ȝf werkys. And thei spurneden aȝens the stoon  
 of offencioun, as it is writun, Lo, Y putte a stoon of 33  
 offensioun in Syon, and a stoon of slaundre; and ech  
 that schal bileue in it schal not be confoundid.

Britheren, the wille of myn herte and mi biseching is 10  
 maad to God for hem into helthe. But Y bere witnessyng 2  
 to hem that thei han loue of God, but not aftir kunnyng.  
 For thei, vnknowyng Goddis riȝtwisnesse, and sekyng to 3  
 make stidefast her owne *riȝtfulnesse*, ben not suget to the  
 riȝtwisnesse of God. For the ende of the lawe is Crist, 4  
 to riȝtwisnesse to ech man that bileueth. For Moises 5  
 wroot, For the man that schal do riȝtwisnesse that is of  
 the lawe schal lyue in it. But the riȝtwisnesse that is 6

fuissemus. 30 Quid ergo dicemus? Quod gentes, quæ non  
 sectabantur iustitiam, apprehenderunt iustitiam, iustitiam  
 autem quæ ex fide est. 31 Israel vero, sectando legem

iustitiæ, in legem iustitiæ non pervenit. 32 Quare? Quia non  
 ex fide, sed quasi ex operibus. Offenderunt enim in lapi-  
 dem offensionis, 33 Sicut scriptum est, Ecce, pono in  
 Sion lapidem offensionis, et petram scandali; et omnis qui  
 credit in eum non confundetur.

1 Fratres, voluntas quidem cordis mei et obsecratio ad Deum 10  
 fit pro illis in salutem. 2 Testimonium enim perhibeo

illis quod æmulationem Dei habent, sed non secundum  
 scientiam. 3 Ignorantes enim iustitiam Dei, et suam

quærentes statuere, iustitiæ Dei non sunt subjecti. 4 Finis

enim legis Christus, ad iustitiam omni credenti. 5 Moyses  
 enim scripsit quoniam iustitiam quæ ex lege est, qui fecerit  
 homo, vivet in ea. 6 Quæ autem ex fide est iustitia sic

of bileue seith thus, Seie thou not in thin herte, Who  
 7 schal stie into heuene ? (that is to seie, to lede down Crist ;)   
 or, Who schal go down into helle ? (that is, to aȝenlepe  
 8 Crist fro deth.) But what seith the scripture ? The  
 word is nyȝ, in thi mouth, and in thin herte ; this is the  
 9 word of bileue, which we prechen ; that if thou knoul-  
 echist in thi mouth the Lord Jhesu Crist, and bileuest  
 in thin herte that God reiseide hym fro deth, thou schalt  
 10 be saaf ; for bi herte me bileueth to riȝtwisnesse, but  
 11 bi mouth knowleching is maad to helthe. Forwhi the  
 scripture seith, Ech that bileueth in hym schal not be  
 12 confoundid. And ther is no distinccioun of Jew and  
 of Greke ; for the same Lord of alle is riche in alle that  
 13 inwardli clepen hym ; for, Ech man whoeuere schal in-  
 14 wardli clepe the name of the Lord, schal be saaf. Hou  
 thanne schulen thei inwardli clepe hym into whom  
 thei han not bileued ? or hou schulen thei bileue to hym  
 whom thei han not herd ? hou schulen thei here with-  
 15 outen a prechour ? and hou schulen thei preche, but thei

dicit : Ne dixeris in corde tuo, Quis ascendet in coelum ? (id  
 est, Christum deducere ;) 7 Aut, Quis descendet in abyssum ?  
 (hoc est, Christum a mortuis revocare.) 8 Sed quid dicit  
 scriptura ? Prope est verbum, in ore tuo, et in corde tuo ; hoc  
 est verbum fidei, quod prædicamus ; 9 Quia si confitearis  
 in ore tuo Dominum Jesum, et in corde tuo credideris, quod  
 Deus illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris ; 10 Corde  
 enim creditur ad justitiam : ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.  
 11 Dicit enim scriptura, Omnis qui credit in illum non  
 confundetur. 12 Non enim est distinctio Judæi et Græci ;  
 nam idem Dominus omnium, dives in omnes qui invocant  
 illum ; 13 Omnis, enim, quicumque invocaverit nomen  
 Domini salvus erit. 14 Quomodo ergo invocabunt in  
 quem non crediderunt ? aut quomodo credent ei quem non  
 audierunt ? quomodo autem audient sine prædicante ?  
 15 Quomodo vero prædicabunt, nisi mittantur ? sicut scriptum

be sent ? as it is writun, Hou faire *ben* the feet of hem that prechen pees, of hem that prechen good thingis! But not alle men obeien to the gospel; for Ysaie seith, <sup>16</sup> Lord, who bileuede to oure heryng? Therfor feith *is* <sup>17</sup> of heryng, but heryng bi the word of Crist. But Y seie, <sup>18</sup> Whether thei herden not? This, sothely the word of hem wente out into al the erthe, and her wordis into the endis of the world. But Y seie, Whether Israel <sup>19</sup> knewe not? First Moyses seith, Y schal lede ȝou to enuye, that ȝe ben no folc; that ȝe ben an vnwise folc, Y schal sende ȝou into wraththe. And Ysaie is bold, and <sup>20</sup> seith, Y am foundun of men that seken me not; opynli Y apperide to hem that axiden not me. But to Israel <sup>21</sup> he seith, Al dai Y streiȝte out myn hondis to a puple that bileuede not, but aȝenseide me.

Therfor Y seie, Whether God hath put awei his puple ? . <sup>11</sup> God forbede. For Y am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the lynage of Beniamyn. God hath not put .

est, Quam speciosi pedes evangelizantium pacem, evangelizantium bona! <sup>16</sup> Sed non omnes obediunt evangelio; Isaias enim dicit, Domine, quis credidit auditui nostro ? <sup>17</sup> Ergo fides ex auditu; auditus autem per verbum Christi. <sup>18</sup> Sed dico, Numquid non audierunt? Et quidem in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in fines orbis terræ verba eorum. <sup>19</sup> Sed dico, Numquid Israel non cognovit? Primus Moyses dicit, Ego ad æmulationem vos adducam in non gentem; in gentem insipientem, in iram vos mittam. <sup>20</sup> Isaias autem audet, et dicit: Inventus sum a non quærentibus me; palam apparui iis qui me non interrogabant. <sup>21</sup> Ad Israel autem dicit: Tota die expandi manus meas ad populum non credentem, et contradicentem. <sup>1</sup> Dico ergo: Numquid Deus repulit populum suum? Absit. <sup>11</sup> Nam et ego Israelita sum, ex semine Abraham, de tribu Benjamin. <sup>2</sup> Non repulit Deus plebem suam, quam præcivit. An nescitis in Elia quid dicit scriptura? quemad-



aweī his puple, which he bifor knew. Whether 3e witen  
 not what the scripture seith in Elie? hou he preieth  
 3 God aʒens Israel, Lord, thei han slayn thi prophetis,  
 thei han vndurdoluun thin auteris; and Y am lefte aloone,  
 4 and thei seken my lijf. But what seith Goddis answere  
 to hym? Y haue left to me seuene thousyndes of men,  
 5 that han not bowid her knees bfore Baal. So therfor  
 6 also in this tyme the relifs ben maad saaf by the chesyng  
 of the grace of God. And if *it be* bi the grace of God,  
*it is* not now of werkis; ellis grace is not now grace.  
 7 What thanne? Israel hath not getun this that he souʒte;  
 but eleccioun hath getun, and the othere ben blyndid;  
 8 as it is writun, God ʒaf to hem a spirit of compunccioun,  
 iʒen that thei se not, and eeris that thei here not, into  
 9 this dai. And Dauith seith, Be the boord of hem maad  
 into a gryn bifor hem, and into catchyng, and into  
 10 sclaundre, and into zeldyng to hem; be the iʒen of hem  
 maad derk, that thei se not, and bowe thou doun algatis  
 11 the bak of hem. Therfor Y seie, Whether thei offendiden

modum interpellat Deum aduersum Israel, 3 Domine,  
 prophetas tuos occiderunt, altaria tua suffoderunt; et ego  
 relictus sum solus, et quærunt animam meam. 4 Sed quid  
 dicit illi diuinum responsum? Reliqui mihi septem millia  
 virorum, qui non curvaverunt genua ante Baal. 5 Sic  
 ergo et in hoc tempore reliquiæ secundum electionem gratiæ  
 salvæ factæ sunt. 6 Si autem gratia, jam non ex operibus;  
 alioquin gratia jam non est gratia. 7 Quid ergo? Quod  
 quærebat Israel, hoc non est consecutus; electio autem  
 consecuta est, ceteri vero excæcati sunt; 8 Sicut scriptum  
 est, Dedit illis Deus spiritum compunctionis, oculos ut non  
 videant, et aures ut non audiant, usque in hodiernum diem.  
 9 Et David dicit, Fiat mensa eorum in laqueum, et in cap-  
 tionem, et in scandalum, et in retributionem illis; 10 Ob-  
 scurentur oculi eorum ne videant, et dorsum eorum semper  
 incurva. 11 Dico ergo, Numquid sic offenderunt ut

so, that thei schulden falle down ? God forbede ; but bi the  
 gilt of hem helthe is maad to hethene men, that thei sue <sup>12</sup>  
 hem. That if the gilt of hem ben richessis of the world, and  
 the makyng lesse of hem ben richessis of hethene men,  
 hou myche more the plente of hem ? But Y seie to <sup>13</sup>  
 you, hethene men. For as longe as Y am apostle of hethene  
 men, Y schal onoure my mynysterie, if in ony maner <sup>14</sup>  
 Y stire my fleisch for to folowe, and that Y make summe  
 of hem saaf. For if the loss of hem is the recouncelyng <sup>15</sup>  
 of the world, what is the takyng vp but lijf of deede  
 men ? For if a litil part of that that is tastid be hooli, <sup>16</sup>  
 the hool gobet is hooli ; and if the roote is hooli, also the  
 braunchis. What if ony of the braunchis ben brokun, <sup>17</sup>  
 whanne thou were a wielde olyue tre, art graffid among  
 hem, and art maad felowe of the roote and of the fat-  
 nesse of the olyue tre, nyle thou haue glorie azens the <sup>18</sup>  
 braunchis ; for if thou gloriest, thou berist not the roote,  
 but the roote thee. Therfor thou seist, The braunchis ben <sup>19</sup>  
 brokun, that Y be graffid in. Wel ; for vnbileue the <sup>20</sup>

caderent ? Absit ; sed illorum delicto salus est gentibus,  
 ut illos æmulentur. <sup>12</sup> Quod si delictum illorum divitiæ  
 sunt mundi, et diminutio eorum divitiæ gentium, quanto  
 magis plenitudo eorum ? <sup>13</sup> Vobis enim dico, gentibus.  
 Quamdiu quidem ego sum gentium apostolus, ministerium  
 meum honorificabo, <sup>14</sup> Si quomodo ad æmulandum pro-  
 vocem carnem meam, et salvos faciam aliquos ex illis.  
<sup>15</sup> Si enim amissio eorum reconciliato est mundi, quæ  
 assumptio, nisi vita ex mortuis ? <sup>16</sup> Quod si delibatio  
 sancta est, et massa ; et si radix sancta, et rami. <sup>17</sup> Quod  
 si aliqui ex ramis fracti sunt, tu autem, cum oleaster esses,  
 insertus es in illis, et socius radices et pinguedinis olivæ factus  
 es, <sup>18</sup> Noli gloriari adversus ramos ; quod si gloriaris, non  
 tu radicem portas, sed radix te. <sup>19</sup> Dices ergo, Fracti  
 sunt rami, ut ego inserar. <sup>20</sup> Bene ; propter incredulitatem  
 fracti sunt, tu autem fide stas. Noli altum sapere, sed time ;

braunchis ben brokun, but thou stondist bi feith. Nyle  
 21 thou sauere hize thing, but drede thou ; for if God sparide  
 not the kyndli braunchis, lest perauenture he spare not  
 22 thee. Therfor se the goodnesse and the fersnesse of  
 God : 3he, the feersnesse into hem that felden down,  
 but the goodnesse of God into thee, if thou dwellist  
 23 in goodnesse ; ellis also thou schalt be kit down. 3he,  
 and thei schulen be set yn, if thei dwellen not in vnbileue ;  
 24 for God is my3ti to sette hem in eftsoone. For if  
 thou art kit down of the kyndeli wielde olyue tre, and  
 azens kynd art set into a good olyue tre, hou myche  
 more thei that *ben* bi kynde schulen be set in her olyue  
 25 tree ? But, britheren, Y wole not that 3e vnknownen  
 this mysterie (that 3e be not wise to 3ousilf), for blynde-  
 nesse hath feld a parti in Israel, til that the plente of  
 26 hethene men entride ; and so al Israel schulde be maad  
 saaf ; as it is writun, He schal come of Syon that  
 schal delyuere, and turne awei the wickidnesse of Jacob ;  
 27 and this testament to hem of me, whanne Y schal do  
 28 awei her synnes. Aftir the gospel, *thei ben* enemyes for

21 Si enim Deus naturalibus ramis non pepercit, ne forte  
 nec tibi parcat. 22 Vide ergo bonitatem et severitatem  
 Dei : in eos quidem qui ceciderunt, severitatem ; in te autem  
 bonitatem Dei, si permanseris in bonitate ; alioquin et tu  
 excideris. 23 Sed et illi, si non permanserint in increduli-  
 tate, inserentur ; potens est enim Deus iterum inserere illos.  
 24 Nam si tu ex naturali excisus es oleastro, et contra naturam  
 insertus es in bonam olivam, quanto magis ii qui secundum  
 naturam inserentur suæ olivæ ? 25 Nolo enim vos  
 ignorare fratres mysterium hoc (ut non sitis vobis ipsis  
 sapientes), quia cæcitas ex parte contigit in Israel, donec  
 plenitudo gentium intraret ; 26 Et sic omnis Israel salvus  
 fiet ; sicut scriptum est, Veniet ex Sion qui eripiat, et avertat  
 impietatem a Jacob ; 27 Et hoc illis a me testamentum,  
 cum abstulero peccata eorum. 28 Secundum evangelium

30u ; but *thei ben* moost dereworthe bi the eleccioun, for  
 the fadris. And the 3iftis and the cleping of God ben 29  
 withouten forthenkyng. And as sum tyme also 3e bi- 30  
 leueden not to God, but now 3e han gete mercy for the 31  
 vnbileue of hem, so and these now bileueden not, into  
 3oure merci, that also thei geten merci. For God closide 32  
 alle thingis togidere in vnbileue, that he haue mercy on alle.  
 O the heiznesse of the ritchessis of the wisdom and of the 33  
 kunnyng of God ! hou incomprehensible ben hise domes,  
 and hise weies *ben* vnserchable ! Forwhi who knew the 34  
 wit of the Lord ? or who was his counselour ? or who 35  
 formere 3af to hym, and it schal be quyt to hym ? For 36  
 of hym, and bi hym, and in hym ben alle thingis. To  
 hym *be* glorie into worldis. Amen.

Therefore, britheren, Y biseche 3ou bi the mercy of : 12  
 God, that 3e 3yue 3oure bodies a lyuynge sacrifice, hooli,

I prey3e 3ow, breperen, by þe mercy of God, þat 3ee 3efen : 12  
 3oure bodyes a sacrifice, lyfyng, & holy, & plesynge to God,

quidem, inimici propter vos ; secundum electionem autem,  
 charissimi propter patres. 29 Sine pœnitentia enim sunt  
 dona et vocatio Dei. 30 Sicut enim aliquando et vos non  
 credidistis Deo, nunc autem misericordiam consecuti estis  
 propter incredulitatem illorum, 31 Ita et isti nunc  
 non crediderunt, in vestrum misericordiam, ut et ipsi mise-  
 ricordiam consequantur, 32 Conclussit enim Deus omnia  
 in incredulitate, ut omnium misereatur. 33 O altitudo  
 diuitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei ! quam incomprehen-  
 sibilia sunt iudicia ejus, et investigabiles viæ ejus ! 34 Qui  
 enim cognovit sensum Domini ? aut quis consiliarius ejus  
 fuit ? 35 Aut quis prior dedit illi, et retribuetur ei ?  
 36 Quoniam ex ipso, et per ipsum, et in ipso sunt omnia.  
 Ipsi gloria in sæcula. Amen.

1 Obsecro itaque vos, fratres, per misericordiam Dei, ut ex- 12  
 hibeatis corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, Deo pla-

1 plesynge to God, and ȝoure seruyse resonable. And  
 nyle ȝe be confourmyd to this world ; but be ȝe reformed  
 in newnesse of ȝoure wit, that ȝe preue which is the wille  
 3 of God, good, and wel plesynge, and parfit. For Y seie,  
 bi the grace that is ȝouun to me, to alle that ben among  
 ȝou, that ȝe sauere no more than it bihoueth to sauere,  
 but for to sauere to sobrenesse, and to ech man as God  
 4 hath departid the mesure of feith. For as in o bodi  
 5 we han many membris, but alle the membris han not the  
 same dede ; so we, many, ben o bodi in Crist, and eche *ben*  
 6 membris oon of anothir. Therfor we that han ȝiftis

1 & ȝoure seruyse resonabel. & ne be ȝe noȝt conformed to  
 pis world ; bote be ȝe ȝschaped aȝeyn in ȝe worschup of  
 ȝowre wyt, ȝat ȝe knowen whuche be ȝe wille of God, ȝat is  
 3 good, & wel plesynge, & parfite. & I seye, ȝoroȝ ȝe grace of  
 God ȝat is ȝsefe me, to alle ȝilke ȝat bep among ȝow, ȝat ȝe  
 ne safereȝ no more ȝan it byhofeȝ ȝow to saferen, bote ȝat  
 ȝe saferen to sobrenesse, & eferych man as God haȝ departed  
 4 to hym ȝe mesure of bylese. For ryȝt as we han in on body  
 many membres, & ȝet alle ȝe membres ne habbeȝ noȝt on  
 5 doynge ; ryȝt so we bep on body in Crist, & eferichone of ous  
 6 membres of oper. & we ȝat han dyuerse ȝiftes after ȝe grace  
 ȝat is ȝȝeue to ous, as prophecy, aftur ȝe resoun of ȝe feiȝ ;

centem, rationabile obsequium vestrum. 2 Et nolite conformari huic sæculo ; sed reformamini in novitate sensus vestri, ut probetis quæ sit voluntas Dei, bona, et beneplacens, et perfecta. 3 Dico enim, per gratiam quæ data est mihi, omnibus qui sunt inter vos, non plus sapere quam oportet sapere, sed sapere ad sobrietatem, et unicuique sicut Deus divisit mensuram fidei. 4 Sicut enim in uno corpore multa membra habemus, omnia autem membra non eundem actum habent ; 5 Ita, multi, unum corpus sumus in Christo, singuli autem alter alterius membra. 6 Habentes autem donationes secundum gratiam quæ data est nobis diffe-

dyuersynge aftir the grace that is ȝouun to vs, ethir proph- 7  
 ecie, aftir the resoun of feith; ethir seruise, in mynys-  
 tryng; ether he that techith, in techyng; he that 8  
 stirith softli, in monestyng; he that ȝyueth, in symple-  
 nesse; he that is souereyn, in bisynesse; he that hath  
 merci, in gladnesse. Loue withouten feynyng. Hatynge 9  
 yuel, drawynge to good. Louynge togidere the charite of 10  
 britherhod; eche come bifore to worschipe othere; 11  
 not slow in bisynesse; feruent in spirit; seruynge to the  
 Lord; ioiynge in hope; pacient in tribulacioun; bisy in 12  
 preier; ȝuynge good to the nedis of seyntis; kepyng 13  
 hospitalite. Blesse ȝe men that pursuen ȝou; blesse ȝe, 14  
 and nyle ȝe curse. For to ioie with men that ioien, for 15

oper seruise, in serfyng; oper he þat techep, in techyng; 7  
 he þat warneþ, in warnyng; he þat ȝeldeþ, in sympelnesse; 8  
 he þat is byfore, in bysynesse; he þat areweþ anoper, in  
 gladnesse. B[e] þer lofe wiþowten feynyng. & hate ȝe 9  
 efel, & draweȝ ȝow to goode. & lofe ȝe togeder, & hafe ȝe 10  
 charite of breþerhede; & go ȝe byfore worschupyng eferich  
 one oper; noȝt slowe in bysynesse; feruent in spirit; serfyng 11  
 oure Lord; ioeyng in hope; suffryng in tribulacyoun; 12  
 bysy to preyere; comunyng to þe nedynesse of holy men; 13  
 & folewe ȝe herborewyng. Blesse ȝe to þilke þat purseweþ 14  
 ȝow; blesse ȝe, & ne curse ȝe noȝt. Ioie ȝe wiþ hem þat 15

rentes, sive prophetiam, secundum rationem fidei; 7 Sive  
 ministerium, in ministrando; sive qui docet, in doctrina;  
 8 Qui exhortatur, in exhortando; qui tribuit, in simplicitate;  
 qui præest, in solitudine; qui miseretur, in hilaritate.  
 9 Dilectio sine simulatione. Odientes malum, adhærentes  
 bono. 10 Charitate fraternitatis invicem diligentes:  
 honore invicem prævenientes; 11 Solitudine non  
 pigri; spiritu ferventes; Domino servientes; 12 Spe  
 gaudentes; in tribulatione patientes; orationi instantes;  
 13 Necessitatibus sanctorum communicantes; hospitalitatem  
 sectantes. 14 Benedicite persequentibus vos; benedicite,  
 et nolite maledicere. 15 Gaudere cum gaudentibus, flere

16 to wepe with men that wepen. Fele 3e the same thing togidere ; not sauerynge heiz thingis, but consentynge to  
 17 meke thingis. Nile 3e be prudent anentis 3ousilf. To no man 3eldynge yuel for yuel ; but purueye 3e good thingis,  
 18 not oneli bifor God, but also bifor alle men. If it may be don, that that is of 3ou, haue 3e pees with alle men,  
 19 3e moost dere britheren, not defendynge 3ousilf, but  
 20 3yue 3e place to wraththe ; for it is writun, The Lord seith, To me veniaunce, and Y schal zelde. But if thin enemy hungrith, fede thou hym ; if he thirstith, 3yue thou drynke to hym ; for thou, doynge this thing, schalt gidere togidere  
 21 colis on his heed. Nyle thou be ouercomun of yuel, but ouercome thou yuel bi good.

16 ioieþ, & wepe 3e wiþ hem þat wepeþ. & fele 3e togedere into þe same þinge ; noȝt saferynge hyȝe þinges, but assentyng to humel þinges. & ne wilne 3e noȝt to ben wyse men to  
 17 fore 3owself. Noȝt 3eldynge to eny man efel for efel ; but bysye 3e to don goode þinges, noȝt onlyche tofore God, but  
 19 also toforen alle men. Noȝt defendynge 3owselfe, bote 3efe 3e place to wrappe ; for it is ywryten, God saiþ, to me þe veni-  
 20 aunce, & Ych wole 3elden aȝeyn. & 3if þyn enemy be an-  
 hungred, fede hym ; & 3if he be aprust, 3ef hym drynke ; for doynge þese þinges þou schalt gedere togeder coles of  
 21 fuyr upon his hed. Ne be þou ofercome of efel, bote in goode ofercome þou efel.

cum flentibus. 16 Idipsum invicem sentientes ; non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes. Nolite esse prudentes apud vosmetipsos. 17 Nulli malum pro malo reddentes ; providentes bona non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam coram omnibus hominibus. 18 Si fieri potest, quod ex vobis est, cum omnibus hominibus pacem habentes, 19 Non vosmetipsos defendentes, charissimi, sed date locum iræ ; scriptum est enim, Mihi vindicta ; ego retribuam, dicit Dominus. 20 Sed si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum ; si sitit, potum da illi ; hoc enim faciens, carbonem ignis congeres super caput ejus. 21 Noli vinci a malo, sed vince in bono malum.

Euery soule be suget to heizere powers ; for ther is no **13**  
 power but of God ; and tho thingis that ben, of God ben  
 ordeyned. Therfor he that azenstondith power, azen-  
 stondith the ordynaunce of God ; and thei that azen-  
 stonden, geten to hemsilf dampnacioun. For princes ben  
 not to the drede of good work, but of yuel. But wilt  
 thou that thou drede not power ? do thou good thing,  
 and thou schalt haue preisyng of it ; for he is the myn-  
 ystre of God to thee into good. But if thou doist yuel,  
 drede thou, for not withouten cause he berith the swerd ;  
 for he is the mynystre of God, vengere into wraththe  
 to hym that doith yuel. And therfor bi nede be **3e** **5**

Euerich soule be soget to poweres pat bep hyzere pan **13**  
 heo ; for þer ne is no power bote of God ; & pilke pinges pat  
 bep, of God þei bep yordeyned. And perfore who pat azeyn-  
 stondeþ, geteþ dampnacyoun to hemselsen. For princes ne  
 bep noȝt to drede of goode werkes, bote of efel werkes. &  
 ȝif þou wolt noȝt drede a power, do good, & þou schalt haue  
 preysynge perof ; for he is Godes serfaunt to þe in good. **4**  
 & ȝif þou dost efel, þan drede þou, for wiþouten enchesoun  
 he ne bereþ noȝt his swerd ; for he is Goddes serfaunt,  
 wracchful in wrappe to pilke pat doþ efel. & perfore algates **5**  
 be **3e** sogettes, noȝt onlyche for wrappe, bote also for con-

**1** Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit ; non **13**  
 est enim potestas nisi a Deo ; quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordi-  
 natae sunt. **2** Itaque qui resistit potestati, Dei ordi-  
 nationi resistit ; qui autem resistunt, ipsi sibi damnatio-  
 nem acquirunt. **3** Nam principes non sunt timori boni  
 operis, sed mali. Vis autem non timere potestatem ? bo-  
 num fac, et habebis laudem ex illa ; **4** Dei enim minister  
 est tibi in bonum. Si autem malum feceris, time, non enim  
 sine causa gladium portat ; Dei enim minister est, vindex in  
 iram ei qui malum agit. **5** Ideo necessitate subditi estote,  
 non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam.



6 suget, not oneli for wraththe, but also for conscience.  
 For therfor ȝe ȝyuen tributis; thei ben the mynystris of  
 7 God, and seruen for this same thing. Therfor ȝelde ȝe to  
 alle men dettis: to whom tribut, tribut; to whom tol, tol;  
 8 to whom drede, drede; to whom onour, onour. To no man  
 owe ȝe ony thing, but that ȝe loue togidere; for he that  
 9 loueth his neizbore hath fulfillid the lawe. For, Thou  
 schalt do no letcherie, Thou schalt not sle, Thou schalt  
 not stele, Thou schalt not seie fals witnessyng, Thou  
 schalt not coueyte the thing of thy neizbore; and if ther  
 be ony othere maundement, it is instorid in this word,  
 10 Thou schalt loue thi neizbore as thisilf. The loue of  
 neizbore worchith not yuel; therfor loue is the fulfillyng

6 ciense. For þerfore ȝe ȝeueþ trybut; for þei beþ Goddes  
 7 serfauntes, serfynges for þis þing. & þerfore ȝelde ȝe to alle  
 men ȝoure dettes: to hym þat ȝe schuleþ trybut, trybut;  
 to hym þat ȝe schuleþ drede, dred; & to hym þat ȝe oweþ  
 8 worschup, worschup. Ne owe ȝe no þing to no man, bote  
 þat ȝe lofen togedere; for he þat lofeþ his neyȝebore fulfulleþ  
 9 þe lawe. For, Þou ne schalt noȝt breke spoushod, Þou  
 ne sch[al]t noȝt sleen, Þou ne schalt noȝt stele, Þou ne schalt  
 seye no fals wyttnesse, Þou ne schalt noȝt coueyte þi neyȝe-  
 bores good; & ȝif þer be eny oþer comaundement, it is yvnder-  
 stonde in þis word, Þou schalt loue þi nexte neyȝebore as  
 10 þiselfe. Þe loue of a mannes nexte neyȝebore ne worcheþ

6 Ideo enim et tributa præstatis: ministri enim Dei sunt, in  
 hoc ipsum servientes. 7 Reddite ergo omnibus debita: cui  
 tributum, tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal; cui timorem,  
 timorem; cui honorem, honorem. 8 Nemini quidquam  
 debeatis, nisi ut invicem diligatis; qui enim diligit prox-  
 imum legem implevit. 9 Nam, Non adulterabis, Non  
 occides, Non furaberis, Non falsum testimonium dices,  
 Non concupisces; et si quod est aliud mandatum, in hoc  
 verbo instauratur, Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum.  
 10 Dilectio proximi malum non operatur; plenitudo ergo

of the lawe. And we knowen this tyme, that the our 11  
 is now that we rise fro sleep; for now oure heelte is  
 neer than whanne we bileueden. The nyzt wente bifore, 12  
 but the dai hath neized; therfor caste we awei the werkis  
 of derknessis, and be we clothid in the armeris of lizt. 13  
 As in dai wandre we onestli; not in superflu feestis and  
 drunkennessis, not in beddis and vnchastitees, not in  
 strijf and in enuye; but be 3e clothid in the Lord Jhesu 14  
 Crist, and do 3e not the bisynesse of fleisch in desiris.

But take 3e a sijk man in bileue, not in demyngis 14  
 of thouȝtis. For another man leueth that he mai ete  
 alle thingis; but he that is sijk, ete wortis. He that etith,

non euel; an perfore þe fulnesse of þe lawe is loue. & knowe 11  
 3e þis tyme, for it is now tyme to rysen up from sleep, for  
 oure hele is ner now þan we wenden þat it were. Þe nyzt 12  
 is passed, & þe day wole neȝlyche; & perfore þrowe we  
 away werkes of derkenesse, & be we cloped wiþ armer of lyzt.  
 & walke we honestlyche as in daytyme; noȝt in etyng out 13  
 of mesure, ne in dronkenesse, ne in kouchynges abedde, ne  
 in vnclannesse, ne in stryuyng, ne in hatyng; bote be 3e 14  
 ycloped wiþ oure Lord Iesu.

legis est dilectio. 11 Et hoc, scientes tempus, quia hora  
 est jam nos de somno surgere; nunc enim propior est nostra  
 salus quam cum credidimus. 12 Nox præcessit, dies  
 autem appropinquavit; abjiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum,  
 et induamur arma lucis. 13 Sicut in die honeste ambu-  
 lemus; non in comessationibus et ebrietatibus, non in  
 cubilibus et impudiciis, non in contentione et æmulatione;  
 14 Sed induimini Dominum Jesum Christum, et carnis curam  
 ne feceritis in desideriis.

1 Infirmum autem in fide assumite, non in disceptationibus 14  
 cogitationum. 2 Alius enim credit se manducare omnia;  
 qui autem infirmus est, olus manducet. 3 Is qui mandu-

dispise not hym that etith not ; and he that etith not  
 4 deme not hym that etith ; for God hath take him to  
 hym. Who art thou that demest anothris seruaunt ?  
 to his lord he stondith, or fallith *fro hym*. But he schal  
 5 stonde ; for the Lord is myzti to make hym parfit. For-  
 whi oon demeth a day bitwixe a dai, another demeth ech  
 6 dai ; ech man encrees in his wit. He that vnderstondith  
 the dai, vnderstondith to the Lord ; and he that etith,  
 etith to the Lord, for he doith thankyngis to God ; and he  
 that etith not, etith not to the Lord, and doith thankyngis  
 7 to God. For no man of vs lyueth to hymself, and no  
 8 man dieth to hymself. For whether we lyuen, we lyuen  
 to the Lord ; and whethir we dien, we dien to the Lord ;  
 9 therfor, whethir we lyuen or dien, we ben of the Lord. For-  
 whi for this thing Crist was deed, and roos aȝen, that he  
 10 be Lord bothe of quyke and of deed men. But what  
 demest thou thi brothir ? or whi dispisist thou thi brothir ?  
 11 for alle we schulen stonde bifore the trone of Crist. For

cat, non manducantem non spernat ; et qui non manducat  
 manducantem non iudicet ; Deus enim illum assumpsit.  
 4 Tu quis es qui iudicas alienum servum ? Domino suo stat  
 aut cadit. Stabit autem ; potens est enim Deus statuere illum.  
 5 Nam alius iudicat diem inter diem, alius autem iudicat  
 omnem diem ; unusquisque in suo sensu abundet. 6 Qui  
 sapit diem, Domino sapit ; et qui manducat, Domino mandu-  
 cat, gratias enim agit Deo ; et qui non manducat, Domino  
 non manducat, et gratias agit Deo. 7 Nemo enim nostrum  
 sibi vivit, et nemo sibi moritur. 8 Sive enim vivimus,  
 Domino vivimus ; sive morimur, Domino morimur ; sive  
 ergo vivimus sive morimur, Domini sumus. 9 In hoc  
 enim Christus mortuus est, et resurrexit, ut et mortuorum  
 et vivorum dominetur. 10 Tu autem quid iudicas fratrem  
 tuum ? aut tu quare spernis fratrem tuum ? omnes enim stabi-  
 mus ante tribunal Christi. 11 Scriptum est enim, Vivo ego,  
 dicit Dominus, quoniam mihi flectetur omne genu, et omnis

it is writun, Y lyue, seith the Lord, for to me ech kne  
 schal be bowid, and ech tunge schal knoueleche to God.  
 Therfor ech of vs schal zelde resoun to God for hym silf. 12  
 Therfor no more deme we ech other; but more deme 3e 13  
 this thing, that 3e putte not hirtyng or sclaunder to  
 a brothir. I woot, and triste in the Lord Jhesu, that no 14  
 thing is vnclene bi hym; no but to him that demeth  
 ony thing to be vnclene, to him it is vnclene. And if 15  
 thi brother be maad sori in conscience for mete, now thou  
 walkist not aftir charite; nyle thou thoruz thi mete  
 lese hym for whom Crist diede. Therfor be not oure 16  
 good thing blasfemed; forwhi the rewme of God is 17  
 not mete and drynk, but riȝtwisnesse and pees and ioye  
 in the Hooli Goost. And he that in this thing serueth 18  
 Crist plesith God, and is proued to men. Therfor sue we 19  
 tho thingis that ben of pees, and kepe togidere tho thingis  
 that ben of edificacioun. Nyle thou for mete distrie the 20  
 werk of God. For alle thingis ben clene, but it is yuel  
 to the man that etith bi offendyng. It is good to not 21

lingua confitebitur Deo. 12 Itaque unusquisque nostrum  
 pro se rationem reddet Deo. 13 Non ergo amplius invicem  
 iudicemus; sed hoc iudicate magis, ne ponatis offendiculum  
 fratri vel scandalum. 14 Scio, et confido in Domino  
 Jesu, quia nihil commune per ipsum; nisi ei qui existimat  
 quid commune esse, illi commune est. 15 Si enim propter  
 cibum frater tuus contristatur, jam non secundum charitatem  
 ambulas; noli cibo tuo illum perdere pro quo Christus  
 mortuus est. 16 Non ergo blasphemetur bonum nostrum;  
 17 Non est enim regnum Dei esca et potus, sed justitia et  
 pax et gaudium in Spiritu sancto. 18 Qui enim in hoc servit  
 Christo placet Deo, et probatus est hominibus. 19 Ita-  
 que quæ pacis sunt sectemur, et quæ ædificationis sunt in  
 invicem custodiamus. 20 Noli propter escam destruere  
 opus Dei. Omnia quidem sunt munda, sed malum est homini  
 qui per offendiculum manducat. 21 Bonum est non

ete fleisch, and to not drynke wyn, nethir in what thing  
 thi brother offendith, or is sclaunderid, or is maad sijk.  
 22 Thou hast feith? anentis thisilf haue thou bifore God.  
 Blessid is he that demeth not hymself in that thing that he  
 23 preueth. For he that demeth is dampned if he etith, for it  
 is not of feith; and al thing that is not of feith is synne.

15 1 But we saddere men owen to susteyne the feblenesses  
 2 of sijke men, and not plesse to vssilf. Eche of vs plesse  
 3 to his neizbore in good, to edificacioun. For Crist pleside  
 not to hymself; as it is writun, The repreues of men  
 4 dispisyng the felden on me. For whateuere thingis  
 ben writun, tho ben writun to oure techynge, that bi  
 5 pacience and coumfort of scripturis we haue hope. But  
 God of pacience and of solace gyue to you to vndurstonde  
 6 the same thing ech into othere aftir Jhesu Crist, that ye  
 of o wille with o mouth worschipe God and the Fadir of  
 7 oure Lord Jhesu Crist. For which thing take ye togidere,

manducare carnem, et non bibere vinum, neque in quo frater  
 tuus offenditur, aut scandalizatur, aut infirmatur. 22 Tu  
 fidem habes? penes te ipsum habere coram Deo. Beatus  
 qui non iudicat semetipsum in eo quod probat. 23 Qui  
 autem discernit si manducaverit damnatus est, quia non  
 ex fide; omne autem quod non est ex fide peccatum est.

15 1 Debemus autem nos iuniores imbecillitates infirmorum  
 sustinere, et non nobis placere. 2 Unusquisque vestrum  
 proximo suo placeat in bonum, ad ædificationem. 3 Etenim  
 Christus non sibi placuit; sed sicut scriptum est, Improperia  
 impropertantium tibi ceciderunt super me. 4 Quaecumque  
 enim scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt, ut  
 per patientiam et consolationem scripturarum spem habeamus.  
 5 Deus autem patientiæ et solatii det vobis id ipsum  
 sapere in alterutrum secundum Jesum Christum, 6 Ut  
 unanimes uno ore honorificetis Deum et Patrem Domini  
 nostri Jesu Christi. 7 Propter quod suscipite invicem,

as also Crist took 3ou into the onour of God. For Y  
 seie that Jhesu Crist was a mynystre of circumcisioun  
 for the treuthe of God, to conferme the biheestis of fadris,  
 and hethene men owen to onoure God for merci; as  
 it is writun, Therfor, Lord, Y schal knowleche to thee  
 among hethene men, and Y schal synge to thi name.  
 And eft he seith, 3e hethene men, be 3e glad with his puple.  
 And eft, Alle hethene men, herie 3e the Lord; and alle  
 pupilis, magnefie 3e him. And eft Isaie seith, Ther schal  
 be a roote of Jesse, that schal rise vp to gouerne hethene  
 men; and hethene men schulen hope in hym. And God  
 of hope fulfille 3ou in al ioye and pees in bileuyng, that  
 3e encrees in hope, and vertu of the Hooli Goost. And,  
 britheren, Y mysilf am certeyn of 3ou that also 3e ben  
 ful of loue, and 3e ben fillid with al kunnyng, so that  
 3e moun moneste ech other. And, britheren, more boldli  
 Y wroot to 3ou a parti, as bryngyng 3ou into mynde,  
 for the grace that is 3ouun to me of God, that Y be the

sicut et Christus suscepit vos in honorem Dei. 8 Dico  
 enim Christum Jesum ministrum fuisse circumcisionis prop-  
 ter veritatem Dei, ad confirmandas promissiones patrum,  
 9 Gentes autem super misericordia honorare Deum; sicut  
 scriptum est, Propterea confitebor tibi in gentibus, Domine,  
 et nomini tuo cantabo. 10 Et iterum dicit, Lætamini,  
 gentes, cum plebe ejus. 11 Et iterum, Laudate, omnes  
 gentes, Dominum; et magnificate eum, omnes populi.  
 12 Et rursus Isaias ait, Erit radix Jesse, et qui exsurget  
 regere gentes; in eum gentes sperabunt. 13 Deus autem  
 spei repleat vos omni gaudio et pace in credendo, ut abun-  
 detis in spe, et virtute Spiritus Sancti. 14 Certus sum  
 autem, fratres mei, et ego ipse de vobis quoniam et ipsi pleni  
 estis dilectione, repleti omni scientia, ita ut possitis alterutrum  
 monere. 15 Audacius autem scripsi vobis, fratres, ex  
 parte, tamquam in memoriam vos reducens, propter gratiam  
 quæ data est mihi a Deo, 16 Ut sim minister Christi Jesu

mynystre of Crist Jhesu among hethene men, and Y  
 halewe the gospel of God, that the offryng of hethene  
 17 men be acceptid, and halewid in the Hooli Goost. Therfor  
 18 Y haue glorie in Crist Jhesu to God. For Y dar not  
 speke ony thing of tho thingis whiche Crist doith not bi  
 me, into obedience of hethene men, in word and dedis,  
 19 in vertu of tokenes and grete wondris, in vertu of the Hooli  
 Goost, so that fro Jerusalem, bi cumpas to the Illirik see,  
 20 Y haue fillid the gospel of Crist; and so Y haue prechid  
 this gospel, not where Crist was named, lest Y bilde vpon  
 21 anotheres ground, but as it is writun, For to whom it is  
 not teld of him, thei schulen se, and thei that herden  
 22 not schulen vndurstonde. For which thing Y was lettid  
 ful myche to come to 3ou, and Y am lettid to this tyme;  
 23 and now Y haue not ferthere place in these cuntrees, but  
 Y haue desire to come to 3ou of many 3eris that ben  
 24 passid; whanne Y bygynne to passe into Spayne, Y  
 hope that in my goyng Y schal se 3ou, and of 3ou Y

in gentibus, sanctificans evangelium Dei, ut fiat oblatio gen-  
 tium accepta, et sanctificata in Spiritu Sancto. 17 Habeo  
 igitur gloriam in Christo Jesu ad Deum. 18 Non enim  
 audeo aliquid loqui eorum quæ per me non efficit Christus,  
 in obedientiam gentium, verbo et factis, 19 In virtute sig-  
 norum et prodigiorum, in virtute Spiritus Sancti, ita ut ab  
 Jerusalem, per circuitum usque ad Illyricum, repleverim evan-  
 gelium Christi; 20 Sic autem prædicavi evangelium hoc,  
 non ubi nominatus est Christus, ne super alienum fundamen-  
 tum ædificarem, sed sicut scriptum est, 21 Quibus non  
 est annunciatum de eo, videbunt, et qui non audierunt in-  
 telligent. 22 Propter quod et impediabar plurimum venire  
 ad vos, et prohibitus sum usque adhuc; 23 Nunc vero,  
 ulterius locum non habens in his regionibus, cupiditatem  
 autem habens veniendi ad vos ex multis jam præcedentibus  
 annis; 24 Cum in Hispaniam proficisci cœpero, spero  
 quod præteriens videam vos, et a vobis deducar illuc,

schal be led thidur, if Y vse ȝou first in parti. Therfor <sup>25</sup>  
 now Y schal passe forth to Jerusalem, to mynystre to  
 seyntis. For Macedonye and Acaie han assaied to make <sup>26</sup>  
 sum ȝifte to pore men of seyntis that ben in Jerusalem.  
 For it pleside to hem; and thei ben dettouris of hem; <sup>27</sup>  
 for hethene men ben maad parteneris of her goostli thingis,  
 thei owen also in fleischli thingis to mynystre to hem.  
 Therfor whanne Y haue endid this thing, and haue assigned <sup>28</sup>  
 to hem this fruyt, Y schal passe bi ȝou into Spayne.  
 And Y woot that Y, comynge to ȝou, schal come into the <sup>29</sup>  
 abundance of the blessing of Crist. Therfor, britheren, <sup>30</sup>  
 Y biseche ȝou bi oure Lord Jhesu Crist, and bi charite of  
 the Hooli Goost, that ȝe helpe me in ȝoure preyeris to the <sup>31</sup>  
 Lord, that Y be delyuerid fro the vnfeithful men that ben  
 in Judee, and that the offryng of my seruyce be acceptid  
 in Jerusalem to seyntis; that Y come to ȝou in ioye <sup>32</sup>  
 bi the wille of God, and that Y be refreischid with ȝou.  
 And God of pees be with ȝou alle. Amen.

si vobis primum ex parte fruitus fuero. <sup>25</sup> Nunc igitur profi-  
 ciscar in Jerusalem ministrare sanctis. <sup>26</sup> Probaverunt enim  
 Macedonia et Achaia collationem aliquam facere in pauperes  
 sanctorum qui sunt in Jerusalem. <sup>27</sup> Placuit enim eis; et  
 debitores sunt eorum; nam si spiritualium eorum participes  
 facti sunt gentiles, debent et in carnalibus ministrare illis.  
<sup>28</sup> Hoc igitur cum consummavero, et assignavero eis fructum  
 hunc, per vos proficiscar in Hispaniam. <sup>29</sup> Scio autem  
 quoniam veniens ad vos, in abundantia benedictionis evangelii  
 Christi veniam. <sup>30</sup> Obsecro ergo vos, fratres, per Dominum  
 nostrum Jesum Christum, et per charitatem Sancti Spiritus,  
 ut adjuvetis me in orationibus vestris pro me ad Deum,  
<sup>31</sup> Ut liberer ab infidelibus qui sunt in Judæa, et obsequii  
 mei oblatio accepta fiat in Jerusalem sanctis; <sup>32</sup> Ut  
 veniam ad vos in gaudio per voluntatem Dei, et refri-  
 gerer vobiscum. <sup>33</sup> Deus autem pacis sit cum omnibus  
 vobis. Amen.



**16** 1 And Y comende to 3ou Feben, oure sister, which is in  
 2 the seruyce of the chirche that is at Teucris, that 3e  
 resseyue hir in the Lord worthili to seyntis, and that 3e  
 helpe hir in whateuere cause sche schal nede of 3ou ;  
 3 for sche helpide many men, and mysilf. Grete 3e Prisca  
 and Aquyla, myn helperis in Crist Jhesu, which vndur-  
 4 puttiden her neckis for my lijf (to whiche not Y aloone  
 do thankyngis, but also alle the chirchis of hethene  
 5 men); and grete 3e wel her meyneal chirche. Grete  
 wel Efenete, louyd to me, that is the firste of Asie in  
 6 Crist Jhesu. Grete wel Marie, the whiche hath trauel-  
 7 id myche in vs. Grete wel Andronyk and Julian,  
 my cosyns and myn euen-prisouneris, which ben noble  
 among the apostlis, and whiche weren bifor me in Crist.  
 8 Grete wel Ampliate, most dereworth to me in the Lord.  
 9 Grete wel Vrban, oure helpere in Crist Jhesus, and  
 10 Stacchen, my derlyng. Grete wel Appellem, the noble  
 11 in Crist. Grete wel hem that ben of Aristoblis hous.

**16** 1 Commendo autem vobis Phœben, sororem nostram, quæ est  
 in ministerio ecclesiæ quæ est in Cenchris, 2 Ut eam  
 suscipiatis in Domino digne sanctis, et assistatis ei in quocum-  
 que negotio vestri indiguerit; etenim ipsa quoque astitit  
 multis, et mihi ipsi. 3 Salutate Priscam et Aquilam, ad-  
 jutores meos in Christo Jesu, 4 Qui pro anima mea suas  
 cervices supposuerunt (quibus non solus ego gratias ago,  
 sed et cunctæ ecclesiæ gentium); 5 Et domesticam  
 ecclesiam eorum. Salutate Epænetum, dilectum mihi, qui est  
 primitivus Asiæ in Christo. 6 Salutate Mariam, quæ  
 multum laboravit in vobis. 7 Salutate Andronicum et  
 Juniam cognatos et concaptivos meos, qui sunt nobiles  
 in apostolis, qui et ante me fuerunt in Christo. 8 Salutate  
 Ampliatum, dilectissimum mihi in Domino. 9 Salutate  
 Urbanum, adiutorem nostrum in Christo Jesu, et Stachyn,  
 dilectum meum. 10 Salutate Apellen, probum in Christo.  
 11 Salutate eos qui sunt ex Aristobuli domo. Salutate Hero-

Grete wel Erodion, my cosyn. Grete wel hem that ben of Narciscies hous, that ben in the Lord. Grete wel 12 Trifenam and Trifosam, whiche *wymmen* trauelen in the Lord. Grete wel Persida, most dereworthe *womman*, that hath trauelid myche in the Lord. Grete wel Rufus, 13 chosun in the Lord, and his modir and myn. Grete 14 wel Ansicrete, Flegoncia, Hermen, Patroban, Herman, and britheren that ben with hem. Grete wel Filologus, 15 and Julian, and Nereum and his sistir, and Olympiades, and alle the seyntis that ben with hem. Grete 3e wel to- 16 gidere in hooli coss. Alle the chirches of Crist greten 3ou wel. But, britheren, Y preye 3ou that 3e asprie hem that 17 maken discenciouns and hirtyngis, bisidis the doctryne that 3e han lerned; and bowe 3e awei fro hem. For suche 18 men seruen not to the Lord Crist, but to her wombe; and bi swete wordis and blessyngis disseyuen the hertis of innocent men. But 3oure obedience is pupplischid into 19 euery place, therfor Y haue ioye in 3ou; but Y wole that

dionem, cognatum meum. Salutate eos qui sunt ex Narcissi domo, qui sunt in Domino. 12 Salutate Tryphænam et Tryphosam, quæ laborant in Domino. Salutate Persidem, charissimam, quæ multum laboravit in Domino. 13 Salutate Rufum, electum in Domino, et matrem ejus et meam. 14 Salutate Asyncritum, Phlegontem, Hermam, Patrobam, Hermen, et qui cum eis sunt fratres. 15 Salutate Philologum, et Juliam, Nereum et sororem ejus, et Olympiadem, et omnes qui cum eis sunt sanctos. 16 Salutate invicem in osculo sancto. Salutant vos omnes ecclesiæ Christi. 17 Rogo autem vos, fratres, ut observetis eos qui dissensiones et offencicula, præter doctrinam quam vos didicistis, faciunt; et declinate ab illis. 18 Hujuscemodi enim Christo Domino nostro non serviunt, sed suo ventri; et per dulces sermones et benedictiones seducunt corda innocentium. 19 Vestra enim obedientia in omnem locumdivulgata est, gaudeo igitur in vobis; sed volo vos

20 3e be wise in good thing, and symple in yuel. And God  
 of pees tredde Sathanas vndur 3oure feet swiftli. The  
 21 grace of oure Lord Jhesu Crist be with 3ou. Tymothe,  
 myn helpere, gretith 3ou wel, and also Lucius, and  
 22 Jason, and Sosipater, my cosyns. Y Tercius grete 3ou  
 23 wel, that wroot this epistle, in the Lord. Gayus, myn  
 oost, gretith 3ou wel, and al the chirche. Erastus,  
 tresorere of the city, gretith 3ou wel, and Quar-  
 24 tus, brother. The grace of oure Lord Jhesu Crist *be* with  
 25 3ou alle. Amen. And onour and glorie be to hym that  
 is mysti to conferme 3ou bi my gospel and prechyng  
 of Jhesu Crist, bi the reuelacioun of mysterie holdun  
 26 styлле in tymes euerlastinge (which *mysterie* is now maad  
 opyn bi scripturis of prophetis, bi the comaundement  
 of God withouten bigynning and endyng, to the obe-  
 27 dience of feith), in alle hethene men *the mysterie* knowun,  
 bi Jhesu Crist, to God aloone wiss, to whom *be* onour and  
 glorie into worldis of worldis. Amen.

sapientes esse in bono, et simplices in malo. 20 Deus  
 autem pacis conterat Satanam sub pedibus vestris velociter.  
 Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi vobiscum. 21 Salutat  
 vos Timotheus, adiutor meus, et Lucius, et Jason, et Sosipater,  
 cognati mei. 22 Saluto vos ego Tertius, qui scripsi episto-  
 lam, in Domino. 23 Salutat vos Caius, hospes meus, et  
 universa ecclesia. Salutat vos Erastus, arcarius civitatis,  
 et Quartus, frater. 24 Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi  
 cum omnibus vobis. Amen. 24 Ei autem qui potens est  
 vos confirmare juxta evangelium meum et prædicationem  
 Jesu Christi, secundum revelationem mysterii temporibus  
 æternis taciti 26 (Quod nunc patefactum est per scrip-  
 turas prophetarum, secundum præceptum æterni Dei, ad  
 obeditionem fidei), in cunctis gentibus cogniti, 27 Soli  
 sapienti Deo, per Jesum Christum, cui honor et gloria in  
 sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AV ... = Authorized version (in modern spelling).  
 C ..... = Cranmer Bible, 1539.  
 C. .... = Cook, *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers* (in Notes only).  
 EV ... = Earlier Wycliffite version, 1382.  
 G .... = Geneva Bible, 1557.  
 Gr. ... = Greek.  
 Hex. .. = English Hexapla, exclusive of Wyclif.  
 ins. ... = insert, inserts.  
 L. .... = Latin.  
 LV ... = Later Wycliffite version, 1388.  
 NED. . = New English Dictionary.  
 OE.... = Old English.  
 OF.... = Old French.  
 om. ... = omit, omits.  
 P..... = Romans in Paues', *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*.  
 R .... = Rheims, or Douay, Bible, 1582.  
 T..... = Tyndale's version, 1534.  
 W .... = Versions ascribed to Wyclif.



## NOTES

[The notes are intended to include all the variant renderings from the Vulgate in the following versions: the earlier Wycliffite version (EV); the later Wycliffite version (LV); Paues' *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version* (P). The Authorized Version (AV), though translated from the Greek rather than the Latin, has been added for convenience of comparison. Parallel passages are also given from Cook's *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*, 2 vols. (C.), and from Smyth's *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350* (S.). Explanatory glosses in the early Wycliffite version are not distinguished by type, and variant spellings are not recorded.]

1. 1. *vocatus*: EV LV clepid: AV called; AV ins. to be; *segregatus*: EV LV departid: AV separated.

2. *ante*: EV bifore: LV tofore: AV afore; *promiserat*: EV bihiȝt: LV hadde bihote: AV had promised.

3. *de*: EV LV of: AV concerning; *secundum*: EV aftir: LV bi: AV according to.

4. *qui*: EV the which: LV and he: AV and; *prædestinatus est*: EV is predestynat, or bifore ordeyned bi grace: LV was bifore ordeyned: AV declared; AV ins. to be; *in*: EV LV in: AV with; *virtute*: EV LV vertu: AV power; *secundum*: EV aftir: LV bi: AV according to; *sanctificationis*: EV LV halewyng: AV holiness; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; *resurrectione*: EV LV aȝenrisyng: AV resurrection; *mortuorum*: EV LV of deed men: AV from the dead. C. 1. 239 Sē ðe is forestiht Godes Sunu.

5. *apostolatum*: EV apostilhed, or stat of apostle: LV office of apostle: AV apostleship; *ad obediendum*: EV LV to obeie: AV for obedience; *in*: EV LV in: AV among; *gentibus*: EV LV folkis: AV nations.

6. *in*: EV in: LV AV among; *quibus*: EV LV whiche: AV whom; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *vocati*: EV LV clepid: AV called.

7. *dilectis*: EV the loued: LV derlyngis: AV beloved; LV ins. and; *vocatis*: EV LV clepid: AV called; AV ins. to be; *sanctis*: EV LV hooli: AV saints; *a*: EV LV of: AV from.

8. *quidem*: EV sothely: LV AV om.; *gratias ago*: EV LV do thankyngis: AV thank; *Deo*: EV LV to God: AV God; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *quia*: EV LV for: AV that; *annunciatur*: EV LV is schewid: AV is spoken of; *in*: EV LV in: AV throughout; *universo*: EV LV al: AV whole.

9. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *mihi*: EV LV to me: AV my; *cui*: EV LV to whom: AV whom; *in*: EV LV in: AV with; *quod*: EV for: LV AV that; *memoriam*: EV LV mynde: AV mention.

10. *semper*: EV euermore: LV euer: AV always; *obsecrans*: EV om.: LV and biseche: AV making request; *quomodo*: EV by ony maner: LV in ony maner: AV by any means; *tandem aliquando*: EV aftirward sumtyme: LV sum tyme: AV now at length; *prosperum*: EV esy, or spedy: LV spedi: AV prosperous; *iter*: EV LV weie: AV journey; *habeam*: EV LV haue: AV might have; *in*: EV LV in: AV by; *veniendi*: EV of comynge: LV AV to come.

11. *desidero*: EV LV desire: AV long; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *videre*: EV for to se: LV AV to see; *ut impertiar*: EV that I 3yue: LV to parten: AV that I may impart; *aliquid*: EV sum thing: LV sumwhat: AV some; *gratie*: EV LV of grace: AV gift; *ad confirmandos vos*: EV to 3ou to be confermyd: LV that 3e be confermyd: AV to the end ye may be established.

12. *id est*: EV that is to seie: LV AV that is; *consolari*: EV LV to be coumfortid: AV that I may be comforted; *in*: EV LV in: AV with; *per eam, quæ invicem est, fidem vestram, atque meam*: EV by that feith that is togidere 3oure and myn, or of ech to other: LV bi feith that is bothe 3oure and myn togidere: AV by the mutual feith both of you and me.

13. *nolo*: EV LV nyle: AV would not; *autem*: EV sothly: LV and: AV now; *vos ignorare*: EV you for to vn-knowe: LV that ȝe vnknewun: AV have you ignorant; *sæpe*: EV LV ofte: AV oftentimes; *venire*: EV for to come: LV AV to come; *et*: EV LV and: AV but; *prohibitum sum*: EV am forbodun: LV am lett: AV was let; *usque adhuc*: EV til ȝit: LV to this tyme: AV hitherto; *habeam*: EV LV haue: AV might have; *et*: EV LV om.: AV also; *in*: EV LV in: AV among; *et*: EV and: LV om.: AV even; *in*: EV LV in: AV among; *gentibus*: EV LV folkis: AV Gentiles.

14. *sapientibus et insipientibus*: EV LV to wise men and to vnwise men: AV both to the wise, and to the vnwise. C. 1. 44 Sanctus Paulus, se sceolde læran ægðer ge wise ge unwise.

15. *quod in me*: EV LV that that is in me: AV as much as in me is; *promptum est*: EV LV is redy: AV I am ready; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *evangelizare*: EV for to euangelise: LV AV to preach the gospel.

16. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *erubesco*: EV LV schame: AV am ashamed of; *evangelium*: EV LV gospel: AV gospel of Christ; *virtus*: EV LV vertu: AV power; *salutem*: EV LV heelthe: AV salvation; *omni*: EV LV ech man: AV every one; *credenti*: EV bileuyng: LV AV that believeth; *et*: EV LV and: AV and also.

17. *enim*: EV sothely: LV AV for; *in eo*: EV LV in it: AV therein; *revelatur*: EV LV is schewid: AV is revealed; *ex*: EV LV of: AV from; *in*: EV LV into: AV to; *justus*: EV LV a iust man: AV the just; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV for: AV om.; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; *vivit*: EV LV lyueth: AV shall live. C. 1. 239, 134 Se rihtwisa leofað be his gelðafan.

18. *revelatur*: EV LV is schewid: AV is revealed; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *super*: EV vpon: LV on: AV against; *impietatem*: EV LV vnpite: AV ungodliness; *injustitiam*: EV AV unrighteousness: LV wickidnesse; *eorum*: EV LV tho: AV om.; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *detinent*: EV withholden, or holden abac: LV withholden: AV hold; *Dei*: EV LV of God: AV om.



19. *quia*: EV LV for: AV because; *quod*: EV that that: LV that thing that: AV that which; *notum est*: EV LV is knowun: AV may be known; *manifestum est*: EV is schewid, or maad opyn: LV is schewid: AV is manifest; *in*: EV LV to: AV in; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *manifestavit*: EV schewide: LV AV hath shewed; AV ins. it.

20. *a*: EV LV of: AV from; *creatura*: EV LV creature: AV creation; *intellecta*: EV vndirstondyn: LV that ben vndurstondun: AV being understood; *conspiciuntur*: EV LV ben biholdun: AV are clearly seen; *sempiterna*: EV LV euerlastynge: AV eternal; *quoque*: EV LV and: AV even; *ejus*: EV LV of hym: AV his; *virtus*: EV LV vertu: AV power; *sint*: EV ben: LV mowe be: AV are; *inexcusabiles*: EV vnexcusable: LV not excusid: AV without excuse. C. 2. 213 Hī ēaðelice mihton þone Ælmihtigan undergitan, ðurh ðā gesceafta 7e hī gesēoð on worulde; . . nū bēoð þā hǣðenan būton belādunge.

21. *quia*: EV LV for: AV because that; *cognovissent*: EV LV hadden knowe: AV knew; LV AV ins. him; *aut*: EV or: LV AV neither; *gratias egerunt*: EV LV diden thank-yngis: AV were thankful; *evanuerunt*: EV LV vanyshiden: AV became vain; *cogitationibus*: EV LV thougts: AV imaginations; *obscuratum est*: EV is derkid, or maad derk: LV was derkid: AV was darkened; *insipiens*: EV LV vnwise: AV foolish; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their.

22. *dicentes*: EV LV seiynge: AV professing; *enim*: EV sothli: LV for: AV om.; *se esse sapientes*: EV hemselue for to be wyse men: LV that hemsilf weren wise: AV themselves to be wise; *facti sunt*: EV ben maad: LV weren maad: AV became. C. 1. 44 Hīe sǣdon ðæt hīe wǣron wīse, qnd þā wurdon hīe dysige forðon.

23. *in corruptibilis*: EV vncorruptible, that may not deie, ne be peirid: LV AV uncorruptible; *similitudinem imaginis*: EV LV the licnesse of an ymage: AV an image made like to; *corruptibilis*: EV AV corruptible: LV deedli; *serpentium*: EV LV serpentis: AV creeping things.

24. *Propter quod*: EV LV for which thing: AV wherefore; *tradidit*: EV LV bitook: AV gave up; *in*: EV LV in-

to : AV through ; *desideria* : EV LV desiris : AV lusts ; *eorum* : EV LV her : AV their own ; *in* : EV LV into : AV to ; *ut contumeliis afficiant* : EV that thei ponynsche with wrongis, or dispitis : LV that thei punynsche with wrongis : AV to dishonour ; *sua* : EV LV her : AV their own ; *in* : EV LV in : AV between.

25. *qui* : EV the whiche men : LV the whiche : AV who ; *mendacium* : EV LV leesyng : AV lie ; *coluerunt* : EV LV herieden : AV worshipped ; *potius* : EV LV rathe : AV more ; *Creatori* : EV to the Creatour, that is, maker of wougt : LV to the Creatour : AV the Creator ; *qui* : EV LV that : AV who ; *in sæcula* : EV into worldis, or withouten ende : LV into worldis of worldis : AV for ever.

26. *propterea* : EV LV therfor : AV for this cause ; *tradidit* : EV LV bitook : AV gave up ; *in passiones ignominie* : EV into passiouns of yuel fame, or schenschip : LV into passiouns of schenschipec : AV unto vile affections ; *nam* : EV forwhi : LV for : AV for even ; *eorum* : EV LV of hem : AV their ; *immutaverunt* : EV LV chaungiden : AV did change ; *naturalem* : EV LV kyndli : AV natural ; *usum* : EV LV vss : AV om. ; *qui* : EV LV that : AV which ; *naturam* : EV LV kynde : AV nature.

27. *similiter autem et* : EV also forsoth and : LV also : AV and likewise also ; *masculi* : EV mawlis or men : LV AV men ; *relicto* : EV forsakyn : LV forsoken : AV leaving ; *naturali* : EV LV kyndli : AV natural ; *desideriis* : EV LV desiris : AV lust ; *in invicem* : EV LV togidere : AV one toward another ; *masculi* : EV mawlis : LV AV men ; *in* : EV LV into : AV with ; *masculos* : EV mawlis : LV AV men ; *turpitudinem* : EV LV filthehed : AV that which is unseemly ; *operantes* : EV AV working : LV wrougten ; *mercedem* : EV mede, or hyre : LV meede : AV recompence ; *quam* : EV LV that : AV which ; *oportuit* : EV LV bihofte : AV was meet ; *in* : EV AV in : LV into ; *recipientes* : EV AV receiving : LV resseyueden.

28. *sicut* : EV LV as : AV even as ; *probaverunt* : EV LV preueden : AV did like ; *habere* : EV for to haue : LV that thei hadden : AV to retain ; *notitia* : EV LV knowyng :

AV their knowledge; *tradidit*: EV LV bitook: AV gave over; *in*: EV LV into: AV to; *reprobum*: EV LV reprehensible: AV reprobate; *sensum*: EV LV wit: AV mind; *ut faciant*: EV LV that thei do: AV to do; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *conveniunt*: EV accorden, or bysemen: LV ben couenable: AV are convenient.

29. *repletos*: EV hem fulfillid: LV that thei ben fulfillid: AV being filled; *iniquitate*: EV LV wickidnesse: AV unrighteousness; *malitia*: EV LV malice: AV maliciousness; *avaritia*: EV LV couetise: AV covetousness; *nequitia*: EV LV weiwardnesse: AV wickedness; *homicidio*: EV LV mansleyngis: AV murder; *contentione*: EV LV stryf: AV debate; *dolo*: EV LV gile: AV deceit; *maliginitate*: EV LV yuel wille: AV malignity; *susurriones*: EV priuey bacbyteris, or soweris of discord: LV priuy bacbiters: AV whisperers.

30. *detractores*: EV detractouris, or opyn bacbyteris: LV detractouris: AV backbiters; *Deo odibiles*: EV LV hateful to God: AV haters of God; *contumeliosos*: EV wrongly dyspyseris of othere men: LV debateris: AV despiteful; *elatos*: EV LV hiz ouer mesure: AV boasters; *inventores*: EV LV fynderis: AV inventors; *parentibus*: EV LV fadir and modir: AV parents; *non obedientes*: EV LV not obeschyng: AV disobedient.

31. *insipientes*: EV LV vnwise: AV without understanding; *incompositos*: EV vncouenable in beryng withoute forth: LV vnmanerli: AV covenant-breakers; *affectione*: EV affeccoun, or loue: LV loue: AV natural affection; *absque fœdere*: EV LV withouten boond of pees: AV implacable; *sine misericordia*: EV LV withouten merci: AV unmerciful.

32. *qui*: EV LV the whiche: AV who; *cum cognovissent*: EV LV whanne thei hadden knowe: AV knowing; *justitiam*: EV LV rȳtwisnesse: AV judgment; *non intellexerunt*: EV LV vndirstoden not: AV om.; *quoniam*: EV for: LV AV that; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *agunt*: EV LV don: AV commit; *morte*: EV LV the deth: AV of death; *qui*: EV LV thei that: AV om.; *ea*: EV LV tho thingis:

AV the same; *etiam*: EV LV also: AV om.; *qui*: EV LV thei that: AV om.; *consentiunt*: EV LV consenten: AV have pleasure; *facientibus*: EV to men doynge: LV to the doeris: AV in them that do them.

2. 1. *propter quod*: EV for which thing: LV wherfor: AV therefore; *o*: EV thou: LV om.: AV o; *omnis*: EV LV ech: AV whosoever thou art; *judicas*: EV LV demest: AV judgest; *in quo*: EV LV in what thing: AV wherein; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *judicas*: EV LV demest: AV judgest; *alterum*: EV LV anothir man: AV another; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *quæ*: EV LV whiche: AV that; *judicas*: EV LV thou demest: AV judgest.

2. *scimus*: EV LV witen: AV are sure; *enim*: EV sothely: LV and: AV but; *quoniam*: EV for: LV AV that; *judicium*: EV LV doom: AV judgment; *secundum*: EV vp: LV affir: AV according to; *in*: EV to: LV AV against; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *agunt*: EV LV don: AV commit.

3. *existimas*: EV LV gessist: AV thinkest; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV but: AV and; *hoc*: EV LV om.: AV this; *o*: EV LV om.: AV o; *judicas*: EV LV demest: AV judgest; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *ea*: EV hem: LV tho thingis: AV the same; *quia*: EV for: LV AV that; *judicium*: EV LV doom: AV judgment.

4. *an*: EV LV whether: AV or; *patientia*: EV LV pacience: AV forbearance; *longanimitatis*: EV LV long abidyng: AV long suffering; *ignoras*: EV vnknowest thou: LV knowist thou not: AV not knowing; *quoniam*: EV for: LV AV that; *benignitas*: EV benygnyte, or good wille: LV benygnyte: AV goodness; *pœnitentiam*: EV penaunce: LV forthenkyng: AV repentance. C. 2. 101 Wäst þū ðe nāst þæt Godes gepylð þē tō dædbōte gelapeþ?

5. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *impœnitens*: EV LV vnrepentaunt: AV impenitent; *thesaurizas*: EV LV thou tresorist: AV treasurest up; *tibi*: EV LV to thee: AV unto thyself; *in*: EV into: LV in: AV against; *revelationis*: EV LV of schewyng: AV revelation; *justi*: EV LV rixtful: AV righteous; *judicii*: EV LV doom: AV judgment.

6. *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *reddet*: EV LV schal zelde: AV will render; *unicuique*: EV LV ech man: AV every man; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV according to; *opera*: EV LV werkis: AV deeds. C. 1. 239 God forgylt ælcum mēn be his dædum; C. 2. 42 Wile . . þonne æghwylcum ānum men gyldan ond lēanigean æfter his sylfes weorcum ond dædum; C. 2. 64 Hē forgylt þonne ānra gehwylcum æfter his āgenum gewyrhtum; C. 2. 213 God forgylt ælcum menn be his gewyrhtum; S., p. 16, 22 God . . wile zelden eche men his mede efter his werke; S., p. 221, 225 He wile deme eurinne be his dedes.

7. *quidem*: EV LV sotheli: AV om.; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *secundum*: EV vp: LV AV by; *patientiam*: EV LV pacience: AV patient continuance; *boni operis*: EV LV of good werk: AV in well doing; *incorruptionem*: EV LV vncorruptioun: AV immortality; EV ins. to hem: LV ins. ben . . to hem that; *quærunt*: EV sekyng: LV seken: AV seek for; *æternam*: EV LV euerlastyng: AV eternal.

8. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *ex contentione*: EV LV of strijf: AV contentious; *acquiescunt*: EV LV assenten to: AV do obey; *credunt*: EV LV bileuen to: AV obey; *iniquitati*: EV LV wickidnesse: AV unrighteousness.

9. *in*: EV LV into: AV upon; *omnem*: EV LV ech: AV every; *operantis*: EV worching: LV that worchith: AV that doith; *malum*: EV yuel thing: LV AV evil; *Judæi*: EV AV of Jew: LV to Jew; *et*: EV LV and: AV and also; *Græci*: EV Greek: LV to the Greke: AV of the Gentile.

10. *autem*: EV sothely: LV AV but; *omni*: EV to ech: LV to ech man: AV to every man; *operanti*: EV worching: LV AV that worketh; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: AV good; *et*: EV LV and: AV and also; *Græco*: EV LV Greke: AV Gentile.

11. AV. ins. there; *acceptio*: EV accepçiouns . . ., that is, to putte oon bifore another withoute desert: LV accepçioun: AV respect; *apud*: EV LV anentis: AV with.

12. *quicumque*: EV LV whoeuere: AV as many as; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *peccaverunt*: EV synnen:

LV AV have sinned; *quicumque*: EV LV whoever: AV as many as; *peccaverunt*: EV synnen: LV AV have sinned; *judicabuntur*: EV LV schulen be demyd: AV shall be judged. C. 1. 239 Ðā ðe būtan Godes æ syngodon, hī ēac losiað būtan ælcere æ. | Ðā ðe Godes æ ne cunnon, and būton Godes æ syngiað, hī ēac būtan Godes æ losiað. | Ðā ðe būtan Godes æ syngiað, ðā losiað ēac būtan Godes æ; S., p. 203 Ðas þat withouten lawe uses syn, Withouten law sal perysshe þarin.

13. *enim*: EV sothely: LV AV for; *apud*: EV LV anentis: AV before; *justificabuntur*: EV LV schulen be maad iust: AV shall be justified.

14. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *gentes*: EV hethene: LV hethene men: AV Gentiles; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *naturaliter*: EV kyndeli, or by stiring of kynde: LV kyndli: AV by nature; *ea*: EV LV tho thingis: AV the things; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV om.; *legis*: EV LV of the lawe: AV in the law; *sunt*: EV LV ben: AV contained; *eiusmodi*: EV LV suche maner: AV om.

15. *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; LV ins. for: AV ins. also; *testimonium*: EV LV witnessyng: AV witness; *reddente*: EV zeldinge: LV zeldith: AV bearing; *illis*: EV LV to hem: AV om.; *ipsorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *et*: EV AV and: LV om.; *inter se invicem*: EV LV bytwixe hemsilf: AV one another; AV ins. the meanwhile; *cogitationibus*: EV LV of thouztis: AV their thoughts; *etiam*: EV also: LV om.: AV else; *defendentibus*: EV LV defendynge: AV excusing.

16. *judicabit*: EV LV schal deme: AV shall judge; *occulta*: EV LV priuy thingis: AV secrets; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV according to.

17. *si*: EV LV if: AV om.; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV but: AV behold; *cognominaris*: EV LV art named: AV art called; *gloriaris*: EV LV hast glorie: AV makest thy boast; *in*: EV LV in: AV of.

18. *nosti*: EV LV hast knowe: AV knowest; *probas*: EV LV preuest: AV approvest; *utiliora*: EV LV more profitable thingis: AV the things that are more excellent;

*instructus*: EV lerned: LV lerud: AV being instructed;  
*per*: EV LV bi: AV out of.

19. LV AV ins. and; *confidis*: EV LV tristist: AV art confident; *esse*: EV for to be: LV to be: AV that thou art;  
*ducem*: EV LV ledere: AV guide; *cæcorum*: EV LV of blynde men: AV of the blind; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which;  
*tenebris*: EV LV derknessis: AV darkness.

20. *cruditorem*: EV LV techere: AV instructor;  
*insipientium*: EV LV vnwise men: AV foolish; *magistrum*: EV LV maistir: AV teacher; *infantium*: EV LV 3onge children: AV babes; *habentem*: EV hauynge: LV that hast: AV which hast; *scientiæ*: EV science, or kunnyng: LV kunnyng: AV knowledge.

21. *qui*: EV that: LV what: AV which; *ergo*: EV AV therefore: LV thanne; LV ins. and; *furandum*: EV to stele: LV that me schal stele: AV a man should stele; *furaris*: EV LV stelst: AV dost thou steal.

22. *dicis*: EV AV sayest: LV techist; *mæchandum*: EV to do leccherie: LV that me schal do letcherie: AV a man should commit adultery; *mæcharis*: EV LV doist letcherie: AV dost thou commit adultery; *abominaris*: EV LV wlatist: AV abhorrest; *idola*: EV ydols, or mawmetis: LV maumetis: AV idols; *sacrilegium*: EV sacrilegie, that is, thefte of hooly thingis: LV AV sacrilege; *facis*: EV LV doist: AV dost thou commit.

23. *gloriaris*: EV gloriest: LV hast glorie: AV makest thy boast; *in*: EV LV in: AV of; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *inhonoras*: EV vnworschipist, or dispisist: LV vnworschipist: AV dishonourest.

24. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *gentes*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles.

25. *quidem*: EV sothli: LV for: AV for verily; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but; *prævaricator*: EV LV trespassour: AV breaker; *legis*: EV AV of the law: LV aȝens the lawe; *præputium*: EV prepucie, or custom of hethen men: LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision.

26. *præputium*: EV prepucie, or custom of hethen men: LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision; *-ne*: EV LV whethir:

AV om.; *præputium*: EV LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision; *reputabitur*: EV schal be rettid: LV schal be arettid: AV schal be counted; *in*: EV LV into: AV for.

27. *judicabit*: EV LV schal deme: AV shall judge; *quod*: EV that: LV om.: AV which; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; *natura*: EV LV kynde: AV nature; *est*: EV AV is: LV om.; *præputium*: EV LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision; *consummans*: EV fullinge: LV that fulfillith: AV if it fulfil; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *prævaricator es*: EV LV art trespassour: AV dost transgress; *legis*: EV of the lawe: LV azens the law: AV the law. S., p. 225 Þe payens þet byeþ wypoute laze and doþ þe laze, ate daye of dome hi ssole ous deme þet habbet þe laze, and nazt hise doþ.

28. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *in manifesto*: EV LV in opene: AV outwardly; LV ins. is; AV ins. is one; *neque*: EV ne: LV AV neither; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *in manifesto*: EV in opyn: LV openli: AV outward; LV ins. it is; AV ins. is that.

29. *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *in abscondito*: EV LV in hid: AV inwardly; AV ins. is one . . . is that; *littera*: EV AV in letter: LV bi letter; *laus*: EV LV preisying: AV praise.

3. 1. *ergo*: EV therfore: LV AV then; *amplius*: EV LV more: AV advantage; *Judæo est*: EV LV is to a Jew: AV hath the Jew; AV ins. is there.

2. *per omnem modum*: EV by alle maner: LV bi al wise: AV every way; *primum*: EV LV first: AV chiefly; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV AV om.; *quia*: EV LV for: AV because that; *credita sunt*: EV ben bitakun: LV weren bitakun: AV were committed; *eloquia*: EV LV spekyngis: AV oracles.

3. *enim*: EV sothli: LV and: AV for; *illorum*: EV LV of hem: AV om.; *crediderunt*: EV LV bileueden: AV did believe; *numquid*: EV LV whethir: AV om.; *illorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *evacuabit*: EV LV auoided: AV make without effect.

4. *absit*: EV fer be it: LV AV God forbid; *est*: EV LV is: AV let be; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV for: AV yea;



*verax*: EV trewe, or sothfast: LV sothefast: AV true; *omnis*: EV LV ech: AV every; *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV but; *mendax*: EV lyere, or vnstable: LV AV liar; *justificeris*: EV be iustified, or founden trewe: LV be iustified: AV mightest be justified; *sermonibus*: EV LV wordis: AV sayings; *vincas*: EV LV ouercome: AV mightest overcome; *judicaris*: EV LV art demed: AV art judged.

5. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but; *iniquitas*: EV wickidnesse, or vnequyte: LV wickidnesse: AV unrighteousness; *numquid*: EV LV whether: AV om.; *iniquus*: EV LV wickid: AV unrighteous; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *infert*: EV LV bryngith in: AV taketh; *iram*: EV LV wraththe: AV vengeance; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV as; *dico*: EV LV seie: AV speak.

6. *absit*: EV fer be it: LV AV God forbid; *alioquin*: EV LV ellis: AV for then; *judicabit*: EV LV schal deme: AV shall judge; *hunc*: EV LV this: AV om.

7. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *abundavit*: EV hath haboundid, or be plenteuous: LV hath aboundid: AV hath more abounded; *in*: EV LV in: AV through; *mendacio*: EV LV leesyng: AV lie; *ipsius*: EV LV of hym: AV his; *quid*: EV LV what: AV why; *et*: EV and: LV om.: AV also; *judicor*: EV LV am demed: AV am judged.

8. AV ins. rather; *blasphemamur*: EV LV ben blasphemed: AV be slanderously reported; *aiunt*: EV LV seien: AV affirm; *nos dicere*: EV vs for to seye: LV AV that we say; *faciamus*: EV LV do we: AV let us do; *mala*: EV LV yuel thingis: AV evil; *bona*: EV LV gode thingis: AV good; *veniant*: EV LV come: AV may come.

9. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *præcellimus*: EV LV passen: AV are better; *eos*: EV LV hem: AV than they; *nequaquam*: EV LV nay: AV no, in no wise; *causati sumus*: EV LV han schewid bi skile: AV have before proved; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *et*: EV and: LV AV both . . . and; *esse*: EV for to be: LV that ben: AV that they are.

10. *quia*: EV LV for: AV om.; *non quisquam*: EV not ony man: LV no man: AV none, no, not one; *justus*: EV LV iust: AV righteous.

11. *non intelligens*: EV not a man vndirstondinge: LV no man vndurstondynge: AV none that understandeth; *non est requirens*: EV LV nethir sekyng: AV there is none that seeketh after.

12. *declinaverunt*: EV LV bowiden away: AV are gone out of the way; *facti sunt*: EV LV ben maad: AV are become; *non*: EV not: LV AV none; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: AV good; *non est usque ad unum*: EV there is not til to oon: LV there is noon til to oon: AV no, not one.

13. *patens*: EV openyng: LV AV open; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *dolose*: EV gilyngly: LV gilefuli: AV deceit; *agebant*: EV LV diden: AV have used; *venenum*: EV LV venym: AV poison; *aspidum*: EV eddris, that ben clepid aspis: LV snakis: AV asps.

14. *quorum*: EV of whom: LV of whiche: AV whose; *maledictione*: EV cursyng, or wariyng: LV AV cursing.

15. *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *ad effundendum*: EV for to schede out: LV AV to shed.

16. *contritio*: EV contricioun, or defoulyng togidere: LV sorewe: AV destruction; *infelicitas*: EV infelcite, or cursidnesse: LV cursidnesse: AV misery; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; LV ins. ben; AV ins. are.

17. *cognoverunt*: EV LV knewen: AV have known.

18. *timor*: EV LV drede: AV fear; *non*: EV LV not: AV no; AV ins. there.

19. *scimus*: EV LV witen: AV know; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV and: AV now; *quoniam*: EV for: LV AV that; *quacumque*: EV LV whateuere thingis: AV what things soever; *loquitur*: EV LV spekith: AV saith; *in*: EV LV in: AV under; *loquitur*: EV LV spekith: AV saith; *omne*: EV LV ech: AV every; *obstruatur*: EV LV be stoppid: AV may be stopped; *subditus*: EV LV suget: AV guilty; *fiat*: EV LV be maad: AV may become; *omnis*: EV LV ech: AV all.

20. *quia*: EV LV for: AV therefore; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; *operibus*: EV LV werkis: AV deeds; *non*: EV LV not: AV no; AV ins. there; EV ins. that is, mankynde; *omnis*: EV LV ech: AV om.; *coram illo*: EV LV bifor hym:

AV in his sight; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *cognitio*: EV LV knowyng: AV knowledge.

21. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *manifestata est*: EV LV is schewid: AV is manifested; *testificata*: EV witnessid: LV that is witnessid: AV being witnessed; *a*: EV LV of: AV by.

22. *autem*: EV sothli: LV and: AV even; EV LV ins. is; AV ins. which is; *in omnes*: EV om.: LV into alle men: AV unto all; *super omnes*: EV on alle: LV on alle men: AV upon all them; *in eum*: EV into hym: LV in hym: AV om.; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *distinctio*: EV distynccioun, or departyng: LV departyng: AV difference.

23. *omnes*: EV LV alle men: AV all; *peccaverunt*: EV LV synneden: AV have sinned; *egent*: EV LV han nede to: AV come short of.

24. LV ins. and; *justificati*: EV thei iustified: LV ben iustified: AV being justified; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *redemptionem*: EV redemcioun, or the azenbiyng: LV azenbiyng: AV redemption; *est*: EV is purposid: LV AV is.

25. *proposuit*: EV purposide: LV ordeynede: AV hath set forth; AV ins. to be; *propitiationem*: EV helpere: LV forgyuer: AV propitiation; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *ostensionem*: EV LV schewyng: AV declare; *præcedentium*: EV LV biforgoyng: AV that are past.

26. *in*: EV LV in: AV through; *sustentatione*: EV sustentacioun, or beringe vp: LV beryng-up: AV forbearance; *ostensionem*: EV LV schewyng: AV declare, I say; *in*: EV LV in: AV at; *sit*: EV LV be: AV might be; *justificans*: EV LV iustifyng: AV justifier of; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *est ex fide Jesu Christi*: EV LV is of the feith of Jhesu Crist: AV believeth in Jesus.

27. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *gloriatio*: EV LV gloryng: AV boasting; *tua*: EV LV thi: AV om.; *jactorum*: EV LV of dedis doying: AV of works.

28. *arbitramur*: EV LV demen: AV conclude; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV for: AV therefore; *justificari*: EV for to be iustified: LV to be iustified: AV that is justified; *operibus*: EV LV werkis: AV deeds.

29. *an*: EV LV whethir: AV om.; EV LV ins. is: AV ins. is he; *ne*: EV LV whethir: AV om.; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *gentium*: EV hethene: LV hethene men: AV Gentiles; *et*: EV LV and: AV also; *gentium*: EV hethene: LV hethene men: AV Gentiles.

30. *quoniam*: EV LV for: AV seeing; *quidem*: EV sothely: LV AV om.; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *justificat*: EV LV iustifieth: AV shall justify; *ex*: EV of: LV AV by; *præputium*: EV prepucie, or hethen men; LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through.

31. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: AV then; *destruimus*: EV LV distruye: AV do make void; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *absit*: EV fer be it: LV AV God forbid; *sed*: EV LV but: AV yea.

4. 1. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *invenisse*: EV for to haue founden: LV that foond: AV that hath found; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV as pertaining to.

2. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; *justificatus est*: EV be iustified: LV is iustified: AV were iustified; EV LV ins. of lawe; AV ins. whereof to; *apud*: EV LV anentis: AV before.

3. *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *Deo*: EV LV to God: AV God; *reputatum est*: EV is rettid: LV was arettid: AV was counted; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for.

4. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV now; *merces*: EV LV mede: AV reward; *imputatur*: EV is zouun to, or rettid: LV is arettid: AV is reckoned; *secundum* (twice): EV vp: LV bi: AV of.

5. *vero*: EV AV but: LV sotheli; *credenti*: EV bileuynge: LV AV bileueth; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but; *in*: EV LV into: AV on; *impium*: EV wickid man, or vnpytous: LV wickid man: AV ungodly; *reputatur*: EV is rettid: LV is arettid: AV is counted; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for; *secundum propositum gratiæ Dei*: EV vp the purposinge of Goddis grace: LV aftir the purpos of Goddis grace: AV om.

6. *sicut*: EV LV as: AV even as; *et*: EV and: LV om.: AV also; *dicit*: EV LV seith: AV describeth; *cui Deus*

*accepto fert*: EV to whom God acceptith: LV whom God acceptith, he ȝyueth to hym: AV unto whom God imputeth; EV LV ins. of the lawe.

7. AV ins. saying; LV ins. ben; AV ins. are; *iniquitates*: EV LV wickidnessis: AV iniquities; *tecta sunt*: EV be keuered, or hid: LV ben hid: AV are covered.

8. LV AV ins. is; EV LV ins. that; *imputabit*: EV rettide: LV arettide: AV will impute; *dominus*: EV LV God: AV the Lord. C. 2. 72, 80 Eadig bið se wer se him Drihten synne ne getealde.

9. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *in*: EV LV in: AV upon; *manet*: EV LV dwellith: AV cometh; *an*: EV or: LV whether . . or: AV or; *in*: EV LV in: AV upon; *præputio*: EV prepucie, or staat of hethene men; LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *quia*: EV for: LV AV that; *reputata est*: EV is rettid: LV was arettid: AV was reckoned; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for.

10. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *reputata est*: EV is rettid: LV was arettid: AV was reckoned; AV ins. when he was; *præputio* (twice): EV LV prepucie: AV uncircumcision.

11. *accepit*: EV LV took: AV received; *signaculum*: EV markynge, or tokenynge: LV tokenyng: AV seal; *quæ*: EV that: LV AV which; *est in præputio*: EV LV is in prepucie: AV he had yet being uncircumcised; *sit*: EV LV be: AV might be; *omnium*: EV LV alle men: AV all them; *credentium*: EV LV bileuyng: AV that believe; *per præputium*: EV LV bi prepucie: AV though they be not circumcised; *reputetur*: EV be rettid: LV be arettid: AV might be imputed; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *ad*: EV LV to: AV om.

12. *sit*: EV LV be: AV om.; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *sectantur*: EV LV suen: AV walk in; *quæ*: EV that: LV AV which; LV ins. feith; *est in præputio*: EV LV is in prepucie: AV he had being yet uncircumcised.

13. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *promissio*: EV LV biheeste: AV promise; EV

LV ins. is; AV ins. was; *esset*: EV be: LV AV should be; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through.

14. *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *exinanita est*: EV is anentyschid, or distroyed: LV is distried: AV is made void; AV ins. and; *abolita est*: EV LV is don away: AV made of none effect.

15. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV for: AV because; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *non*: EV not: LV AV no; *nec pravaricatio*: EV nethir is preuaricacioun, or trespassinge: LV ther is no trespas, nethir is trespassyng: AV there is no transgression.

16. LV ins. riȝtfulnesse is; AV ins. it is . . . it might be; *secundum*: EV vp: LV AV by; AV ins. to the end; *tirma*: EV stable, or stedefast: LV stable: AV sure; *sit*: EV LV be: AV might be; *promissio*: EV LV biheeste: AV promise; *omni*: EV LV ech: AV all; EV LV ins. seed; *qui* (twice): EV LV that: AV which; *et*: EV LV om.: AV also; *qui*: EV the whiche: LV which: AV who.

17. *quia*: EV LV for: AV om.; *gentium*: EV LV folkis: AV nations; *posui*: EV LV haue set: AV have made; *Deum*: EV LV God: AV him, even God; *cui*: EV LV to whom: AV whom; *credidit*: EV LV thou hast bileued: AV he believed; *qui*: EV the whiche God: LV which God: AV who; *mortuos*: EV LV deed men: AV dead; *vocat*: EV LV clepith: AV called; *tamquam ea quæ sunt*: EV LV as tho that ben: AV as though they were. C. 2. 12 þē ic gesette fæder manigra þēoda (H. Ic gesette þē manegra þēoda fæder).

18. *qui*: EV the which Abraham: LV which Abraham: AV who; *in*: EV LV into: AV in; *fieri*: EV LV schulde be maad: AV might become; *gentium*: EV LV folkis: AV nations; *secundum quod*: EV vp that: LV as: AV according to that which; *dictum est*: EV is seid: LV was seid: AV was spoken; *sic*: EV LV thus: AV so; EV LV ins. as the steris of heuene, and as the grauel that is in the brenke of the see.

19. *infirmatus est*: EV is maad vnstidefast: LV was maad vnstidfast: AV being weak; *fide*: EV LV bileue: AV faith; *nec*: EV LV nether: AV not; *consideravit*: EV LV

biheelde: AV considered; *suum*: EV LV his: AV his own; *emortuum*: EV LV nyz deed: AV dead; *jam*: EV AV now: LV thanne; *ferē*: EV LV almost: AV about; *annorum*: EV LV of zeer: AV years old; *et*: EV and: LV ne: AV neither yet; *emortuam*: EV LV nyz deed: AV deadness; *vulvam*: EV LV wombe: AV of womb.

20. *in*: EV LV in: AV at; *repromissione*: EV LV biheeste: AV promise; *hasilavit*: EV LV doutide: AV staggered; *diffidentia*: EV LV with vntrist: AV through unbelief; *confortatus est*: EV is comfortid: LV was coumfortid: AV was strong; *fide*: EV LV bileue: AV faith.

21. AV ins. and; *plenissime*: EV LV moost fulli: AV fully; *sciens*: EV LV witynge: AV being persuaded; *quia*: EV for: LV AV that; *quæcumque*: EV LV whateuere thingis: AV what; *promisit*: EV LV God hath bihigt: AV he had promised; *potens*: EV LV myzti: AV able; *est*: EV LV is: AV was; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *facere*: EV for to do: LV to do: AV to perform.

22. *et*: EV LV om.: AV and; *reputatum est*: EV is rettid: LV was arettid: AV was imputed; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for.

23. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV and: AV now; *est scriptum*: EV LV is writun: AV was written; *tantum*: EV LV oneli: AV alone; *propter ipsum*: EV LV for hym: AV for his sake; *quia*: EV for: LV AV that; *reputatum est*: EV is rettid: LV was arettid: AV was imputed; *ad iustitiam*: EV LV to rigtwisnesse: AV om.

24. *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *quibus*: EV LV which: AV whom; *reputabitur*: EV schal be rettid: LV schal be arettid: AV shall be imputed; *credentibus*: EV beleuyngē: LV that bileuen: AV if we believe; *in*: EV into: LV in: AV on; *suscitavit*: EV LV reside: AV raised up; *mortuis*: EV deede spiritis: LV deeth: AV the dead.

25. *qui*: EV the which: LV which: AV who; *traditus est*: EV is bitakun: LV was bitakun: AV was delivered; *delicta*: EV LV synnes: AV offences; *resurrexit*: EV LV roos azen: AV was raised again; *justificationem*: EV LV iustefiying: AV justification.

5. 1. *justificati*: EV LV iustified: AV being justified; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; LV ins. we; *ad*: EV LV at: AV with; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through.

2. *et*: EV LV om.: AV also; *accessum*: EV accesse, or nyz goyng to: LV nyz goyng to: AV access; *in qua*: EV LV in which: AV wherein; *gloriamur*: EV LV han glorie: AV rejoice; *filiorum*: EV sones: LV children: AV om.

3. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV and; LV ins. this; AV ins. so; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *scientes*: EV LV wit-ynge: AV knowing. C. 1. 239 Gelæaffullum gedafenað ðæt hī wuldrión on gedrēfednyssum, forðanðe sēo gedrēfednys wyrçð geðyld; C. 2. 213 Sēo gedrēfednys wyrcað geþyld; S., p. 244 Pacience bi desese ipreued is.

4. *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV and; *probationem*: EV LV preuyng: AV experience; *vero*: EV forsothe: LV AV and; *probatio*: EV LV preuyng: AV experience. C. 1. 239 . . and þæt geðyld āfandunge, and sēo āfandung hiht.

5. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV and; *confundit*: EV LV confoundith: AV maketh ashamed; *quia*: EV LV for: AV because; *charitas*: EV LV charite: AV love; *diffusa est*: EV LV is spred abroad: AV is shed abroad; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which. C. 1. 239, 240 Se hiht sōðlice ne bið nāfre gescynd, forðanþe Godes lufu is āgoten on ūrum heortum þurh ðone Hālgan Gāst se ðe ūs is forgifen.

6. *ut quid*: EV wherto: LV what: AV om.; *enim*: EV sothly: LV AV om.; *cum*: EV AV when: LV while that; *adhuc*: EV AV yet: LV om.; *infirmi essemus*: EV weren syke, or vnstable: LV weren sijk: AV were without strength; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV in; *tempus*: EV LV tyme: AV due time; *impiis*: EV LV wickid men: AV ungodly.

7. *vix*: EV LV vnnethis: AV scarcely; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *iusto*: EV iust: LV iust man: AV righteous man; *quis*: EV LV ony man: AV one; *moritur*: EV LV dieth: AV will die; *nam*: EV forwhi: LV and ȝit: AV yet; *bono*: EV goode: LV AV good man; *quis*: EV LV summan: AV some; *audeat*: EV LV dar: AV would dare; AV ins. even; *mori*: EV LV deye: AV to die.



8. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but; *charitatem*: EV LV charite: AV love; *in*: EV LV in: AV toward; *quoniam*: EV LV for if: AV in that; *cum*: EV LV whanne: AV while; *secundum tempus*: EV vp tyme: LV aftir the tyme: AV om.

9. *mortuus est*: EV is deed: LV was deed: AV died; *igitur*: EV om.: LV AV then; *justificati*: EV LV iustified: AV being justified; *in*: EV LV in: AV by; *salvi erimus*: EV LV schulen be saaf: AV shall be saved; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through.

10. *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *reconciliati*: EV LV recounselid: AV being reconciled; *salvi erimus*: EV LV schulen be saaf: AV shall be saved; *in*: EV LV in: AV by; *ipsius*: EV LV of hym: AV his.

11. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV and; LV ins. this; AV ins. so; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *gloriamur*: EV LV glorien: AV joy; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *reconciliationem*: EV recouncilyng, or acordyng: LV recounseling: AV atonement.

12. *propterea*: EV LV therfor: AV wherefore; *hunc*: EV LV this: AV om.; *et*: EV om.: LV AV and; *pertransiit*: EV LV passide forth: AV passed; *in*: EV LV into: AV upon; *in quo*: EV LV in which man: AV for that; *peccaverunt*: EV LV synneden: AV have sinned.

13. *usque*: EV LV til: AV until; *ad*: EV LV to: AV om.; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *imputabatur*: EV was wyitid, or rettid: LV was rettid: AV is imputed; *non*: EV LV not: AV no; *esset*: EV LV was: AV there is.

14. *sed*: EV LV but: AV nevertheless; *usque*: EV LV til: AV om.; *etiam*: EV LV also: AV even; *in*: EV LV in-to: AV over; *peccaverunt*: EV LV synneden: AV had sinned; *in*: EV LV in: AV after; *similitudinem*: EV LV licnesse: AV similitude; *prævaricationis*: EV LV trespassyng: AV transgression; *Adæ*: EV LV of Adam: AV Adam's; *qui*: EV which: LV the which: AV who; *forma*: EV foorme, or licnesse: LV licnesse: AV figure; *futuri*: EV of oon to comynge: LV of Crist to comynge: AV of him that was to come.

15. *delictum* : EV guilt, or trespas : LV guilt : AV offence ; *et* : EV and : LV om. : AV also ; AV ins. is ; *donum* : EV LV gifte : AV free gift ; *enim* : EV sothli : LV AV for ; *delicto* : EV LV guilt : AV offence ; *in* : EV LV in : AV by ; AV ins. which is ; *unius hominis* : EV LV of o man : AV by one man ; *in* : EV LV into : AV unto ; *plures* : EV LV many men : AV many.

16. AV ins. it was ; *peccatum* : EV LV synne : AV that sinned ; *et* : EV and : LV AV om. ; AV ins. is ; *donum* : EV LV bi gifte : AV gift ; *nam* : EV forwhi : LV AV for ; *judicium* : EV LV doom : AV judgment ; *quidem* : EV sothli : LV AV om. ; AV ins. was ; *ex* : EV LV of : AV by ; *in* : EV LV into : AV to ; *gratia* : EV LV grace : AV free gift ; *autem* : EV forsothe : LV AV but ; *delictis* : EV giltis, or trespassingis : LV giltis : AV offences.

17. *enim* : EV forsoth : LV AV for ; *unius* : EV LV of oon : AV one man's ; *delicto* : EV LV in the guilt : AV by offence ; *per* : EV LV thorouȝ : AV by ; *abundantiam* : EV LV plente : AV abundance ; *donationis* : EV ȝyuyng : LV of ȝyuyng : AV of the gift ; *et* : EV LV and : AV om. ; *justitiæ* : EV riȝtwisnesse : LV AV of righteousness ; *accipientes* : EV men takynge : LV men that takyn : AV they which receive.

18. *delictum* : EV LV guilt : AV offence ; AV ins. judgment came ; *in* : EV LV into : AV upon ; *in* : EV LV into : AV to ; *et* : EV and : LV om. : AV even ; AV ins. the free gift came ; *in* : EV LV into : AV upon ; *in* : EV LV into : AV unto ; *justificationem* : EV LV iustifyng : AV justification.

19. *enim* : EV sothli : LV AV for : P riȝt ; *inobedientiam* : EV LV inobedience : P vnboxumnesse : AV disobedience ; *unius hominis* : EV LV P of o man : AV one man's ; *peccatores* : EV LV AV sinners : P synful men ; *constituti sunt* : EV ben ordeyned : LV ben maad : P beȝ ymaad : AV were made ; *multi* : EV LV AV many : P many men ; *et* : EV and : LV P AV om. ; *obeditionem* : EV LV AV obedience : P boxumnesse ; *unius* : EV LV AV of one : P of an man ; *justi* : EV LV iust : P riȝtful men : AV righteous ; *constituentur* : EV schulen be ordeyned : LV schulen be : P beȝ ymaad : AV shall be made.

20 *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P and: AV moreover; *subintravit*: EV LV AV entered: P entred in; *abundaret*: EV LV schulde be plenteuouse: P were in plente: AV might abound; *delictum*: EV LV gilt: P sinne: AV offence; *ubi*: EV LV AV where: P pere as; *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV P but; *abundavit*: EV LV was plenteuouse: P was in plente: AV abounded; *delictum*: EV LV gilt: P AV sin; EV ins. and; *superabundavit*: EV haboundide, or was plenteuous: LV was more plenteuouse: P was in more plente: AV did much more abound.

21. *sicut*: EV LV AV as: P riȝt as; *regnavit*: EV LV P regnede: AV hath reigned; *in*: EV LV P into: AV unto; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV even; *regnet*: EV LV regne: P schulde regne: AV might reign; *per*: EV LV bi: P AV through; *justitiam*: EV LV AV righteousness: P riȝtfulnesse; *in*: EV LV P into: AV unto; *aeternam*: EV LV P euerlastynge: AV eternal.

6. 1. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: P AV then; *dicemus*: EV LV AV shall say: P schulde seye; *permanebimus*: EV LV P schulen dwelle: AV shall continue; P ins. ȝet stille; *abundet*: EV LV P be plenteuouse: AV may abound.

2. *absit*: EV ferr be it: LV P AV God forbid; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P for: AV om.; *adhuc*: EV LV ȝit: P ȝit stille: AV any longer; *vivemus*: EV LV AV shall live: P schulde dwelle; *in illo*: EV LV AV therein: P in sunne.

3. *an*: EV LV P whether: AV om.; *ignoratis*: EV vnknown: LV P AV know not; *quia*: EV for: LV P AV that; *quicumque*: EV LV whiche euer we: P whuche of ous: AV so many of us as; *baptizati sumus*: EV ben baptysid, or cristened: LV P AV were baptized; *in* (twice): EV LV P in: AV into.

4. *consepulti sumus*: EV LV P ben togidere biried: AV are buried; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P for: AV therefore; *per*: EV LV AV by: P þorowȝ; *baptismum*: EV cristendom: LV P AV baptism; *quomodo*: EV LV as: P riȝt as: AV like as; *surrexit*: EV roos: LV aroos: P aros up: AV was

raised up; *mortuis*: EV deede spiritis: LV deth: P dep to lyf: AV the dead; *per*: EV LV AV by: P þorowz; *gloriam*: EV LV AV glory: P blysse; P ins. his; *ita*: EV LV so: P riȝt so: AV even so; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV also; *novitate*: EV LV AV newness: P neue manere; *vita*: EV LV AV life: P lyfyng; *ambulemus*: EV LV P walke we: AV should walk.

5. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for: P and; *complantati*: EV LV plauntid togidere: P beþ yplaunted togeder: AV have been planted together; *facti sumus*: EV LV ben maad: P & imad: AV om.; *similitudini*: EV LV P to the licnesse: AV in the likeness; *simul et*: EV also and: LV AV also: P also togeder; LV ins. of the licnesse; P AV ins. in the likeness; *resurrectionis*: EV LV risyng aȝen: P rysyng aȝeyn from dep to lyf: AV resurrection. S., p. 97 Ȝif we beoð i-imped to þe iliknesse of Godes deaðe, we schulen beon i-imped to þe iliknesse of his ariste.

6. *hoc*: EV om.: LV P this thing: AV this; *scientes*: EV LV witynge: P AV knowing; *simul*: EV LV togidere: P om.: AV with him; *destruatur*: EV LV P be distruyed: AV might be destroyed; *ultra non*: EV LV no more: P her-aftur . . ne . . noȝt: AV henceforth . . not; *serviamus*: EV LV P serue: AV should serve; *peccato*: EV LV P to synne: AV sin.

7. *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for; *mortuus est*: EV is deed to synne: LV AV is dead: P dyed; *justificatus est*: EV LV P is iustified: AV is freed.

8. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P and: AV now; EV LV ins. togidere.

9. *scientes*: EV LV witinge: P AV knowing; *quod*: EV LV for: P AV that; *resurgens*: EV LV rysyng aȝen: P þat aros up: AV being raised; *mortuis*: EV deede spiritis: LV deth: P dep to lyf: AV the dead; *jam*: EV LV P now: AV om.; *non*: EV LV not: P ne . . noȝt: AV no more; *illi*: EV to him: LV on hym: P upon hym: AV over him; *ultra non*: EV LV AV no more: P ne . . neuere herafter; *dominabitur*: EV schal lordschipe: LV P schal haue lordschipe: AV hath dominion.

10. *quod*: EV he that: LV P that: AV in that; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *mortuus est* (twice): EV is deed: LV was deed: P AV died; *quod*: EV he that: LV P that: AV in that; *autem*: EV sothli: LV P AV but.

11. *ita*: EV LV P so: AV likewise; *et*: EV P and: LV AV om.; *existimate*: EV LV deme: P trowe: AV reckon; *vos*: EV 3ou: LV P AV yourselves; *mortuos esse*: EV for to be deed: LV AV to be dead: P that 3e been dede; *viventes*: EV LV P lyuyng: AV alive; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but: P &; *in*: EV LV P in: AV through. S., p. 22 . . pet ich to þe world beo dead and euer liuie to þe.

12. P ins. & . . þere; *regnet*: EV LV P regne: AV let reign; *mortali*: EV LV P deedli: AV mortal; *obediatis*: EV LV obeische: P ben boxum: AV should obey; AV ins. it; *concupiscentiis*: EV LV P coueityngis: AV lusts; *ejus*: EV LV P his: AV thereof.

13. *sed*: EV but: LV AV om.: P &; *neque*: EV LV AV neither: P ne . . noȝt; *exhibeatis*: EV LV P 3yue: AV yield; *arma*: EV LV P armuris: AV as instruments; *iniquitatis*: EV LV P wickidnesse: AV unrighteousness; *exhibite*: EV LV P 3yue: AV yield; *mortuis*: EV LV P of deed men: AV from the dead; *viventes*: EV lyuyng: LV thei that lyuen: P lyuyng men: AV those that are alive; *arma*: EV LV P armuris: AV as instruments; *justitiæ*: EV LV AV righteousness: P riȝtfulnesse.

14. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV P AV for; *vobis*: EV to 3ou: LV on 3ou: P in 3ou: AV over you; *dominabitur*: EV schal lordschipe: LV P schal haue lordschipe: AV shall have dominion; P ins. heraftur; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for.

15. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: P AV then; *peccabimus*: EV AV shall sin: LV P schulen do synne; *quoniam*: EV LV P for: AV because; *absit*: EV ferr be it: LV P AV God forbid.

16. P ins. wheper; *nescitis*: EV LV witen not: P ne knoweþ noȝt: AV know not; *cui*: EV LV AV to whom: P to hym þat; *exhibetis*: EV LV P 3yuen: AV yield; *vos*:

EV LV 3ou: P AV yourselves; P ins. to ben; *ad obediendum*: EV for to obeische: LV to obeie to: P to ben buxum to hym: AV to obey; *ejus*: EV LV of that thing: P AV his; *cui*: EV LV which: P AV whom; *obeditis*: EV LV han obeschild; P beþ boxum: AV obey; *sive...sive*: EV either...othir: LV ether...ether: P wheþer...oper: AV whether...or; *obeditionis*: EV LV AV obedience: P boxumnesse; *justitiam*: EV LV AV righteousness: P riȝtfulnesse.

17. *gratias Deo*: EV I do thankyngis to God: LV P Y thanke God: AV God be thanked; *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV but: P &; *fuistis*: EV LV AV were: P habbeþ yben; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but: P but nowþe; *ex*: EV LV P of: AV from; *in*: EV LV P into: AV om.; *doctrinæ*: EV LV P techyng: AV doctrine; *in quam*: EV LV in which: P þat: AV which; *traditi estis*: EV LV 3e ben bitakun: P 3e beþ now ytake to: AV was delivered you.

18. *liberati*: EV LV delyuered: P fre: AV being made free; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P and: AV then; *a*: EV LV AV from: P of; P ins. &; *facti estis*: EV LV P ben maad: AV became; *justitiæ*: EV LV AV righteousness: P riȝtfulnesse.

19. *humanum*: EV mannis thing: LV that thing that is of man: P þing þat parteyneþ to man: AV after the manner of men; *propter*: EV LV P for: AV because of; *infirmitatem*: EV infirmite, or vnstabilnesse: LV vnstidefastnesse: P AV infirmity; *sicut*: EV LV AV as: P riȝt as; *enim*: EV sothli: LV but: P AV for; *exhibuistis*: EV LV P han 3ouun: AV have yielded; *servire*: EV P for to serue: LV to serue: AV servants; *iniquitati*: EV wickidnesse: LV P to wickidnesse: AV to iniquity; *ad*: EV to: LV P into: AV unto; *iniquitatem*: EV LV wickidnesse: P sunne: AV iniquity; *ita*: EV LV P so: AV even so; *exhibete*: AV LV P 3yue: AV yield; *servire*: EV P for to serue: LV to serue: AV servants; *justitiæ*: EV LV AV riȝtwisnesse: P riȝtfulnesse. S., p. 37 Also ge hauen giwer lichame don to hersumiende fule lustes and unriht, also doð giwer lichame heðenforð to hersumiende clenness, and rihtwisnesse, and holiness.

20. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV P AV for; *justitiæ*: EV of riȝtwisnesse: LV P of riȝtfulnesse: AV from righteousness.

21. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: P AV om.; *illis*: EV LV AV those things: P pilke pinges; *in quibus*: EV LV in which: P in þe whuche pinges: AV whereof; *erubescitis*: EV LV schamen: P AV are ashamed; *nam*: EV now therfore: LV P AV for; *illorum*: EV LV P hem: AV those things.

22. *vero*: EV forsoth: LV P AV but; *liberati*: EV LV delyuered: P fre: AV being made free; *a*: EV LV AV from: P of; *autem*: EV sotheli: LV P AV and; *facti*: EV LV maad: P bep ymaad: AV become; *in*: EV LV into: P om.: AV unto; *vero*: EV forsoth: LV P AV and; P ins. þerof.

23. *stipendia*: EV hyris: LV AV wages: P mede; LV P AV ins. is (twice); *enim*: EV treuli: LV P AV for; *gratia*: EV LV P grace: AV gift; *æterna*: EV LV P euerlastynge: AV eternal; *in*: EV LV P in: AV through.

7. 1. *an*: EV LV P whether: AV om.; *ignoratis*: EV vnknown: LV AV know not: P ne knowep noȝt; *scientibus*: EV men witinge: LV men that knowen: P pilke þat knowep: AV them that know; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *quia*: EV LV P for: AV how that; *in*: EV LV in: P on: AV over; *homine*: EV LV AV man: P hym; *dominatur*: EV LV P hath lordschipe: AV hath dominion; *quanto tempore*: EV hou longe tyme: LV as long tyme as: P AV as long as; *vivit*: EV LV it lyueth: P a man lyfep: AV he liveth.

2. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *quæ*: EV LV that . . that: P þat: AV which; *sub viro est*: EV LV is vndur an hosebonde: P is vnder here housbonde: AV hath an husband; *vivente viro*: EV lyuyng the hosebonde: LV while the hosebonde lyueth: P whyles þat hure housbonde lyfep: AV to her husband so long as he liveth; *legi*: EV LV P to the lawe: AV by the law; *autem*: EV sothli: LV P AV but; *mortuus fuerit*: EV P AV be dead: LV is deed; *soluta est*: EV is delyuered, or vnbounden: LV P is delyuered: AV is loosed; *viri*: EV the man: LV the hosebonde: P AV her husband.

3. *igitur*: EV LV therfor: P panne: AV so then; *vivente viro*: EV lyuynghe the man: LV while the hosebonde lyueth: P AV while her husband liveth; *vocabitur*: EV LV P schal be clepid: AV shall be called; *adultera*: EV LV auoutresse: P spousebrekere: AV adulteress; *fuert*: EV schal be: LV P be: AV be married; *cum*: EV LV P with: AV to; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV P AV but; *mortuus fuerit*: EV P AV be dead: LV is deed; *liberata est*: EV LV P is delyuered: AV is free; *vir*: EV the man: LV the hosebonde: P hure housbonde: AV that; *ut*: EV LV P that: AV so that; *non*: EV LV not: P ne . . noȝt: AV no; *sit*: EV LV be: P be ycleped: AV is; *adultera*: EV LV auoutresse: P spousebrekere: AV adulteress; *si*: EV LV if: P AV though; *fuert*: EV schal be: LV P be: AV be married; *cum*: EV LV P with: AV to.

4. *itaque*: EV treuli: LV P and so: AV wherefore; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV also; *mortificati estis*: EV LV P ben maad deed: AV are become dead; *per*: EV thorwȝ: LV P AV by; *sitis*: EV LV P ben: AV should be married; *alterius*: EV anotheris: LV P of another: AV to another; *qui*: EV LV P that: AV even to him who; *mortuis*: EV deede spiritis: LV deth: P dep to lyfe: AV the dead; *resurrexit*: EV LV roos agen: P ros up: AV is raised; *fructificemus*: EV we bere fruit: LV ȝe bere fruyt: P ȝe schulden make fruyt: AV we should bring forth fruit.

5. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *passiones*: EV LV P passiouns: AV motions; *que*: EV LV P that: AV which; *per*: EV LV AV by: P poroȝ; *operabantur*: EV LV P wrouȝten: AV did work; *ut fructificarent*: EV that thei schulden bere fruyt: LV to bere fruyt: P pat we schulden make oure fruyt: AV to bring forth fruit.

6. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV P AV but; *soluti sumus*: EV LV P ben vnbounden: AV are delivered; *mortis*: EV LV P deth: AV that being dead; *in qua*: EV LV in which: P ir whom: AV wherein; *ita*: EV LV P so: AV om.; *serviamus*: EV LV P seruen: AV should serve.

7. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: P AV then; *absit*: EV fer be it: LV P AV God forbid; *sed*: EV LV P but: AV nay;



*non*: EV LV AV not: P no; *cognovi*: EV LV P knewe: AV had known; *nisi*: EV no but: LV P AV but; *per*: EV LV AV by: P þoroꝝ; *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *concupiscentiam*: EV LV coueitynge: P coueytise: AV lust; EV ins. for to be synne; LV ins. that . . was synne; *nesciebam*: EV LV wiste not: P knew noȝt: AV had not known; *nisi*: EV no but: LV but for: P bote for as muche as: AV except; *diceret*: EV LV P seide: AV had said; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . not.

8. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV and: P & so: AV but; *accepta*: EV takun: LV thorouȝ . . takun: P in takynge: AV taking; *mandatum*: EV LV maundement: P AV commandment; P ins. of þe lawe; *operatum est*: EV LV P hath wrought: AV wrought; *omnem*: EV LV al: P eferiche: AV all manner of; *concupiscentiam*: EV coueityng, or coueityse: LV P coueytise: AV concupiscence; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for.

9. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV P and: AV for; *vivebam*: EV LV P lyuede: AV was alive; *aliquando*: EV LV P sumtyme: AV once; *cum*: EV LV AV when: P whanne þat; *venisset*: EV hadde comen: LV P was comun: AV came; *revixit*: EV LV P lyuede agen: AV revived.

10. *autem*: EV sothli: LV P but: AV and; *mortuus sum*: EV am deed: LV P was deed: AV died; *et*: EV LV AV and: P & so; *inventum est mihi*: EV is founden to me: LV was foundun to me: P om.: AV I found; *quod*: EV LV P that: AV which; *erat*: EV LV was: P was yfounde: AV was ordeyned; *hoc*: EV this thing: LV this: P it: AV om.; *esse*: EV for to be: LV AV to be: P was.

11. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *accepta*: EV takun: LV thorouȝ . . takun: P in takynge: AV taking; *per*: EV LV AV by: P þorowȝ; *seduxit*: EV LV AV deceived: P bygyled; *per illud*: EV AV by it: LV bi that: P þoroꝝ it.

12. *itaque*: EV P and so: LV therfor: AV wherefore; *quidem*: EV sotheli: LV AV om.: P ȝit; LV P AV ins. is; LV ins. is; *justum*: EV LV AV just: P riȝtful.

13. P ins. what þanne; *quod*: EV that that: LV P

that thing that: AV that which; *est*: EV LV AV is: P was; *factum est*: EV LV is maad: P AV was made; *absit*: EV fer be it: LV P AV God forbid; *appareat*: EV appere, or be knowen: LV P seme: AV might appear; *per*: EV LV P thorouȝ: AV by; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: P þat þing þat was good: AV that which is good; *operatum est*: EV LV P wrouȝt: AV working; *mihi*: EV LV P to me: AV in me; *fiat peccans peccatum*: EV ther be maad synne synnyng: LV me synne: P sunne be ymade sunge: AV sin might become sinful; *supra modum*: EV ouer manere, or mesure: LV ouer maner: P aboue maner: AV exceeding; *per*: EV AV by: LV P thorouȝ.

14. *scimus*: EV LV witen: P AV know; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P and: AV for; *quia*: EV for: LV P AV that; *spiritualis*: EV spiritual, or goostli: LV P AV spiritual; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but: P &; *carnalis*: EV LV P fleischli: AV carnal: P om. am, ins. &.

15. *quod*: EV LV that that: P þat þing þat: AV that which; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for; *operor*: EV LV P worche: AV do; *non* (twice): EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt; *intelligo*: EV LV P vndurstonde: AV allow; *enim*: EV sothly: LV P AV for; *quod*: EV LV P that: AV what; *volo*: EV LV wole: P haue wille to: AV would; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: P þat þing þat is good &: AV om.; *hoc*: EV LV om.: P AV that; *quod*: EV LV P that: AV what; *odi*: EV LV AV hate: P haue yhated; *malum*: EV LV thilke yuel thing: P þat þing þat is yfel &: AV om.; *illud*: EV LV om.: P AV that.

16. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P and: AV then; *quod*: EV LV P that: AV which; *nolo*: EV LV wole not: P wole noȝt do: AV would not; *illud*: EV LV P that thing: AV that; *consentio*: EV LV AV consent: P assente; *quoniam*: EV for: LV P AV that.

17. *autem*: EV sothely: LV P but: AV then; AV ins. it is; *jam non*: EV LV not now: P ne . . noȝt: AV no more; *operor*: EV LV P worche: AV that do; *illud*: EV om.: LV P AV it; EV ins. that.

18. *scio*: EV LV wot: P wot wel: AV know; *enim*: EV sothli: LV but and: P AV for; *quia*: EV for: LV P AV

that; *non*: EV LV AV no: P noȝt; P ins. it; *hoc est*: EV LV AV that is: P þat is to seye; *bonum*: EV LV good: P þat þing þat is good: AV good thing; *nam*: EV forwhi: LV AV for: P & so; *velle*: EV LV P wille: AV to will; *adjacet*: EV LV lieth: P falleþ: AV is present; *mihi*: EV LV P to me: AV with me; *perficere*: EV for to performe: LV P AV to perform; *autem*: EV trewli: LV P AV but; AV ins. how; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: P þat þing þat is good: AV that which is good; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt. S., p. 97 No god in us nis of us.

19. *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV P AV for; *volo*: EV LV wole: P AV would; *bonum*: EV LV thilke good thing: P þat good: AV the good; *quod*: EV LV P that: AV which; *nolo*: EV LV wole not: P nolde noȝt: AV would not; *malum*: EV LV thilke yuel thing: P þat efel: AV the evil; *hoc*: EV LV om.: P AV that.

20. *autem*: EV sothli: LV P and: AV now; *quod*: EV LV P that: AV om.; *nolo*: EV LV wole not: P nole noȝt: AV would not; *illud*: EV P that thing: LV that yuel thing: AV that; *jam non*: EV LV not: P ne . . noȝt: AV no more; AV ins. that; *operor*: EV LV P worche: AV do; *illud*: EV LV AV it: P þat.

21. *igitur*: EV LV therfor: P & perfore: AV then; *volenti mihi*: EV LV to me willynge: P to me þat wol: AV when I would; *facere*: EV for to do: LV to do: P AV do; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: P AV good; *quoniam*: EV LV P for: AV that; *mihi*: EV LV P to me: AV with me; *malum*: EV LV yuel thing: P AV evil; *adjacet*: EV lieth to: LV lieth: P falleþ: AV is present; EV ins. therefore the lawe is good to me willinge.

22. *condecor*: EV LV delite togidere: P haue delyt: AV delight; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for: P &; *legi*: EV LV P to the lawe: AV in the law; *Dei*: EV LV AV God: P good; *secundum*: EV vp: LV P AV after; *interiorem*: EV LV ynnere: P myn inward: AV inward.

23. *autem*: EV sothly: LV P AV but; *repugnantem*: EV LV aȝenfistyng: P þat aȝeynstondeþ: AV warring against; *legi*: EV to the lawe: LV P AV the lawe; *mentis*:

EV LV soule: P þoȝt: AV mind; *captivantem*: EV LV makyng caitif: P makeþ ytake: AV bringing into captivity; *in*: EV LV P in: AV to; *quæ*: EV LV P that: AV which. C. I. 44 . . ðæt hē gesāwe ððerne gewunan qnd ððerne willan on his limum, qnd sē wære feohtende wið ððem willan his mōdes, qnd hine gehæftne lædde on synne gewunan; C. I. 73 Ic gesēo ððere æ in mīnum leomum wið-feohtende þære æ mīnes moodes, qnd gehæftende mec is lædende in synne æ, sēo is in mīnum leomum.

24. *infelix*: EV wooful: LV P vnceli: AV wretched; LV ins. am; P ins. þat am; AV ins. O . . that am.; *mortis*: EV LV synne: P AV death.

25. EV ins. forsothe; *gratia*: EV LV P grace: AV I thank; *per*: EV LV bi: P AV through; *igitur*: EV LV therfor: P & þefore: AV so then; *mente*: EV by resoun of the soule: LV bi the soule: P in my þoȝt: AV with the mind; *legi*: EV LV P to the law: AV the law; *carne*: EV LV bi fleisch: P in my flesche: AV with the flesh; *legi*: EV LV P to law: AV law.

8. 1. *nihil*: EV LV P no thing: AV no; *damnationis*: EV LV P of dampnacion: AV condemnation; *iis*: EV LV AV them: P þese; *qui*: EV LV P that: AV which; *qui*: EV LV which: P þat: AV who; *ambulant*: EV LV wandren: P AV walk; AV ins. but after the Spirit.

2. *lex*: EV om.: LV P AV law; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *spiritus*: EV spirit: LV P AV of the spirit; *liberavit*: EV LV P hath delyuered: AV hath made me free.

3. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *quod*: EV LV P that that: AV what; *impossibile erat legi*: EV LV P was vnpossible to the lawe: AV the law could not do; *quo*: EV LV what thing: P þe whuche þing: AV that; *infirmabatur*: EV it was syk, or freel: LV it was syk: P man was ymaad sek: AV it was weak; *per*: EV LV bi: P AV through; *suum*: EV LV P his: AV his own; *mittens*: EV AV sending: LV sente: P sende; *in*: EV LV into: P AV in; *peccati*: EV LV P of synne: AV sinful; *et*: EV om.: LV P AV and; *de*:

EV LV P of: AV for; *dammavit*: EV LV P dampnede: AV condemned.

4. *justificatio*: EV LV P iustefiung: AV righteousness; *impleretur*: EV LV P were fulfillid: AV might be fulfilled; *qui*: EV LV P that: AV who; *ambulamus*: EV wandren: LV goen: P AV walk.

5. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *quæ*: EV LV tho thingis that: P pilke pinges þat: AV the things; *sunt*: EV LV ben: P beþ: AV om.; *sapiunt*: EV LV saueren: P pilke safereþ: AV do mind; *quæ*: EV LV tho thingis that: P pilke pinges þat: AV the things; *sunt*: EV LV ben: P beþ: AV om.; *sentiunt*: EV LV feelen: P pilke feleþ: AV om.

6. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *prudentia carnis*: EV LV prudence of fleisch: P wisdom of flesch: AV to be carnally minded; *prudentia spiritus*: EV LV prudence of spirit: P wisdom of spiryt: AV to be spiritually minded; LV P AV ins. is.

7. *quoniam*: EV LV P for: AV because; *sapientia carnis*: EV LV P wisdom of fleisch: AV carnal mind; *inimica*: EV LV P enemye: AV enmity; *Deo*: EV LV P to God: AV against God; *legi*: EV LV AV to law: P lawe; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt; *nec*: EV LV AV neither: P ne . . not; *enim*: EV sothly: LV for: P om.: AV indeed; *potest*: EV LV may: P may ben soget: AV can be.

8. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P and: AV so then; *Deo*: EV LV to God: P AV God; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . not; *possunt*: EV LV moun: P pilke mowe: AV can.

9. *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV but: P &; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt; *tamen*: EV LV nethelless: P þat: AV so be that; *si quis*: EV LV if ony: P who þat: AV if any man; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV but: P &: AV now; *hic*: EV LV this: P AV he; *non*: EV LV not: P ne . . noȝt: AV none; *ejus*: EV LV his: P of hym: AV of his. C. 1. 240 Witodlice, sē ðe Crīstes Gāst on him næfð, nis sē his.

10. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV for: P AV and; P ins. that; *est*: EV LV P is: AV be; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV AV om.: P þanne; *propter*: EV LV P for: AV because of; *vivit*:

EV LV P lyueth: AV is life; *propter*: EV LV P for: AV because of; *justificationem*: EV LV iustefiying: P iustificacioun: AV righteousnes.

11. *quod*: EV for: LV P and: AV but; *suscitavit*: EV LV reise: P arered: AV raised up; *mortuis*: EV deede spiritis: LV deth: P deþ to lyfe: AV the dead; *suscitavit*: EV LV reise: P arered: AV raised up; *mortuis*: EV deede spiritis: LV deth: P deþ to lyfe: AV the dead; *et*: EV and: LV AV also: P om.; *mortalia*: EV LV P deedli: AV mortal; *propter*: EV LV P for: AV by; *inhabitantem*: EV dwellinge: LV P AV that dwelleth; *eius*: EV LV of hym: P AV his.

12. P ins. &; *ut vivamus*: EV LV P that we lyuen: AV to live.

13. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *vixeritis*: EV schulen lyue: LV P AV live; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P AV but; *spiritu*: EV LV bi the spirit: P AV through the spirit; *facta*: EV LV AV deeds: P werkes; *carnis*: EV LV P fleisch: AV body; *mortificaveritis*: EV schulen sle: LV P sleen: AV do mortify.

14. *quicumque*: EV LV P whoeuere: AV as many as; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for; *spiritu*: EV LV AV by the spirit: P þorowþ þe spiryt; *aguntur*: EV LV AV are led: P beþ ymaad; *ii*: EV LV thes: P AV they; *fili*: EV LV AV sons: P chyl dren; *Dei*: EV LV AV of God: P Godes.

15. *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . nozt; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV P AV for; *accepistis*: EV LV han take: P hafep vnderfongen: AV have received; *servitutis*: EV LV seruage: P þraldom: AV bondage; *iterum*: EV LV P eftsoone: AV again; *in*: EV LV P in: AV to; *timore*: EV LV P drede: AV fear; *accepistis*: EV LV han taken: P haueþ vnderfongen: AV have received; *adoptionis*: EV LV AV adoption: P bygetynge; *fili*: EV of sones, that is, to be sones of God by grace: LV of sones: P of children: AV om.; *in quo*: EV P in which spirit: LV in which: AV whereby; *Abba* (*Pater*): EV LV AV Abba, father: P to God our Fadur. C. 1. 44 Ne underfēngon gē nō ðone gāst æt ðām fulluhte tō ðēowianne for ēge, ac gē hiene underfēngon tō ðām ðæt

gē Gode geāgnudu bearn bēon scylen, forðy wē clipiað tō Gode, and cweðað: Fæder, Fæder; C. 2. 101 Gē onfēngon bearna gewīscinge gāst, on þām wē clypiað: Abba, þæt is Fæder.

16. *ipse*: EV LV ilke: P þat: AV itself; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV and: P for: AV om.; *testimonium*: EV LV witnessyng: P AV witness; *reddet*: EV LV zeldith: P zefep: AV beareth; *spiritui*: EV LV P to spirit: AV with spirit; *filii*: EV LV sones: P AV children; *Dei*: EV LV AV of God: P Godes.

17. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV om.: P AV and; P ins. we bep; *filii*: EV LV sones: P AV children; *et*: EV LV P and: AV then; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV and: P AV om.; P ins. we bep; *coheredes*: EV euene eyris: LV eiris togidere: P eyres: AV joint heirs; *autem*: EV trewli: LV P AV and; *tamen*: EV LV netheles: P it is so þat: AV so be that; *compatimur*: EV LV suffren togidere: AV suffer with him; *et*: EV and: LV AV also: P om.; *conglorificemur*: EV LV P ben glorified togidere: AV may be glorified together.

18. *existimo*: EV LV deme: P trowe: AV reckon; *enim*: EV trewli: LV P and: AV for; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . . noȝt; *condigne*: EV euene worthi: LV P AV worthy; *passiones*: EV LV passious: P AV sufferings; *hujus*: EV LV P this: AV this present; *ad*: EV LV P to: AV to be compared with; *futuram*: EV LV to comynge: P heraftur: AV om.; *gloriam*: EV LV AV glory: P blisse; *quæ*: EV LV P that: AV which; *revelabitur*: EV LV P schal be schewid: AV shall be revealed. C. 1. 240 Ne sind nā tō wiðmetenne ðā prōwunga þyssere tīde ðām tōweardan wuldre þe bið on ūs geswutelod; C. 2. 124 Ic wēne sōðlice þæt ne synd nā emlice þissere tīde prōwunge þām tōweardum wuldre þe bið geswutelod on ūs sylfum.

19. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *expectatio*: EV LV P abidyng: AV earnest expectation; *creaturæ*: EV creature, that is, man: LV P AV creature; *revelationem*: EV LV P schewyng: AV manifestation; *filiorum*: EV LV AV sons: P children; *Dei*: EV LV AV of God: P Goddis; *expectat*: EV LV P abidith: AV waiteth for.

20. *enim*: EV sothli: LV but: P AV for; P ins. eferich; *subjecta est*: EV LV P is suget: AV was made subject; *volens*: EV LV willynge: P wilfillyche: AV willingly; *propter*: EV LV P for: AV by reason of; *qui*: EV LV P that: AV who; *subjecit*: EV sugetide, or made suget: LV mad suget: P hap ymaad soget: AV hath subjected; *eam*: EV LV it: P hure: AV the same.

21. *quia*: EV LV P for: AV because; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV also; *ipsa*: EV LV ilke: P þat: AV itself; *servitute*: EV LV seruage: P þraldom: AV bondage; *libertatem*: EV LV AV liberty: P fredom; *gloriæ*: EV LV glory: P blisse: AV glorious; *filiorum*: EV LV sonnes: P AV children; *Dei*: EV LV AV of God: P Godes.

22. *scimus*: EV LV witen: P AV know; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P and: AV for; *omnis*: EV LV ech: P eferich: AV whole; *creatura*: EV LV P creature: AV creation; *ingemiscit*: EV insorwith: LV sorewith: P makeþ waymentacyoun: AV groaneth; *parturit*: EV childith, or worchith with angwis: LV trauelith with peyne: P om.: AV travail-eth in pain; *usque*: EV LV til: P ȝit: AV until; *adhuc*: EV LV ȝit: P nowþe: AV now.

23. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV and: P om.; *illa*: EV LV it: P heo: AV they; *et*: EV and: LV P AV also; *nos ipsi*: EV LV we silf: P we: AV ourselves; *habentes*: EV hauynge: LV that han: P þat habbeþ: AV which have; *et*: EV LV and: P om.: AV even; *ipsi*: EV LV we vssilf: P we: AV we ourselves; *nos*: EV LV vs: P ousself: AV ourselves; *gemimus*: EV LV sorewen: P makeþ waymentacyoun: AV groan; *adoptionem*: EV LV AV adoption: P bygetynge; *filiorum Dei*: EV LV Goddis sonys: P Godes children: AV om.; EV ins. that is, with greet mornynge desyren the staat of Goddis sonnes bi grace; *expectantes*: EV LV P abidynge: AV waiting for: P ins. &; AV ins. to wit; *redemptionem*: EV LV azenbiyng: P for buggynge: AV redemption.

24. *spe*: EV LV AV by hope: P þorow hope; *enim*: EV sothli: LV but: P &: AV for; *salvi facti sumus*: EV LV ben maad saaf: P AV are saved; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P for: AV but; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . non; *nam*: EV



forwhi: LV P AV for; *quod*: EV LV P that thing that: AV what; *quis*: EV P AV a man: LV who; *quid*: EV what: LV P om.: AV why; *sperat*: EV LV P hopith: AV doth hope for; P ins. ne . . noȝt.

25. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P and: AV but; *quod*: EV LV that thing that: P þing þat: AV that; *speramus*: EV LV P hopen: AV hope for; *per*: EV LV bi: P þoroȝ: AV with; *expectamus*: EV LV P abiden: AV do wait for; P ins. þat þyng; AV ins. then . . it.

26. *similiter autem et*: EV LV P and also: AV likewise also; *infirmiſtatem*: EV infirmyte, or vnstedefastnesse: LV P infirmyte: AV infirmities; *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *quid oremus*: EV LV what we schulen preie: P preyen: AV what we should pray for; *oportet*: EV LV P it bihoueth: AV we ought; *nescimus*: EV LV witen not: P ne koneþ noȝt: AV know not; *ipse*: EV LV ilke: P om.: AV itself; *postulat*: EV LV axith: P preyeþ: AV maketh intercession; *gemitibus*: EV LV with sorewyngis: P þoroȝ sykynges: AV with groanings; *inenarrabilibus*: EV LV that moun not be told out: P þat mowe noȝt ben ytold: AV which cannot be uttered.

27. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV for: P AV and; *scrutatur*: EV LV sekith: P AV searcheth; *scit*: EV LV woot: P AV knoweth; *desideret*: EV LV P desirith: AV is the mind of; *quia*: EV LV for: P that: AV because; *secundum Deum*: EV aftir God, that is, at Goddis wille: LV bi God: P þoroȝ God: AV according to the will of God; *postulat*: EV LV axith: P preyeþ: AV maketh intercession; *sanctis*: EV LV hooli men: P AV saints.

28. *scimus*: EV LV witen: P AV know; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV P AV and; *quoniam*: EV for: LV P AV that; *diligentibus*: EV men louynge: LV men that louen: P þilke þat lofeþ: AV them that love; *in*: EV LV P into: AV for; *bonum*: EV good thing: LV P AV good; *is*: EV LV AV them: P þilke; *qui*: EV LV P that: AV who; *secundum*: EV LV P aftir: AV according to; AV ins. his; *vocati sunt*: EV LV P ben clepid: AV are the called; *sancti*: EV LV seyntis: P holy men: AV om.

29. *nam*: EV forwhy: LV P AV for; EV ins. and; *quos*: EV AV whom: LV thilke that: P þilke; *præscivit*: EV wiste bifore: LV P knewe bifor: AV did foreknow; *et*: EV P and: LV om.: AV also; *prædestinavit*: EV ordeyned by grace: LV bifor ordenede bi grace: P ordeyned byfore: AV did predestinate; *conformes fieri*: EV for to be maad lychi: LV to be maad lijk: P AV to be conformed; *imagineis*: EV of the ymage: LV P AV to the image; *sit*: EV LV P be: AV might be; *primogenitus*: EV LV first bigetun: P furste bygete sone: AV first born; *in*: EV P in: LV AV among.

30. *quos*: EV AV whom: LV P thilke that; *autem*: EV sothely: LV P and: AV moreover; *prædestinavit*: EV LV bifore ordeyned to blis: P ordeyned byfore: AV did predestinate; *hos*: EV LV AV them: P þilke; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV also; *vocavit*: EV LV clepide: P hæp ycleped: AV called; *quos*: EV AV whom: LV whiche: P þilke þat; *vocavit*: EV LV P clepide: AV called; *hos*: EV LV AV them: P þilke; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV also; *justificavit*: EV LV AV justified: P hæp yiustifyed; *quos*: EV AV whom: LV whiche: P þilke; *et*: EV sothli: LV P AV and; *justificavit*: EV LV AV justified: P yiustifyed; *illos*: EV LV AV them: P þilke; *et*: EV LV and: P om.: AV also; *glorificavit*: EV LV AV glorified: P hæp ymagnifyed. C. 1. 240 Ðā ðe hē forestihte, þā hē ēac clypode him tō; and ða ðe hē him tō clypode, ðā hē gerihtwisode: and þā þe hē gerihtwisode, þa hē gemærsode.

31. *ergo*: EV therfore: LV P AV then; *dicemus*: EV LV AV shall say: P schulde seye; *ad hæc*: EV LV AV to these things: P om.; *pro*: EV LV AV for: P wiþ; LV ins. is; P ins. is . . is: AV ins. be . . can be.

32. *qui*: EV LV the which: P he: AV he that; *etiam*: EV LV also: P and: AV om.; *tradidit*: EV LV bitook: P ʒef: AV delivered up; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noʒt; *etiam*: EV LV AV also: P &; *nobis*: EV LV to vs: P AV us; *donabit*: EV LV ʒaf: P hæp yʒeuen: AV shall freely give. C. 1. 240 God Fæder ne sparode his āgenum Bearne, ac for ūs eallum hine tō dēaðe sealde; S., p. 22 God ne sparede na his āzene berne, ac ʒef hine to cwale for us alle.

33. P ins. & ; *accusabit* : EV LV P schal accuse : AV shall lay anything to the charge of ; *adversus* : EV LV P *azens* : AV om. ; *electos* : EV chosene sones : LV chosun men : P hem þat bep ychosen : AV elect ; *Dei* : EV LV P of God : AV God's ; LV AV ins. it is.

34. *qui* : EV LV it that : P AV he that ; *condemnet* : EV LV AV condemneth : P schal deme ; LV AV ins. it is ; *mortuus est* : EV is deed : LV was deed : P AV died ; *immo* : EV LV yea : P om. : AV yea rather ; *qui* : EV LV the which : P om. : AV that ; *et* : EV and : LV AV om. : P & also ; *resurrexit* : EV LV roos *azen* : P ros from dep to lyfe : AV is risen again ; *qui* : EV LV the which : P & : AV who ; *ad* : EV LV P on : AV even at ; *dexteram* : EV LV riȝt half : P riȝtsyde : AV right hand ; *qui* : EV LV the which : P & : AV who ; *etiam* : EV LV and : P AV also ; *interpellat* : EV LV P preieth : AV maketh intercession.

35. *ergo* : EV therfore : LV P then : AV om. ; *separabit* : EV LV P schal departe ; *charitate* : EV LV P charite : AV love ; *Christi* : EV God : LV P AV Christ ; *angustia* : EV LV P anguysch : AV distress ; *fames* : EV LV P hunger : AV famine ; *nuditas* : EV LV AV nakedness : P nakedschep ; *an* (six times) : EV LV AV or : P oper. S., p. 22, 225. See v. 39.

36. *quia* : EV LV for : P AV om. ; *propter te* : EV LV P for thee : AV for thy sake ; *mortificamur* : EV LV P ben slayn : AV are killed ; *tota die* : EV LV P al dai : AV all the day long ; P ins. & ; *æstimati sumus* : EV LV ben gessid : P me wenep : AV are accounted ; *sicut* : EV LV AV as : P þat we ben ; *occisionis* : EV to slauchtir : LV of slauchtir : P of sleynge : AV for the slaughter.

37. *sed* : EV LV P but : AV nay ; *superamus* : EV LV P ouercomen : AV are more than conquerors ; *propter* : EV LV P for : AV through. C. 2. 101 Wē oferswiðredon on þysum eallum, þurh þone þe ūs lufode.

38. *certus* : EV LV P certeyn : AV persuaded ; *enim* : sothli : LV but : P & : AV for ; *quia* : EV for : LV P AV that ; *principatus* : EV pryncipatis : LV principatus : P AV principalities ; *virtutes* : EV virtutes : LV P vertues : AV powers ;

EV ins. potestatis; *instantia*: EV LV present thingis: P pinges þat beþ nowþe: AV things present; *futura*: EV LV thingis to comynge: P pinges þat schulleþ ben heraftur: AV things to come; *fortitudo*: EV LV P strengthe: AV om.; *neque* (seven times): EV LV nethir: P ne: AV nor. S., p. 22, 225. See v. 39.

39. *neque* (three times): EV LV nethir: P ne: AV nor; *altitudo*: EV LV AV height: P hyzenesse; *profundum*: EV LV P depnesse: AV depth; *alia*: EV othir: LV P noon othir: AV any other; *poterit*: EV schal may: LV P may: AV shall be able; *separare*: EV LV P departe: AV to separate; *charitate*: EV LV P charite: AV love; *quæ*: EV LV P that: AV which. S., p. 22 Hwet mei tweamen us from Godd? . . (Ih) am siker . . (þat ne schal lif ne deð, ne wa, ne wanne) nowðer (to dealen us aut his luue); S., p. 225 Huo ssal ous to-dele uram Cristes loue? Tribulacion, oþer zorþe, and oþre? Zykere byeþ, uor noþer dyeþ, ne lyf, and oþre.

9. 1. *testimonium*: EV LV witnessyng: AV witness; *mihi*: EV LV to me: AV me; *perhibente*: EV AV bearing: LV berith; LV ins. for; AV ins. also.

2. *quoniam*: EV LV for: AV that; *mihi est*: EV LV is to me: AV I have; *cordi*: EV LV to herte: AV in heart.

3. *optabam*: EV LV desiride: AV could wish; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *anathema esse*: EV for to be cursid, or departid: LV to be departid: AV that . . were accursed; *qui sunt*: EV LV that ben: AV om.; *cognati*: EV LV cosyns: AV kinsmen; *secundum*: EV LV aftir: AV according to.

4. *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *Israelite*: EV Israel-tytis, or of Israel: LV men of Israel: AV Israelites; *quorum*: EV LV whos: AV to whom; *est*: EV LV is: AV pertaineth; *filiorum*: EV LV sones: AV om.; *testamentum*: EV LV testament: AV covenants; AV ins. of God; *promissa*: EV LV biheestis: AV promises.

5. *quibus*: EV AV whom: LV which; *est*: EV om.: LV is: AV came; *secundum*: EV LV aftir: AV as concerning; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *super*: EV LV aboue: AV over; *omnia*: EV LV alle thingis: AV all; *in sæcula*: EV LV in-

to worldis: AV for ever. S., p. 97 Ure Louerd þet is eadi ouer alle.

6. *autem*: EV sothli: LV but: AV om.; *quod*: EV LV that: AV as though; *exciderit*: EV hath falle down, or failide vnfulfillid: LV hath falle down: AV hath taken none effect; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *ii*: EV LV these: AV they; *Israelite*: EV Israelitis, or sones of Jacob: LV Israelitis: AV Israel.

7. *qui*: EV LV that: AV because they; *fili*: EV LV sonys: AV children; *vocabitur*: EV LV schal be clepid: AV shall be called; *tibi*: EV LV to thee: AV thy.

8. *id est*: EV LV that is to seye: AV that is; *qui*: EV LV that: AV they which; *fili*: EV LV sones: AV children; *hi*: EV LV thei: AV these; *fili*: EV LV sones: AV children; *qui*: EV LV thei that ben: AV om.; *fili*: EV LV sones: AV children; *sunt*: EV LV ben: AV om.; *promissionis*: EV LV biheeste: AV promise; *æstimantur*: EV LV ben demed: AV are counted; *in*: EV LV in: AV for; EV ins. of biheeste.

9. *promissionis*: EV LV biheest: AV promise; *enim*: EV sothli: LV forwhi: AV for; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV at; *veniam*: EV LV schal come: AV will come; *erit Sara*: EV LV schal be to Sare: AV Sarah shall have.

10. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV and; *illa*: EV LV sche: AV this; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *ex uno concubitu habens*: EV of o liggyng-by hauynge: LV hadde of o liggyng-bi: AV when . . had conceived by one; EV LV ins. twey sones; AV ins. even; *Isaac*: EV LV of Isaac: AV by Isaac.

11. *cum . . . nati fuissent*: EV LV whanne thei weren borun: AV the children being born; *enim*: EV sothli: LV and: AV for; *aut . . . aut*: EV ether . . or: LV nether . . ether: AV neither . . or; *aliquid boni*: EV LV only thing of good: AV any good; *egissent*: EV LV hadden don: AV having done; *secundum*: EV vp: LV bi: AV according to; *maneret*: EV LV schulde dwelle: AV might stand.

12. *vocante*: EV LV God clepyng: AV him that calleth; *dictum est*: EV is seid: LV AV was said; *ei*: EV LV to hym: AV unto her; *quia*: EV for: LV that: AV om.;

*major*: EV LV the more: AV the elder; *serviet*: EV AV shall serve: LV schulde serue; *minori*: EV to the lasse: LV the lesse: AV the younger.

13. *dilexi*: EV LV louede: AV have loved; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *odio habui*: EV hadde in hate: LV hatide: AV have hated. C. 1. 240 God lufode Iacob, and hatode Esau.

14. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: AV then; *numquid*: EV LV whether: AV om.; EV LV ins. be; AV ins. is there; *iniquitas*: EV LV wickidnesse: AV unrighteousness; *apud*: EV LV anentis: AV with; *absit*: EV fer be it: LV AV God forbid.

15. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *miserebor*: EV LV schal haue merci: AV will have mercy; *cujus*: EV to whom: LV AV on whom; *misereor*: EV schal haue mercy: LV haue merci: AV will have mercy; *miserecordiam*: EV LV merci: AV compassion; *præstabo*: EV LV schal ȝyue: AV will have; *cujus*: EV to whom: LV AV on whom; *miserebor*: EV LV schal haue merci: AV will have compassion.

16. *igitur*: EV LV therfor: AV so then; *volentis*: EV LV man willynge: AV him that willeth; *neque*: EV LV nethir: AV nor; *currentis*: EV LV rennynge: AV him that runneth; *miserentis*: EV LV hauyng mercy: AV that sheweth mercy.

17. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV and: AV for; *quia*: EV LV for: AV even; *in*: EV into: LV to: AV for; *hoc ipsum*: EV LV this thing: AV this same purpose; *excitavi*: EV LV haue stirid: AV have raised up; *ostendam*: EV LV schewe: AV might shew; *virtutem*: EV LV vertu: AV power; *annunciatur*: EV LV be told: AV might be declared; *in*: EV LV in: AV throughout.

18. *cujus*: EV LV of whom: AV on whom; *vult*: EV LV God wole: AV he will have mercy; *indurat*: EV endurith, or hardeneth: LV endurith: AV hardeneth.

19. *dicis*: EV LV seist: AV wilt say; *itaque*: EV and so: LV AV then; *quid*: EV what thing: LV what: AV why; *queritur*: EV LV is souȝt: AV doth he find fault; *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *resistit*: EV LV withstondith: AV hath resisted.

20. *O*: EV Aa: LV AV O; AV ins. nay but; *qui*: EV the which: LV AV that; *respondeas*: EV LV answerist: AV repliest; *Deo*: EV LV to God: AV against God; *numquid*: EV LV whether: AV om.; *dicit*: EV LV seith: AV shall say; *figmentum*: EV pott, or a maad thing: LV maad thing: AV thing formed; *finxit*: EV LV made: AV formed; *quid*: EV LV what: AV why; *sic*: EV LV so: AV thus.

21. *an*: EV LV whether: AV om.; *luti*: EV LV of clay: AV over clay; *massa*: EV LV gobet: AV lump; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV AV om.; *vero*: EV forsothe: LV om.: AV and; *contumeliam*: EV dispyt, or lowz office: LV dispit: AV dishonour.

22. *quod*: EV LV that: AV what; *ostendere*: EV for to schewe: LV AV to shew; LV AV ins. his; *facere*: EV for to make: LV AV to make; *suam*: EV om.: LV AV his; *sustinuit*: EV susteynede: LV hath suffrid: AV endured; *multa*: EV LV greet: AV much; *patientia*: EV LV pacience: AV long suffering; *apta*: EV LV able: AV fitted; *in*: EV LV into: AV to; *interitum*: EV perdicion, or dampnacion: LV deth: AV destruction.

23. AV ins. and; *ut ostenderet*: EV that he schulde schewe: LV to schewe: AV that he might make known; *in*: EV LV into: AV on; *præparavit*: EV LV made redi: AV had afore prepared; *in*: EV LV into: AV unto.

24. *quos*: EV LV which: AV whom; *et*: EV and: LV also: AV even; *vocavit*: EV LV clepide: AV hath called; *nos*: EV LV om.: AV us; *gentibus*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles.

25. AV ins. also; *vocabo*: EV LV schal clepe: AV will call; AV ins. them . . which were; *dilectam*: EV LV loued: AV beloved; AV ins. her . . which was; *et non misericordiam consecutam, misericordiam consecutam*: EV and not hauynge mercy hauynge mercy: LV and not getynge mercy getynge merci: AV om.

26. *erit*: EV LV schal be: AV shall come to pass; AV ins. that; *dictum est*: EV LV is seid: AV was said; *eis*: EV om.: LV to hem: AV unto them; AV ins. are; *vocabuntur*:

EV LV schulen be clepid : AV shall be called ; *filii* : EV LV sones : AV children.

27. *autem* : EV forsoth : LV but : AV and ; *pro* : EV LV for : AV concerning ; *si* : EV LV if : AV though ; *fuert* : EV LV schal be : AV be ; *filiorum* : EV LV om. : AV children ; *arena* : EV LV grauel : AV sand ; *reliquiae* : EV LV relifs : AV remnant ; *salvæ fient* : EV LV schulen be maad saaf : AV shall be saved. C. 2. 64 . . þeah-ðe Israhelitisce folc bēo swā mænigfyld swā-swā sandcysel þe līð on sǣstrande, þæt þe þonne tō lāfe bið, hit bið gehealden.

28. *verbum* : EV LV word : AV work ; *enim* : EV LV forsoth : AV for ; *consummans* : EV endinge : LV makynge an ende : AV he will finish ; *abbrevians* : EV LV abreggyng : AV cut it short ; *aquitate* : EV LV equityte : AV righteousness ; *quia* : EV LV for : AV because ; *verbum* : EV LV word : AV work ; *breviatum* : EV breggid, or maad short : LV breggid : AV short ; *faciet* : EV LV schal make : AV will make ; *super* : EV AV upon : LV on : EV LV ins. al.

29. *nisi* : EV no but : LV but : AV unless ; *Dominus sabaoth* : EV God : LV God of oostis : AV Lord of Sabaoth ; *nobis* : EV LV to vs : AV us ; *facti essemus* : EV LV hadden be maad : AV had been ; *fuisse* : EV LV hadden be : AV been made ; *sicut* : EV LV as : AV unto. C. 1. 240 Dominus Sabaoð, þæt is : Hæres Hlāford, oððe, Weroda Drihten.

30. *ergo* : EV LV therfor : AV then ; *gentes* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *quæ* : EV LV that : AV which ; *sectabantur* : EV LV sueden : AV followed after ; *apprehenderunt* : EV han kauft : LV han gete : AV have attained to ; *autem* : EV sothli : LV 3he : AV even ; *quæ* : EV LV that : AV which.

31. *vero* : EV forsoth : LV AV but ; *sectando* : EV LV suyng : AV which followed after ; *in* : EV LV into : AV in ; *pervenit* : EV LV cam parfitli : AV hath attained.

32. *quare* : EV LV whi : AV wherefore ; *quia* : EV LV for : AV because ; AV ins. they sought it ; *ex* : EV LV of : AV by ; *quasi* : EV LV as : AV as it were ; *ex* : EV LV of : AV by ; AV ins. of the law ; *offenderunt* : EV offendiden : LV spurneden : AV stumbled ; *enim* : EV sothli : LV and :



AV for; *in*: EV into: LV *agens*: AV at; *lapidem offensionis*: EV stoon of offensioun, or spurnynge: LV stoon of offencioun: AV stumblingstone.

33. *ecce*: EV LV lo: AV behold; *pono*: EV LV putte: AV lay; *lapidem offensionis*: EV LV stoon of offencioun: AV stumblingstone; *petram*: EV LV stoon: AV rock; *scandali*: EV LV sclaunder: AV offence; *omnis qui*: EV LV ech that: AV whosoever; *credit*: EV LV schal bileue: AV believeth; *in*: EV into: LV in: AV on; *eum*: EV LV it: AV him; *confundetur*: EV schal be confoundid, or schent: LV schal be confoundid: AV shall be ashamed.

10. 1. *voluntas*: EV LV wille: AV desire; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV AV om.; *obsecratio*: EV LV biseching: AV prayer; EV LV ins. mi; *fit*: EV LV is maad: AV is; *illis*: EV LV hem: AV Israel; *in salutem*: EV LV into helthe: AV that they might be saved.

2. *testimonium*: EV LV witnessyng: AV record; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV but: AV for; *illis*: EV LV to hem: AV them; *quod*: EV for: LV AV that; *emulationem*: EV LV loue: AV zeal; *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV according to; *scientiam*: EV LV kunnyng: AV knowledge. C. 1. 73 Hī hæfdon Godes øllnunge, ac nales æfter wisdōme.

3. *ignorantes*: EV LV vnknowynge: AV being ignorant of; LV ins. riȝtfulnesse; AV ins. righteousness; *querentes*: EV LV sekyng: AV going about; *statuere*: EV for to make stedefast: LV to make stidefast: AV to establish; *sunt subiecti*: EV LV ben suget: AV have submitted.

4. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; LV AV ins. is; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for; *omni*: EV LV ech man: AV every one; *credenti*: EV bileuyng: LV AV that believeth.

5. *enim*: EV sothli: LV AV for; *scripsit*: EV LV wroot: AV describeth; *quoniam*: EV LV for: AV that; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *fecerit*: EV LV schal do: AV doeth; AV ins. those things; *in*: EV LV in: AV by; *ea*: EV LV it: AV them.

6. *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV but; *fide*: EV LV bileue: AV faith; *sic*: EV LV thus:

AV on this wise ; *dicat* : EV LV seith : AV speaketh ; *ascendet* : EV LV schal stie : AV shall ascend ; *id est* : EV LV that is to seie : AV that is ; *deducere* : EV for to lead down : LV to lede down : AV to bring down ; AV ins. from above.

7. *descendet* : EV LV schal go down : AV shall descend ; *abyssum* : EV depnesse, or helle : LV helle : AV the deep ; *mortuis* : EV deede spiritis : LV deth : AV the dead ; *revocare* : EV for to azenclpe : LV to azenclpe : AV to bring up again.

8. *scriptura* : EV LV scripture : AV it ; AV ins. thee, even ; *hoc* : EV LV this : AV that ; *fidei* : EV LV bileue : AV faith ; *quod* : EV the which : LV AV which.

9. *confitearis* : EV LV knoulechist : AV shalt confess ; *in* : EV LV in : AV with ; *credideris* : EV LV bileuest : AV shalt believe ; *suscitavit* : EV LV reiseide : AV hath raised ; *mortuis* : EV deede spiritis : LV deth : AV the dead ; *salvus eris* : EV LV schalt be saaf : AV shalt be saved.

10. *corde* : EV LV bi herte : AV with heart ; *enim* : EV forsoth : LV AV for ; *creditur* : EV LV me bileueth : AV man believeth ; *ore* : EV LV bi mouth : AV with the mouth ; *autem* : EV sothli : LV but : AV and ; *confessio* : EV LV knowleching : AV confession ; *salutem* : EV LV helthe : AV salvation.

11. *enim* : EV sothli : LV forwhi : AV for ; *omnis qui* : EV LV ech that : AV whosoever ; *in* : EV into : LV in : AV on ; *confundetur* : EV LV schal be confoundid : AV shall be ashamed.

12. *enim* : EV sothli : LV and : AV for ; *distinctio* : EV LV distinccioun : AV difference ; *Judæi et Græci* : EV of Jew and Greek : LV of Jew and of Greek : AV between the Jew and the Greek ; *nam* : EV forwhy : LV AV for ; *omnium* : EV LV of all : AV over all ; LV AV ins. is ; *in* : EV into : LV in : AV unto ; *invocant* : EV inclepyn : LV inwardli clepen : AV call upon.

13. *omnis quicumque* : EV LV ech man whoeuere : AV whosoever ; *enim* : EV forsoth : LV AV for ; *invocaverit* : EV schal inclepe : LV schal inwardli clepe : AV shall call upon ; *salvus erit* : EV LV schal be saaf : AV shall be saved.

C. 1. 132, 240 Ælc ðæra manna þe Godes naman clypað bið gehealden.

14. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *invocabunt*: EV schulen inclepyn: LV schulen inwardli clepe: AV shall call on; *in*: EV LV into: AV in; *aut*: EV LV or: AV and; *ei*: EV LV to: AV in; *audierunt*: EV herden: LV han herd: AV have heard of; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV om.: AV and; *prædicante*: EV preching: LV AV preacher.

15. *vero*: EV or: LV AV and; *nisi*: EV no but if: LV but: AV except; *speciosi*: EV LV faire: AV beautiful: LV ins. ben; AV ins. are; *evangelizantium*: EV men euangelising: LV hem that prechen: AV that that preach the gospel of; *evangelizantium*: EV of preching: LV of hem that prechen: AV and bring glad tidings of.

16. *omnes*: EV LV alle men: AV they all; *obediunt*: EV LV obeien: AV have obeyed; *evangelio*: EV LV to gospel: AV gospel; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *credidit*: EV LV bileuede: AV hath believed; *auditui*: EV LV to heryng: AV report.

17. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: AV so then: LV ins. is; AV ins. cometh; *ex*: EV LV of: AV by; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV but: AV and; *Christi*: EV LV Crist: AV God.

18. *numquid*: EV LV whether: AV om.; *audierunt*: EV LV herden: AV have heard; *et quidem*: EV and sothli: LV þhis, sothely: AV yes, verily; *exiit*: EV LV wente out: AV went; *sonus*: EV LV word: AV sound; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *orbis terræ*: EV roundnesse of the erthe: LV AV world.

19. *numquid*: EV LV whether: AV om.; *cognovit*: EV LV knewe: AV did know; *emulationem*: EV LV enuye: AV jealousy; *adducam*: EV LV schal lede: AV will provoke; *in non gentem*: EV into not a folk: LV that ȝe ben no folc: AV by them that are no people; *in gentem insipientem*: EV into an vnwys folk: LV that ȝe ben an vnwise folc: AV and by a foolish nation; *in iram mittam*: EV LV schal sende into wraththe: AV will anger.

20. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV but; *audet*: EV dar: LV is bold: AV is very bold; *inventus sum*: EV LV

*am* foundun : AV was found ; *querentibus* : EV men sekinge : LV men that seken : AV them that sought ; *palam apparui* : EV LV opynli apperide : AV was made manifest ; *interrogabant* : EV LV axiden : AV asked after.

21. *autem* : EV forsothe : LV AV but ; *tota die* : EV LV al dai : AV all day long ; *expandi* : EV LV streizte out : AV have stretched forth ; *non credentem* : EV not bileuyng to me : LV that bileuede not : AV disobedient ; *et* : EV LV but : AV and ; *contradicentem* : EV azenseyinge : LV azenseide me : AV gainsaying.

II. 1. *ergo* : EV LV therfor : AV then ; *numquid* : EV LV whether : AV om. ; *repulit* : EV LV hath put awei : AV hath cast away ; *absit* : EV ferr be it : LV AV God forbid ; *nam* : EV forwhy : LV AV for ; *et* : EV and : LV om. : AV also ; *tribu* : AV LV lynage : AV tribe.

2. *repulit* : EV putte away : LV hath put awei : AV hath cast away ; *Deus* : EV the Lord : LV AV God ; *præcivit* : EV bifore wiste : LV bifer knew : AV foreknew ; *an* : EV LV whether : AV om. ; *nescitis* : EV LV witen : AV wot ; *in* : EV LV in : AV of ; *interpellat* : EV LV preieth : AV maketh intercession ; *Deum* : EV LV God : AV to God ; AV ins. saying.

3. *occiderunt* : EV LV han slayn : AV have killed ; *suffoderunt* : EV LV han vndurdoluun : AV and digged down.

4. *divinum* : EV LV Goddis : AV of God ; *reliqui* : EV LV haue left : AV have reserved ; *mihi* : EV LV to me : AV to myself ; *septem millia virorum* : EV seuene thousand of men : LV seuene thousyndes of men : AV seven thousand men ; *qui* : EV LV that : AV who ; *genua* : EV LV her knees : AV the knee ; *ante* : EV LV bifore : AV to the image of.

5. *sic* : EV LV so : AV even so ; *ergo* : EV LV therfor : AV then ; *et* : EV and : LV AV also ; *in* : EV LV in : AV at ; *hoc* : EV LV this : AV this present ; *reliquæ* : EV LV relifs : AV remnant ; *secundum* : EV vp : LV bi : AV according to ; *electionem* : EV LV chesyng : AV election ; EV LV ins. of God ; *salvæ factæ sunt* : EV LV ben maad saaf : AV there is.

6. *autem*: EV for: LV AV and; LV ins. it be; EV LV ins. of God; *jam non*: EV LV now not: AV no more; LV ins. it is; AV ins. then is it; *alioquin*: EV LV ellis: AV otherwise; *jam non*: EV LV not now: AV no more; AV ins but if it be of works, then is it no more grace: otherwise work is no more work.

7. *ergo*: EV therefore: LV AV then; *quod*: EV LV that: AV which; *quererebat*: EV LV souzte: AV seeketh for; *hoc*: EV AV that: LV this; *est consecutus*: EV LV hath getun: AV hath obtained; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *consecuta est*: EV LV hath getun: AV hath obtained it; *ceteri*: EV LV othere: AV rest; *vero*: EV sothli: LV AV and; *excecati sunt*: EV LV ben blyndid: AV were blinded.

8. *sicut*: EV LV as: AV according as; *dedit*: EV LV ʒaf: AV hath given; *illis*: EV LV to hem: AV them; *compunctionis*: EV LV compunccioun: AV slumber; *videant*: EV LV se: AV should see; *audiant*: EV LV here: AV should hear; *in*: EV til into: LV into: AV unto.

9. *fiat*: EV LV be maad: AV let be made; *mensa*: EV LV boord: AV table; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; EV LV ins. bifor hem; *in* (four times): EV LV into: AV om.; *laqueum*: EV gnare: LV gryn: AV snare; *captionem*: EV LV catchyng: AV trap; *scandalum*: EV LV sclaudre: AV stumbling block; *retributionem*: EV ʒeldinge aʒen: LV ʒeldyng: AV recompence.

10. *obscrentur*: EV LV be maad derk: AV let be darkened; *eorum* (twice): EV LV of hem: AV their; *videant*: EV LV se: AV may see; *semper*: EV LV algatis: AV alway; *incurva*: EV incroke: LV AV bow down.

11. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: AV then; *numquid*: EV LV whether: AV om.; *sic*: EV LV so: AV om.; *offenderunt*: EV LV offendiden: AV have stumbled; *caderent*: EV LV schulden falle down: AV should fall; *absit*: EV fer be it: LV AV God forbid; AV ins. rather; *delicto*: EV LV bi gilt: AV through fall; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *salus*: EV LV helthe: AV salvation; *est*: EV LV is maad: AV is come; *gentibus*: EV LV to hethene men: AV unto the Gen-

tiles ; *ut æmulentur* : EV LV that thei sue : AV for to provoke to jealousy.

12. *quod* : EV LV that : AV now ; *delictum* : EV LV guilt : AV fall ; *diminutio* : EV menusinge, or makinge lesse : LV makyng lesse : AV diminishing ; EV LV ins. ben ; *gentium* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *plenitudo* : EV LV plenty : AV fulness ; *eorum* : EV LV of hem : AV their.

13. *enim* : EV sothli : LV but : AV for ; *dico* : EV LV seie : AV speak ; *gentibus* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *quandiu* : EV hou longe : LV as long as : AV inasmuch as ; *quidem* : EV sothli : LV for : AV om. ; *gentium* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *ministerium* : EV mynysterie, or seruyse : LV mynysterie : AV office ; *honorificabo* : EV LV schal onoure : AV magnify.

14. *quomodo* : EV on ony maner : LV in ony maner : AV by any means ; *ad æmulandum* : EV LV for to folwe : AV to emulation ; *provocem* : EV LV stire : AV may provoke ; AV ins. them which are ; LV ins. that ; *salvos faciam* : EV LV make saaf : AV might save.

15. *enim* : EV forsoth : LV AV for ; *amissio* : EV LV loss : AV casting away ; *est* : EV LV is : AV be ; LV ins. is ; AV ins. shall be ; *assumptio* : EV LV takyng vp : AV receiv- ing ; AV ins. of them ; *nisi* : EV no but : LV AV but ; *ex mortuis* : EV LV of deed men : AV from the dead.

16. *delibatio* : EV sacrifice, or litel part of tastynge : LV litel part of that that is tastid : AV firstfruit ; *et* : EV and : LV om. : AV also ; *massa* : EV LV hool gobet : AV lump ; LV AV ins. is holy ; EV LV ins. is ; AV ins. be ; *et* : EV and : LV also : AV so ; AV ins. are.

17. *quod* : EV that : LV what : AV and ; *aliqui* : EV LV ony : AV some ; *fracti sunt* : EV LV ben brokun : AV be broken off ; *autem* : EV sothli : LV om. : AV and ; *cum esses* : EV LV whanne thou were : AV being ; *insertus es* : EV art sett yn : LV art graffid : AV wert graffed. in ; *socius factus es* : EV LV art maad felowe : AV with them partakest.

18. *noli gloriari* : EV nyle thou glorie : LV nyle thou haue glorie : AV boast not ; *quod* : EV LV for : AV but ; *gloriaris* : EV LV gloriest : AV boast.

19. *dices*: EV LV seist: AV wilt say; *fracti sunt*: EV LV ben brokun: AV were broken off; *inserar*: EV be ynsett: LV be graffid in: AV might be graffed in.

20. *propter*: EV LV for: AV because of; EV LV ins. the braunchis; *fracti sunt*: EV LV ben brokun: AV were broken off; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV but: AV and; *noli altum sapere*: EV LV nyle thou sauere hize thing: AV be not highminded; *time*: EV LV drede: AV fear.

21. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *naturalibus*: EV LV kyndli: AV natural; AV ins. take heed; *forte*: EV LV perauenture: AV also.

22. *vide*: EV LV se: AV behold; *severitatem*: EV LV fersnesse: AV severity; *in*: EV LV into: AV on; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV zhe: AV om.; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *ceciderrunt*: EV LV felden doun: AV fell; *severitatem*: EV LV feersnesse: AV severity; *in*: EV in: LV into: AV toward; *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV but; *Dei*: EV LV of God: AV om.; *permanseris*: EV schalt dwelle: LV dwellist: AV continue; AV ins. his; *alioquin*: EV LV ellis: AV otherwise; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *excideris*: EV LV schalt be kit doun: AV shalt be cut off.

23. *sed*: EV but: LV zhe: AV and; *et*: EV LV and: AV also; *permanserint*: EV schulen dwelle: LV dwellen: AV abide still; *inserentur*: EV schulen ben ynsett: LV schulen be set yn: AV shall be graffed in; *potens*: EV LV myzti: AV able; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *iterum*: EV LV eftsoone: AV again; *inserere*: EV for to ynsette: LV to sette in: AV to graff in.

24. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV AV for; *naturali*: EV LV kyndeli: AV which is by nature; *excisus es*: EV LV art kit doun: AV wert cut out; *contra*: EV LV azens: AV contrary to; *naturam*: EV LV kynde: AV nature; *insertus es*: EV ert inset: LV art set: AV wert graffed; *ii*: EV LV thei: AV these; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; LV AV ins. be; *secundum naturam*: EV LV bi kynde: AV natural branches; *inserentur*: EV schulen be ynsett: LV schulen be set: AV shall be graffed; *sue*: EV LV her: AV their own.

25. *nolo*: EV nyle: LV wole not: AV would not;

*enim*: EV forsoth: LV but: AV for; *ignorare*: EV vnknewe: LV that ȝe vnknewen: AV that ye should be ignorant of; *ut non*: EV LV that not: AV lest; *sitis*: EV LV be: AV should be; *vobisipsis*: EV LV to ȝousilf: AV in your own conceits; *quia*: EV LV for: AV that; *ex parte*: EV of party: LV a party: AV in part; *contigit*: EV LV hath feld: AV is happened; *in*: EV LV in: AV to; *donec*: EV til: LV til that: AV until; *plenitudo*: EV LV plente: AV fulness; *gentium*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles; *intraret*: EV LV entride: AV be come in.

26. *salvus fieret*: EV LV schulde be maad saaf: AV shall be saved; *veniet*: EV LV he schal come: AV there shall come; *ex*: EV LV of: AV out of; *qui eripiat*: EV LV that schal delyuere: AV the Deliverer; *impietatem*: EV vnpite: LV wickidnesse: AV ungodliness; *a*: EV LV of: AV from.

27. *et*: EV LV and: AV for; AV ins. is; *a me*: EV LV of me: AV my; *testamentum*: EV LV testament: AV covenant; *abstulero*: EV LV schal do awei: AV shall take away.

28. *secundum*: EV vp: LV aftir: AV as concerning; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV AV om.; LV AV ins. they are; *propter vos*: EV LV for ȝou: AV for your sakes; *secundum*: EV vp: LV bi: AV as touching; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV but; *charissimi*: EV LV moost dereworthe: AV beloved; LV AV ins. they are; *propter patres*: EV LV for fadris: AV for the fathers' sakes.

29. *pœnitentia*: EV forthinkyng, or reuokynge: LV forthenkyng: AV repentance; *enim*: EV sothli: LV and: AV for; *vocatio*: EV LV cleping: AV calling.

30. *enim*: EV sothli: LV and: AV for; *aliquando*: EV LV sum tyme: AV in times past; *et*: EV and: LV also: AV om.; *credidistis*: EV LV bileueden: AV have believed; *Deo*: EV LV to God: AV God; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV but: AV yet; *consecuti estis*: EV LV han gete: AV have obtained; *propter*: EV LV for: AV through; *illorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their.

31. *ita*: EV LV so: AV even so; *et*: EV LV and: AV also; *in*: EV LV into: AV through; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *consequantur*: EV LV geten: AV may obtain.



32. *conclussit*: EV LV closide togidere: AV hath concluded; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; *omnia*: EV LV alle thingis: AV them all; *omnium*: EV LV on alle: AV upon all; *misereatur*: EV LV haue mercy: AV might have mercy.

33. *O*: EV A: LV AV O; *altitudo*: EV hiznesse, or depnesse: LV heiznesse: AV depth; *scientiæ*: EV LV kunn- yng: AV knowledge; AV ins. both; *incomprehensibilia*: EV LV incomprehensible: AV unsearchable; *judicia*: EV LV domes: AV judgments; *investigabiles*: EV LV vnserch- able: AV past finding out; LV ins. ben. C. 2. 13 Ealā, hū mycclu hēanes is pāra welena Godes snyttro and wīsdōmes, and hū unymbfangenlice syndon his dōmas, and unāspyrgendlice syndon his wegas (H. Ealā, hū micel hēahns is pāra welana Godes wīsdōmes and his inngehgiges, and hū unbefangelice his dōmas syndon, and his wegas unāspyriend- lice)!

34. *enim*: EV forsothe: LV forwhi: AV for; *cognovit*: EV LV knew: AV hath known; *sensum*: EV LV wit: AV mind; *fuit*: EV LV was: AV hath been. C. 2. 13 Hwā can Drihtnes andgyt, oððe hwilc wæs his gepeahtere?

35. *prior*: EV LV formere: AV first; *dedit*: EV LV gaf: AV hath given; *retribuetur*: EV schal be quyt aȝen: LV schal be quyt: AV shall be recompensed again.

36. *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *in*: EV LV in: AV to; *ipsi*: EV LV to hym: AV to whom; EV ins. honour and; LV AV ins. be; *in sæcula*: EV LV into worldis: AV for ever.

12. 1. *obsecro*: EV LV AV beseech: P preyze; *itaque*: EV and so: AV LV therefore: P om.; *misericordiam*: EV LV P mercy: AV mercies; *exhibeatis*: EV LV P ȝyue: AV present; *hostiam*: EV oost, or sacrifice: LV P AV sacrifice; P ins. & (three times); *placentem*: EV LV P plesynge: AV acceptable; AV ins. which is. C. 1. 240 And hē bebēad þæt wē sceolon gearcian ūre lichaman liflice onsægednysse, and hālige, and Gode andfenge.

2. *nolite conformari*: EV nyle be confoormed or maad lyk: LV nyle be confourmyd: P ne be noȝt conformed: AV

be not conformed; *reformamini*: EV LV be reformed: P be yschaped azeyn: AV be transformed; *in*: EV LV P in: AV by; *novitate*: EV LV newnesse: P worschup: AV renewing; *sensus*: EV LV P wit: AV mind; *probetis*: EV LV preue: P knowen: AV may prove; *quæ*: EV LV P which: AV what; P ins. þat is; AV ins. that; *beneplacens*: EV LV P wel plesynge: AV acceptable.

3. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for: P &; *per*: EV LV bi: P AV through; *quæ*: EV LV P that: AV om.; *data est*: EV LV P is ȝouun: AV given; *mihi*: EV LV to me: P me: AV unto me; *omnibus*: EV LV alle: P alle þilke: AV every man; *sunt*: EV LV ben: P beþ: AV is; *non plus*: EV AV not more: LV no more: P ne . . no more; *sapere*: EV for to sauere or kunne: LV P that ȝe sauere: AV to think of himself highly; *oportet*: EV LV P it bihoueth: AV he ought; *sapere*: EV for to kunne: LV P to sauere: AV to think; *sapere*: EV for to kunne: LV for to sauere: P þat ȝe saferen: AV to think; *ad sobrietatem*: EV LV P to sobrenesse: AV soberly; *et*: EV LV P and: AV om.; *unicuique*: EV LV to ech man: P eferych man: AV to every man; *sicut*: EV LV P as: AV according as; *divisit*: EV LV P hath departid: AV hath dealt; P ins. to hym; *fidei*: EV LV AV faith: P bylefe. C. 1. 45 Ne wilnigen gē māre tō wietenne ðonne ðow ðearf sīe, ac wietað ðæt ðæt ðow gemetlic sīe, qnd ðower qndefnu sīen tō wietonne.

4. *sicut*: EV LV AV as: P riȝt as; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *autem*: EV sothli: LV but: P & ȝet: AV and; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noȝt; *eundem*: EV LV AV same: P on; *actum*: EV acte, or dede: LV dede: P doynge: AV office. S., p. 225 We byeþ alle lemes of onelepi bodye.

5. *ita*: EV LV AV so: P riȝt so; *multi*: EV LV many: P om.: AV being many; *singuli*: EV LV ech: P eferichone of ous: AV every one; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV P AV and; *alter*: EV the tother: LV AV one: P om.; *alterius*: EV LV AV another: P oþer. S., p. 225 We byeþ al o body ine Iesu Crist.

6. *habentes*: EV AV having: LV P we that han; *autem*: EV LV therfor: P &: AV then; *secundum*: EV vp:

LV P *aftr*: AV according to; *differentes*: EV LV *dyuersyng*: P *dyuerse*: AV differing; *sive*: EV LV *ethir*: P as: AV whether; AV ins. let us prophesy; *secundum*: EV vp: LV P *aftr*: AV according to; *rationem*: EV LV P *resoun*: AV proportion.

7. *sive*: EV LV *ethir*: P *oper*: AV or; *ministerium*: EV *mynisterie*, or *seruyce*: LV P *seruise*: AV ministry; AV ins. let us wait . . our; *in*: EV LV P *in*: AV on; *ministrando*: EV LV AV *ministering*: P *serfyng*; *sive*: EV LV *ether*: P *oper*: AV or; *in*: EV LV P *in*: AV on.

8. AV ins. or; *exhortatur*: EV LV *stirith softli*: P *warneþ*: AV *exhorteth*; *in*: EV LV P *in*: AV on; *exhortando*: EV *exhortacioun*, or *monestinge*: LV *monestyng*: P *warnyng*: AV *exhortation*; *tribuit*: EV LV AV *giveth*: P *zeldeþ*; AV ins. let him do it; *in*: EV LV P *in*: AV with; *simplicitate*: EV LV P *symplenesse*: AV *simplicity*; *praest*: EV is *byfore*, or *souereyn*: LV is *souereyn*: P is *byfore*: AV *ruleth*; *in*: EV LV P *in*: AV with; *solicitudine*: EV LV P *bisynesse*: AV *diligence*; *miseretur*: EV LV *hath merci*: P *areweþ an oper*: AV *sheweth mercy*; *in*: EV LV P *in*: AV with; *hilaritate*: EV LV P *gladnesse*: AV *cheerfulness*.

9. P ins. be þer; AV ins. let be; *simulatione*: EV LV P *feynyng*: AV *dissimulation*; P ins. & . . &; *odientes*: EV LV *hatyng*: P *hate 3e*: AV *abhor*; AV ins. that which is; *adhærentes*: EV *cleuyng*, or *faste drawyng*: LV *drawyng*: P *draweþ 3ou*: AV *cleave*; AV ins. that which is; *bono*: EV *good thing*: LV P AV *good*.

10. *charitate*: EV LV P *charite*: AV with love; *fraternitatis*: EV LV P of *britherhod*: AV *brotherly*; *invicem*: EV LV P *togidere*: AV *one to another*; *diligentes*: EV LV *louyng*: P *lofe 3e*: AV *be kindly affectioned*; P ins. & . . & *hæfe 3e*; *honore*: EV AV in *honour*: LV to *worschipen*: P *worschupyng*; *invicem*: EV *togidere*: LV *ech othere*: P *eferichone oper*: AV *one another*; *præuenientes*: EV *comyng* *bifore*: LV *come bifore*: P & *go 3e byfore*: AV *preferring*. C. 2. 101 . . þæt hī him betweoh (W. betwȳnan) ārweorðnesse (W. -wurðnyse) healdan, and mid ārweorðnesse (W. -wurðnyse) hī (W. hig) gemēten (W. -on).

11. *pigri*: EV LV P slow: AV slothful; *feruentes*: EV feruent, or brennynge: LV P AV fervent; *Domino*: EV LV to the Lord: P oure Lord: AV the Lord.

12. *gaudentes*: EV LV P ioyinge: AV rejoicing; *patientes*: EV LV AV patient: P suffrynge; *orationi*: EV LV AV in prayer: P to preyere; *instantes*: EV LV P bisy: AV continuing instant.

13. *necessitatibus*: EV LV nedis: P nedynesse: AV necessity; *sanctorum*: EV LV AV saints: P holy men; *communicantes*: EV P comunyng: LV 3yuyng good: AV distributing; *hospitalitatem*: EV hospitalite, that is, herboringe of pore men: LV AV hospitality: P herborewyng; *sectantes*: EV suyng, or kepyng: LV kepyng: P folewe 3e: AV given to.

14. *persequentibus*: EV men pursuyng: LV men that pursuen: P to pilke þat purseweþ: AV them which persecute; *nolite maledicere*: EV nyle 3e curse, or warie: LV nyle 3e curse: P ne curse 3e noȝt: AV curse not.

15. *gaudere*: EV LV for to ioye; P ioye 3e: AV rejoice; *gaudentibus*: EV men ioyinge: LV men that ioyen: P hem þat ioyeþ: AV them that do rejoice; *flere*: EV LV for to wepe: P & wepe 3e: AV and weep; *flentibus*: EV men wepyng: LV men that wepen: P AV them that weep.

16. *idipsum sentientes*: EV feelyng the same thing: LV fele 3e the s me thing: P & fele 3e into þe same þinge: AV be of the same mind; *invicem*: EV LV P togidere: AV one toward another; *sapientes*: EV saueryng, or kunnyng: LV P saueryng: AV mind; *humilibus*: EV LV meke thingis: P humel þinges: AV men of low estate; *consentientes*: EV LV consentyng: P assentyng: AV condescend; *nolite esse*: EV LV nile 3e be: P & ne wilne 3e noȝt to ben: AV be not; *prudentes*: EV LV prudent: P wyse men: AV wise; *apud vosmetipsos*: EV LV anentis 3ousilf; P tofore 3owself: AV in your own conceits. C. 1. 45 Ne sculon gē nō ðyncan ēow selfum tō wise; S., p. 37 Ne beo3e 3e noht 3eþe to-3ene 3iu seluen.

17. *nulli*: EV LV AV to no man: P noȝt to eny man; *reddentes*: EV LV P 3eldyng: AV recompense; *providentes*:

EV purueyinge: LV purueye 3e: P bysye 3e to don: AV provide; LV P ins. but; *bona*: EV LV P good thingis: AV things honest; *non tantum coram Deo, sed etiam*: EV LV P not oneli bifor God, but also: AV om.; *coram*: EV LV bifore: P tofore: AV in the sight of.

18. P om. whole verse; *fieri potest*: EV LV may be don: AV be possible; *quod est*: EV LV that that is: AV as much as lieth; *ex*: EV LV of: AV in; *pacem habentes*: EV hauynge pees: LV haue 3e pees: AV live peaceably. C. 1. 45 Ic wolde, gif hit swæ bion meahte, ðæt gē wið ælcne mōnn hæfden sibbe, ðowres gewealdes.

19. *defendentes*: EV defendynge, or vengynge: LV P defendynge: AV avenge; *charissimi*: EV 3e moost dere-worthe britheren: LV 3e moost dere britheren: P. om.: AV dearly beloved; AV ins. rather; *iræ*: EV ire, or wraththe: LV P AV wrath; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *mihi*: EV LV P to me: AV mine; AV ins. is; *retribuam*: EV and I schal 3elde a3eyn: LV and Y schal 3elde: P & Ych wole 3elden a3eyn: AV I will repay; *Dominus*: EV LV AV the Lord: P God. S., p. 50 Læt me wreken, (d)om is min! S., p. 97 Min is þe wreche, ant ich shulde 3elden; S., p. 37 Heald me þe wrache, and ich . . wile . . forgelde.

20. *sed*: EV LV but: P &: AV therefore; *esurierit*: EV schal hungre: LV AV hunger: P be anhungred; P ins. &; *sitit*: EV LV AV thirst: P be aprust; *illi*: EV LV to hym: P AV him; *hoc*: EV P thes thingis: LV this thing: AV so; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV P AV for; AV ins. in; *ignis*: EV LV om.: P AV of fire; *congeres*: EV LV P schalt gidere togidere: AV shalt heap; *super*: EV LV AV on: P upon. C. 2. 214 Gif ðinum fýnd hingrige, fēd hine mid mettum; oððe gif him þyrste, ðū dō him drincan; S., p. 89, 97 3if þi uo is offingred, 3if him uode; and 3if he is ofpurst, 3if him drincken: . . þus þu schalt . . rukelen on his heaued bearn-inde gleðen.

21. *noli vinci*: EV LV nyle thou be ouercomun: P ne be þou ofercome: AV be not overcome; *malo*: EV yuel thing: LV P AV evil; *in*: EV P in: LV bi: AV with; *bono*: EV good thing: LV P AV good; *malum*: EV yuel thing: LV P AV evil.

13. 1. *anima*: EV soule, or lyuynges man: LV P AV soul; *sublimioribus*: EV LV AV higher: P þat bep hyzere þan heo; *subdita sit*: EV LV P be suget: AV let be subject; *non*: EV not: LV AV no: P ne . . . no; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *nisi*: EV no but: LV P AV but; *quæ*: EV LV tho thingis that: P þilke þinges þat: AV the powers that; *autem*: EV sothli: LV P and: AV om. C. 1. 240 Ælc sǣwul sý underðeod hēalícum anwealdum.

2. *itaque*: EV and so: LV AV therefore: P and þerfore; *qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit*: EV LV he that azenstondith power, azenstondith the ordynaunce of God: P om.: AV whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; *qui*: EV LV AV that: P who þat; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV and: P om.; *resistunt*: EV LV P azenstonden: AV resist; *acquirunt*: EV LV P geten: AV shall receive.

3. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; *principes*: EV LV P princes: AV rulers; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . . noȝt; *timori*: EV LV P to drede: AV terror; *operis*: EV LV of work: P of werkes: AV to works; *mali*: EV LV of yuel: P of efel werkes: AV to evil; *autem*: EV sothli: LV but: P & ȝif: AV then; *timere*: EV P drede: LV that thou drede: AV be afraid of; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: P good: AV that which is good; *laudem*: EV LV P preisung: AV praise; *ex illa*: EV LV of it: P þerof: AV of the same. C. 1. 45 Gif ðū wille ðæt ðū ne ðyrfe ðē ondrædan ðinne hlāford, dō tela; ðonne hereð hē ðē.

4. *Dei*: EV LV AV of God: P Godes; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV P AV for; *minister*: EV LV AV minister: P serfaunt; *in*: EV LV into: P in: AV for; *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV but: P &; *malum*: EV yuel thing: LV P yuel: AV that which is evil; *time*: EV LV P drede: AV be afraid: P ins. þan; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . . noȝt; *sine causa*: EV LV withouten cause: P wipouten enchesoun: AV in vain; *Dei*: EV LV AV of God: P Goddes; *minister*: EV LV AV minister: P serfaunt; *vindex*: EV LV vengere: P wracchful: AV revenger; AV ins. to execute; *in*: EV LV into: P in: AV om.; *ei*: EV LV to hym: P to þilke: AV upon him; *malum*: EV yuel thing: LV P AV evil.

5. *ideo*: EV LV P and therfor: AV wherefore; *necessitate subditi estote*: EV LV bi nede be ʒe suget: P algates be ʒe sogettes: AV ye must needs be subject; *etiam*: EV and: LV P AV also; *propter*: EV LV P for: AV for . . sake.

6. *ideo*: EV LV P therfor: AV for this cause; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for; *et*: EV and: LV P om.: AV also; *tributa*: EV LV tributis: P AV tribute; *præstatis*: EV LV P ʒyuen: AV pay; *ministri*: EV LV AV ministers: P serfautes; *enim*: EV LV om.: P AV for; *Dei* EV LV of God: P Goddes: AV God's; *in*: EV LV P for: AV upon; *ipsum*: EV LV same thing: P þing: AV very thing; *servientes*: EV P seruynge: LV and seruen: AV attending continually.

7. *reddite*: EV LV P ʒelde: AV render; P ins. & ; *omnibus*: EV LV P alle men: AV all; *debita*: EV LV dettis: P ʒoure dettes: AV their dues; *cui*: EV LV AV to whom: P to hym; P ins. þat ʒe schuleþ; *cui vectigal, vectigal*: EV to whom tol, or custom for thingis borun aboute, tol, or such custom: LV to whom tol, tol: P om.: AV custom to whom custom; *cui timorem, timorem*: EV LV to whom drede, drede; P to hym þat ʒe schuleþ drede, dred: AV fear to whom fear; *cui honorem, honorem*: EV LV AV honour to whom honour: P & to hym þat ʒe oweþ worschup, worschup.

8. *nemini*: EV LV P to no man: AV no man; *quidquam*: EV LV AV anything: P ne . . no þing; *nisi*: EV no but: LV P AV but; *ut diligatis*: EV LV P that ʒe louen: AV to love; *invicem*: EV LV P togidere: AV one another; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for; *proximum*: EV LV P his neizbore: AV another; *implevit*: EV LV AV hath fulfilled: P fulfullep.

9. *nam*: EV forwhi: LV P AV for; AV ins. this; *non*: EV LV no: P ne . . noʒt: AV not; *adulterabis*: EV LV schalt do letcherie: P schalt breke spoushod: AV shalt commit adultery; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noʒt; *occides*: EV LV P schalt sle: AV shalt kill; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noʒt; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . no; *testimonium*: EV LV witnessyng: P AV witness; *dices*: EV LV P schalt seie: AV shalt bear; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne . . noʒt; EV LV ins. the thing of thi neizbore; P ins. þi neyzebores

good ; *mandatum* : EV LV maundement ; P AV commandment ; *verbo* : EV LV P word : AV saying ; *instauratur* : EV is instorid, or enclosid : LV is instorid : P is yvnderstonde : AV is briefly comprehended ; AV ins. namely ; *proximum* : EV LV AV neighbor : P nexte neyzebore. C. 2. 77, 80 . . þæt non man ne slēa, nē unrihtthæmed ne fremme, nē ne stele, nē nānes ðōres mannes þinga on unriht ne wilnige, nē on lēasre gewitnesse ne bēo ; S., p. 47, 50 Luue ðine nexte al swa ðe seluen ; S., p. 225 Loue þine nexte ase þi-zelue. Cf. also C. 1. 202, Luke 18. 20—22 Ne ofslīh ðū mann ; Ne unrihtthæm ðū ; Ne stala ðū ; Ne bēo ðū lēas gewita ; . . Lufa ðinne nēxtan swā-swā ðē sylfne ; S., p. 10, Ex. 20. 13—17 Ne be þu monslaze . . Ne beo þu eubruche. Ne do þu þeofðe. Ne spec þu azein þine nexta nane false witnesse. . . Ne wilne þu . . nanes þ(in) zes þe oðre mon a3(e) ; S., p. 11, Ex. 13—17 Ne beo þu nawiht monslaht, Ne in hordom, . . Ne þu nazest for to stele, Ne nan þespe for to heole . . Ne wreiere ne beo þu noht, Ne niðful in þi þoht ; S., p. 47, Matt. 19. 18 Ne sleih, ne ne stell, ne reaue, ne forlize on hordomes ; S., p. 156, Ex. 20. 13—17 Þou shalt no man slo. Sle no man with þyn honde. Þat we shul noun hurdom do. No mannys gode shalt þou stele. Þou shalt no fals wytnes bere. Coueyt nat þy neighbours þyng ; S., p. 213, Ex. 20. 13—17 Þou ne sselt slaze nenne man. Þou ne sselt do non hordom. Þou ne sselt do none þiefpe. Þou ne sselt zigge none ualse wytnesse aye þine emcristen. Þou ne sselt nazt wylni, . . þing þet is þine nixte.

10. *proximi* : EV of thi neizbore : LV of neizbore : P of a mannes nexte neyzebore : AV to his neighbor ; *malum* : EV LV P yuel : AV ill ; *non* : EV LV not : P ne . . non : AV no ; *plenitudo* : EV plente, or fulfillinge : LV AV fulfilling : P fulnesse ; P ins. an. C. 1. 240 Sēo sōðe lufu is gefyllednys Godes æ. | Hēo is fulfrēmednys Godes æ ; C. 2. 13 Sēo sōðe lufu byð þære æ gefylledness.

11. *hoc* : EV LV P this : AV that ; *scientes* : EV we witinge : LV we knowen : P knowe ze : AV knowing ; *quia* : EV P for : LV AV that ; *hora* : EV LV our : P tyme : AV high time ; P AV ins. it ; *nos surgere* : EV vs for to ryse : LV that



we rise: P to rysen up: AV to awake; *de*: EV of: LV P fro: AV out of; *enim*: EV sothli: LV P AV for; *salus*: EV LV heelthe: P hele: AV salvation; *cum credidimus*: EV LV AV when we believed: P we wenden þat it were. C. 1. 45 Nū ūs is tīma ðæt wē onwæcnen of slæpe; C. 2. 101 Nu is tīma þæt wē of slæppe ārisen.

12. *præcessit*: EV LV wente bifore: P is passed: AV is far spent; *autem*: EV forsothe: LV but: P &: AV om.; *appropinquavit*: EV schal neize: LV hath neized: P wole neyzlyche: AV is at hand; *abjiciamus*: EV LV caste we awei: P þrowe we away: AV let us cast off; P ins. & *tenebrarum*: EV LV derknessis: P AV darkness; *induamur*: EV LV P be we clothid: AV let us put on; *arma*: EV LV with armuris: P with armer: AV armour. C. 2. 214 Āwurpað cāflīce ðow fram þāra þēostra weorc, and wurðað ymb-scrýdde mid lēohtes wæpnum; S., p. 37 Ðe niht is forðgon, and dai neihlecheð, and forþi hit is riht þat we forleten and forsaken nihtliche deden þo ben þe werkes of þiesternesse, and scruden us mid wapnen of lihte.

13. P ins. & *die*: EV LV AV day: P daytyme; *ambulemus*: EV LV wandre: P walk: AV let us walk; *comessationibus*: EV ofte etyngis: LV superflu feestis: P etyng out of measure: AV rioting; *et*: EV LV AV and: P ne; P ins. in; *ebrietatibus*: EV drynkyngis: LV drunkenness: P AV drunkenness; *non*: EV LV AV not: P ne; *cubilibus*: EV couchis: LV beddis: P kouchynges abedde: AV chambering; *et*: EV LV AV and: P ne; P ins. in; *impudicitiiis*: EV LV vnchastitees: P vnclannesse: AV wantonness; *non* EV LV AV not: P ne; *contentione*: EV LV AV strife: P stryuyng; *et*: EV LV AV and: P ne; *in*: EV LV P in: AV om.; *emulatione*: EV LV enuye: P hatyng; AV envying. C. 1. 45 Ne gewunige gē nō tō oferetolnesse and tō oferdruncennesse.

14. *induimini*: EV LV be clothid in: P be ycloped wip: AV put on; P ins. oure, om. rest of verse; *carnis*: EV LV of fleisch: AV for flesh; *curam*: EV cure, or bisynesse: LV bisynesse: AV provision; *feceritis*: EV LV do: AV make; *in desideriis*: EV LV in desiris: AV to fulfil the lusts thereof.

C. 1. 240 Nū is tima ūs of slæpe tō arisenne; ūre hæl is gehendre þonne wē gelyfdon. Sēo niht gewāt, and se dæg genēalæhte; uton āwurpan ðeostra weorc, and bēon ymb-scrýdde mid lēohtes wæpnum, swā þæt wē on dæge ārwurðlice faron; nā on oferætum and druncennyssum, nā on forliger-bæddum and unclænnyssum, nā on geflite and andan; ac bēoð ymb-scrýdde þurh Drihten Hæland Crīst.

14. 1. AV ins. him that is; *infirmum*: EV LV *sijk* man: AV weak; *autem*: EV *forsothe*: LV AV but; *fide*: EV LV *bileue*: AV *faith*; *assumite*: EV LV *take*: AV *receive*; *in*: EV LV *in*: AV *to*; *disceptationibus*: EV *deceptaciouns*, or *dispeticiouns*: LV *demyngis*: AV *disputations*; *cogitationum*: EV LV *of thougtis*: AV *doubtful*.

2. *alius*: EV LV *another*: AV *one*; *enim*: EV *sothli*: LV AV *for*; *credit*: EV AV *believeth*: LV *leueth*; *se manducare*: EV *himsilf for to ete*: LV AV *that he may eat*; AV ins. *another*; *qui*: EV LV *that*: AV *who*; *autem*: EV *forsoth*: LV but: AV *om.*; *infirmus*: EV *syk*, or *vnstedefast*: LV *sijk*: AV *weak*; *olus*: EV *wortis* or *potage*: LV *wortis*: AV *herbs*.

3. *is spernat*: EV LV *he dispise*: AV *let him dispise*; *manducantem*: EV *the man etyng*: LV AV *him that eateth*; *qui*: EV LV *that*: AV *which*; *manducantem*: EV *the man etyng*: LV AV *him that eateth*; *judicat*: EV LV *deme*: AV *judge*; *enim*: EV *sothli*: LV AV *for*; *assumpsit*: EV *hath takyn*: LV *hath take to hym*: AV *hath received*. C. 1. 45 Sē þe fæstan wille, ne tæle hē nō ðone þe ete.

4. *judicas*: EV LV *demest*: AV *judgest*; *alienum*: EV *anothir*: LV *anothris*: AV *another man's*; *domino*: EV LV *lord*: AV *master*; *suo*: EV LV *his*: AV *his own*; *cadit*: EV *fallith down*: LV *fallith fro hym*: AV *falleth*; *stabit*: EV LV *schal stonde*: AV *shall be holden up*; *autem*: EV *forsoth*: LV but: AV *yea*; *potens*: EV LV *myzte*: AV *able*; *enim*: EV *forsoth*: LV AV *for*; *statuere*: EV *to ordeyne* or *make stedefast*: LV *to make parfit*: AV *to make stand*.

5. *nam*: EV LV *forwhi*: AV *om.*; *alius*: EV *anothir*: LV *oon*: AV *one man*; *judicat*: EV LV *demeth*: AV *esteem*.

eth ; *diem inter diem* : EV LV day bitwixe dai : AV one day above another ; *omnem* : EV LV ech : AV every ; AV ins. alike ; *unusquisque* : EV LV ech man : AV every man ; *suo* : EV LV his : AV his own ; *sensu* : EV LV wit : AV mind ; *abundet* : EV habunde, or be plenteuous : LV encrees : AV let be fully persuaded.

6. *sapit* : EV sauerith, or vndirstondith : LV vnderstondith : AV regardeth ; *sapit* : EV LV vnderstondith : AV regardeth ; AV ins. it ; AV ins. and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it ; *et* : EV LV and : AV om. ; *gratias agit* : EV LV doith thankyngis : AV giveth thanks ; *Deo* : EV to the Lord : LV to God : AV God ; *gratias agit* : EV LV doith thankyngis : AV giveth thanks ; *Deo* : EV LV to God : AV God.

7. *nemo* : EV LV no man : AV none ; *enim* : EV forsoth : LV AV for.

8. *enim* : EV sothli : LV AV for ; LV AV ins. and ; *Domini* : EV LV of the Lord : AV the Lord's.

9. *in* : EV in : LV for : AV to ; *hoc* : EV LV this thing : AV this end ; *enim* : EV sothli : LV forwhi : AV for ; *mortuus est* : EV is deed : LV was deed : AV died ; AV ins. both ; *resurrexit* : EV LV roos azen : AV rose ; AV ins. and revived ; *et . . et* : EV and . . and : LV AV both . . and ; *mortuorum* : EV AV dead : LV deed men ; *vivorum* : EV LV quyke : AV living ; *dominetur* : EV LV be Lord : AV might be Lord.

10. *autem* : EV forsothe : LV AV but ; *quid* : EV LV what : AV why ; *judicas* : EV LV demest : AV dost judge ; *spernis* : EV LV dispisist : AV dost set at nought ; *tribunal* : EV LV trone : AV judgment seat. C. 1. 241 Ealle wē sceolon standan æfter ðisum life ætforan Crīstes dōmsetle.

11. AV ins. as ; *quoniam* : EV LV for : AV om. ; *flectetur* : EV LV schal be bowid : AV shall bow ; *omne* : EV LV ech : AV every ; *omnis* : EV LV ech : AV every ; *confitebitur* : EV LV schal knouleche : AV shall confess.

12. *itaque* : EV and so : LV therfor : AV so then ; *unusquisque* : EV LV ech : AV every one ; *pro* : EV LV for : AV of ; *rationem* : EV LV resoun : AV account ; *reddet* : EV LV schal zelde : AV shall give.

13. *non amplius*: EV LV no more: AV not any more; *invicem*: EV togidere, or ech othir: LV ech other: AV one another; *judicemus*: EV LV deme we: AV let us judge; *hoc*: EV LV this thing: AV this; *magis*: EV LV more: AV rather; *judicate*: EV LV deme: AV judge; *ne ponatis*: EV LV that 3e putte not: AV that no man put; *offendiculum*: EV LV hirtyng: AV stumblingblock; *scandalum*: EV LV sclaundre: AV occasion to fall; *fratri*: EV LV to a brothir: AV in his brother's way.

14. *scio*: EV LV woot: AV know; *confido*: EV LV triste: AV am persuaded; *in*: EV LV in: AV by; *quia*: EV for: LV AV that; AV ins. there; *commune*: EV comune, or vnclene: LV AV unclean; *per ipsum*: EV LV bi hym: AV of itself; *nisi*: EV LV no but: AV but; *existimat*: EV LV demeth: AV esteemeth; *esse*: EV for to be: LV AV to be.

15. *enim*: EV sothli: LV and: AV but; *propter*: EV LV for: AV with; AV ins. thy; *contristatur*: EV be maad sory, or heuy in conscience: AV be maad sori in conscience: AV be grieved; *secundum charitatem*: EV LV aftir charite: AV charitably; *noli perdere*: EV LV nyle thou lese: AV destroy not; *cibo*: EV LV thorou3 thi mete: AV with thy meat.

16. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: AV then; *blasphemetur*: EV be blasfemyd or dispisid: LV be blasfemed: AV let be evil spoken of; *bonum*: EV LV good thing: AV good; *nostrum*: EV LV oure: AV your.

17. *enim*: EV sothli: LV forwhi: AV for; *regnum*: EV LV rewme: AV kingdom. C. 2. 80 Godes rīce nis hyt nāðer ne mete nē drync; S., p. 50 Godes riche nis naht mete and drench, ac is rihtwisnesse, and sibsumnesse, and blisse in ðe hali gaste.

18. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV for; *hoc*: EV LV this thing: AV these things; *placet*: EV LV plesith: AV is acceptable to; *probatus est*: EV LV is proued: AV approved; *hominibus*: EV LV to men: AV of men.

19. *itaque*: EV and so: LV AV therefore; *quæ*: EV LV tho thingis that: AV the things which; *pacis*: EV LV of peace: AV for peace; *sunt*: EV LV ben: AV make; *secte*:

*mur*: EV LV sue we: AV let us follow after; *quæ ædificationis sunt*: EV tho thingis that ben of edificacioun, that is, to bylde soulis to heuene: LV tho thingis that ben of edificacioun: AV things wherewith may edify; *in invicem*: EV LV togidere: AV one . . another; *custodiamus*: EV LV kepe: AV om.

20. *noli destruere*: EV LV nyle thou distrie: AV destroy not; *quidem*: EV sothli: LV for: AV indeed; *munda*: EV LV clene: AV pure; *homini*: EV LV to the man: AV for that man; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *per*: EV LV bi: AV with; *offendiculum*: EV offendinge or sclaudre: LV offendyng: AV offence.

21. *non . . non*: EV LV not . . not: AV neither . . nor; *manducare*: EV for to ete: LV AV to eat; *et*: EV LV and: AV om.; *bibere*: EV for to drynke: LV AV to drink; *neque*: EV LV nether: AV nor; *in quo*: EV LV in what thing: AV anything whereby; *offenditur*: EV LV offendith: AV stumblen; *scandalizatur*: EV LV is sclaudrid: AV is offended; *infirmatur*: EV LV is maad syk, or vnstedefast: LV is maad sijk: AV is made weak. C. 1. 45 . . ðæt hit wære gōd ðæt mon forēode flæsc qnd wīn for bīsene his brōðrum.

22. EV ins. that; *penes*: EV LV anentis: AV to; AV ins. it; *beatus*: EV LV blessid: AV happy; *judicat*: EV demeth, or dampneth: LV demeth: AV condemneth; *quod*: EV LV that: AV which; *probat*: EV LV preueth: AV alloweth.

23. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV for: AV and; *discernit*: EV LV demeth: AV doubteth; *quia*: EV LV for: AV because; EV LV ins. it is; AV ins. he eateth; *omne quod*: EV LV al thing that: AV whatsoever; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV for.

15. 1. *debemus*: EV LV owen: AV ought; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV but: AV then; *firmiores*: EV LV saddere: AV that are strong; *imbecillitates*: EV feblennesse: LV feblenneses: AV infirmities; *infirmorum*: EV syke men, or vnsadde in feith: LV sijke men: AV the weak; *sustinere*: EV for to susteyne or bere vp: LV to susteyne: AV to bear; *nobis*: EV LV to vssilf: AV ourselves; *placere*: EV LV plesse: AV to

please. C. I. 241 Wē strange sceolon beran ðæra unstrǣnga byrðene.

2. *unusquisque*: EV LV ech: AV every one; *proximo*: EV LV to neizbore: AV neighbor; *placeat*: EV LV plesē: AV let please; *in*: EV into; LV in: AV for; AV ins. his.

3. *etenim*: EV and forsoth: LV for: AV for even; *sibi*: EV LV to hymself: AV himself; *sed*: EV AV but: LV om.; *improperia*: EV reprouys, or schenschipis: LV repreues: AV reproaches; *improperantium*: EV men displesinge: LV men dispisyngē: AV them that reproached.

4. *quæcumque*: EV LV whateuere: AV whatsoever; *enim*: EV forsothe: LV AV for; AV ins. aforetime; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for; *doctrinam*: EV LV techyngē: AV learning; EV ins. thei; LV ins. tho; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *habeamus*: EV LV haue: AV might have.

5. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV but: AV now; *solatii*: EV solace or comfort: LV solace: AV consolation; *de*: EV LV ȝyue: AV grant; *vobis*: EV LV to ȝou: AV you; *idipsum sapere*: EV for to vndirstonde the same thing: LV to vndurstonde the same thing; AV to be likeminded; *in alterutrum*: EV LV ech into othere: AV one toward another; *secundum*: EV LV aftir: AV according to.

6. *unanimis*: EV of oo wille or witt: LV of o wille: AV with one mind; *honorificetis*: EV LV worschipe: AV glorify; *et*: EV LV and: AV even.

7. *propter quod*: EV LV for which thing: AV wherefore; *suscipite*: EV LV take: AV receive; *invicem*: EV LV togidere: AV one another; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *suscepit*: EV LV took: AV received; *vos*: EV LV ȝou: AV us; *in*: EV LV into: AV to; *honorem*: EV LV onour: AV glory.

8. *enim*: EV sothli: LV for: AV now; *fuisse*: EV for to haue be: LV AV that was; *ad confirmandas*: EV for to conferme: LV AV to confirm; *promissiones*: EV LV biheestis: AV promises; AV ins. made; *patrum*: EV LV of fadris: AV unto the fathers.

9. *gentes*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles; *autem*: EV sothli: LV AV and; *super*: EV vpon: LV AV for; LV ins. owen; *honorare*: EV for to honoure: LV to onoure:

AV that might glorify ; AV ins. his ; *propterea* : EV LV therfor : AV for this cause ; *confitebor* : EV LV schal knowleche : AV will confess ; *in* : EV in : LV AV among ; *gentibus* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *Domine* : EV LV Lord : AV om. ; *cantabo* : EV LV schal synge : AV sing.

10. *iterum* : EV eftsoone : LV eft : AV again ; *letamini* : EV glade, or ioye : LV be glad : AV rejoice ; *gentes* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles.

11. *iterum* : EV eftsoone : LV eft : AV again ; *laudate* : EV LV herie : AV praise ; *gentes* : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *magnificate* : EV LV magnefie : AV laud ; *populi* : EV LV puplis : AV people.

12. *rursus* : EV LV eft : AV again ; *qui* : EV LV that : AV he that ; *exsurget* : EV AV shall rise : LV schal ryse vp ; *regere* : EV for to gouerne : LV to gouerne : AV to reign over ; *gentes* (twice) : EV LV hethene men : AV Gentiles ; *sperabunt* : EV LV schulen hope : AV shall trust.

13. *autem* : EV forsoth : LV and : AV now ; *repleat* : EV LV fulfille : AV fill ; *gaudio* : EV LV in ioye : AV with ; *abundatis* : EV habounde : LV encrees : AV may abound ; *et* : EV LV and : AV om. ; *virtute* : EV LV (in) vertu : AV through power.

14. *certus sum* : EV LV am certeyn : AV am persuaded ; *autem* : EV sotheli : LV AV and ; *mei* : EV LV om. : AV my ; *et* : EV and : LV om. : AV also ; *quoniam* : EV for : LV AV that ; *et* : EV and : LV AV also ; *ipsi* : EV 3ousilf ; LV AV om. ; *dilectione* : EV LV loue : AV goodness ; EV ins. 3he ; LV ins. and 3e ben ; *repleti* : EV fulfillid : LV AV filled ; *scientia* : EV science, or kunnyng : LV kunnyng : AV knowledge ; *ita ut possitis* : EV LV so that 3e moun : AV able also ; *alterutrum* : EV LV ech other : AV one another ; *monere* : EV LV moneste : AV to admonish.

15. *audacius* : EV more hardily : LV AV more boldly ; *autem* : EV sotheli : LV and : AV nevertheless ; *scripsi* : EV LV wroot : AV have written ; *ex parte* : EV of party : LV a parti : AV in some sort ; *in* : EV LV into : AV in ; *reducens* : EV a3en bryngyng : LV bryngyng : AV putting ; *propter* : EV LV for : AV because of.

16. *sim* : EV LV be : AV should be ; *in* : EV in : LV

among: AV to; *sanctificans*: EV I halwinge: LV and Y halewe: AV ministering; *fiat accepta*: EV be maad acceptid: LV be acceptid: AV might be acceptable; *oblatio*: EV LV offryng: AV offering up; *gentium*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles; *et*: EV LV and: AV om.; *sanctificata*: EV LV halewid: AV being sanctified; *in*: EV LV in: AV by.

17. AV ins. whereof I may . . in those things which pertain; *in*: EV LV in: AV through.

18. *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *audeo*: EV LV dar: AV will dare; *aliquid*: EV LV any thing: AV any; *loqui*: EV LV speke: AV to speak of; *efficit*: EV makith: LV doith: AV hath wrought; *in obedientiam*: EV LV into obedience: AV to make obedient; *gentium*: EV LV of hethene men: AV Gentiles; *verbo*: EV LV in word: AV by word; *factis*: EV LV dedis: AV deed.

19. *in*: EV LV in: AV through; *virtute*: EV LV vertu: AV mighty; *signorum*: EV LV of tokenes: AV signs; *prodigiorum*: EV LV of grete wondris: AV wonders; *in*: EV LV in: AV by; *virtute*: EV LV vertu: AV power; *spiritus sancti*: EV LV Hooli Goost: AV Spirit of God; *per circuitum*: EV by cumpas, or enuyroun: LV bi cumpas: AV round about; *usque ad*: EV til vnto: LV to: AV unto; LV ins. see; *repleverim*: EV haue fulfillid: LV haue fillid: AV have fully preached.

20. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV yea; *prædicavi*: EV LV haue prechid: AV have strived to preach; *hoc*: EV LV this: AV om.; *alienum*: EV otheris: LV anotheres: AV another man's; *fundamentum*: EV LV ground: AV foundation; *ædificarem*: EV LV bilde: AV should build.

21. EV LV ins. for; *est annunciatum de eo*: EV LV it is teld of him: AV he was spoken of; *audierunt*: EV LV herden: AV have heard.

22. *propter quod*: EV LV for which thing: AV for which cause; *et*: EV LV om.: AV also; *impediebar*: EV LV was lettid: AV have been hindered; *plurimum*: EV LV ful myche: AV much; *venire*: EV for to come: LV to come: AV from coming; *et prohibitus sum usque adhuc*: EV and I am forbodyn til into ȝit: LV and Y am lettid to this tyme: AV om.



23. *vero*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV but; *ulterius*: EV LV fertherre: AV more; *non*: EV LV not: AV no; *habens*: EV I hauynge: LV Y haue: AV having; *regionibus*: EV LV cuntrees: AV parts; *cupiditatem*: EV couetyse: LV desire: AV great desire; *autem*: EV sothli: LV but: AV and; *habens*: EV AV haviŋg: LV Y haue; *veniendi*: EV of coming: LV AV to come; *ex multis jam præcedentibus annis*: EV of many 3eeris now goynge bfore: LV of many 3eris that ben passid: AV these many years.

24. *cum*: EV LV whanne: AV whensoever; *proficisci cæpero*: EV schal bygynne for to passe: LV bygynne to passe: AV take my journey; AV ins. I will come to you for; *spero*: EV LV hope: AV trust; *quod videam*: EV LV that Y schal se: AV to see; *præteriens*: EV passinge forth: LV in my goyng: AV in my journey; *a*: EV LV of: AV by; *deducar*: EV LV Y schal be led: AV to be brought on my way; *illuc*: EV LV thidur: AV thitherward; *vobis fruiŋis fuero*: EV schal vsen 3ou: LV vse 3ou: AV be filled with your company; *ex parte*: EV LV in parti: AV somewhat.

25. *igitur*: EV LV therfor: AV but; *proficiscar*: EV LV schal passe forth: AV go; *ministrare*: EV for to mynystre: LV AV to minister.

26. *probaverunt*: EV proueden: LV han assaid: AV it hath pleased; AV ins. them of; *enim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *collationem*: EV collacioun, or gedrynge of moneye: LV 3ifte: AV contribution; *aliquam*: EV LV sum: AV certain; *facere*: EV for to make: LV AV to make; *in*: EV into: LV to: AV for; *pauperes*: EV LV pore men: AV poor; *sanctorum*: EV LV of seyntis: AV saints; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *in*: EV LV in: AV at.

27. *placuit*: EV LV pleside: AV hath pleased; *enim*: EV sothli: LV for: AV verily; *eis*: EV LV to hem: AV them; *eorum*: EV LV of hem: AV their; *nam*: EV forwhi: LV AV for; *spiritualium*: EV LV goostli thingis: AV spiritual thingis; *participes*: EV LV parteneris: AV partakers; *facti sunt*: EV LV ben maad: AV have been made; *gentiles*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles; *debent*: EV LV thei owen: AV their duty is; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *car-*

*nalibus*: EV LV fleischli thingis: AV carnal things; *ministrare*: EV for to mynistre: LV AV to minister.

28. *hoc*: EV LV this thing: AV this; *consummavero*: EV schal ende: LV haue endid: AV have performed; *assignavero*: EV assigne: LV haue assigned: AV have sealed; *eis*: EV hem: LV AV to them; *proficiscar*: EV LV schal passe: AV will come.

29. *scio*: EV LV woot: AV am sure; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV AV and; *veniens*: EV LV comynge: AV when I come; *in*: EV LV into: AV in; *abundantia*: EV haboundaunce, or plente: LV abundaunce: AV fulness; *evangelii*: EV LV om.: AV gospel.

30. *ergo*: EV LV therfor: AV now; *per*: EV LV bi: AV for . . sake; *per*: EV LV bi: AV for; *charitatem*: EV LV charite: AV love; *sancti*: EV LV Hooli: AV om.; *Spiritus*: EV LV Goost: AV Spirit; *adjuvetis*: EV LV helpe: AV strive together with; *pro me*: EV AV for me: LV om.; *Deum*: EV LV Lord: AV God.

31. *liberer*: EV LV be delyuerid: AV may be delivered; *infidelibus*: EV vntrewe, or vnfeithful, men: LV vnfeithful men: AV them that do not believe; *qui sunt*: EV LV that ben: AV om.; *obsequii*: EV LV of seruyce: AV service; *oblatio*: EV LV offryng: AV om.; AV ins. which I have; *fiat*: EV LV be: AV may be; *sanctis*: EV LV to seyntis: AV of saints.

32. *veniam*: EV LV come: AV may come; *in*: EV LV in: AV with; EV LV ins. that; *refrigerer*: EV LV be refreischid: AV may be refreshed.

33. *autem*: EV sothli: LV and: AV now.

16. 1. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV om.; EV ins. britheren; *quæ*: EV that: LV AV which; *in ministerio*: EV LV in seruyce: AV servant; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *in*: EV in: LV AV at.

2. *digne*: EV LV worthili: AV as becometh; *sanctis*: EV LV to seyntis: AV saints; *assistatis*: EV stonde nyz, or helpe: LV helpe: AV assist; *quocumque*: EV LV whateuer: AV whatsoever; *negotio*: EV nede, or thing: LV

cause: AV busipess; *indignerit*: EV LV schal nede: AV hath need; *etenim*: EV forsoth: LV AV for; *quoque*: EV and: LV AV om.; *astitit*: EV stood nyȝ, or helpide: LV helpide: AV hath been a succourer; *multis*: EV to many: LV many men: AV of many; *mihi ipsi*: EV to mesilf: LV mysilf: AV of myself also.

3. *salutate*: EV saluwe, or greet: LV AV greet.

4. *qui*: EV the whiche: LV which: AV who; *anima*: EV soule, or lyf: LV AV life; *suas*: EV LV her: AV their own; *supposuerunt*: EV LV vndurputtiden: AV have laid down; *quibus*: EV LV to whiche: AV unto whom; *solus*: EV LV aloone: AV only; *gratias ago*: EV LV do thankyngis: AV give thanks; *et*: EV and: LV AV also; *gentium*: EV LV hethene men: AV Gentiles.

5. EV LV ins. grete ȝe wel: AV ins. greet; *et*: EV LV and: AV likewise; *domesticam*: EV homeli: LV meyneal: AV that is in their house; *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *dilectum*: EV LV loued: AV well beloved; *mihi*: EV LV to me: AV my; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *primitivus*: EV LV firste: AV firstfruits; *in*: EV LV in: AV unto.

6. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV greet; *quæ*: EV LV the whiche: AV who; *multum laboravit*: EV LV hath trauelid myche: AV bestowed much labor; *in*: EV LV in: AV on.

7. *salutate*: EV greeteth wel: LV grete wel: AV salute; *cognatos*: EV LV cosyns: AV kinsmen; *concaptivos*: EV eue-ne-caytifs, or prisoneris: LV euen-prisouneris: AV fellow prisoners; *qui*: EV the which: LV which: AV who; *nobiles*: EV LV noble: AV of note; *qui*: EV the whiche: LV which: AV who; *et*: EV LV and: AV also.

8. *salutate*: EV greeteth wel: LV grete wel: AV greet; *dilectissimum*: EV LV most dereworth: AV beloved; *mihi*: EV LV to me: AV my.

9. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *dilectum*: EV loued: LV derlyng: AV beloved.

10. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *probum*: EV LV noble: AV approved.

11. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *domo*: EV LV hous: AV household;

*salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *cognatum*: EV LV cosyn: AV kinsman; *salutate*: EV greete we: LV grete wel: AV greet; *Narcissi*: EV LV Narciscies: AV of Narcissus; *domo*: EV LV hous: AV household; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which.

12. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *quæ*: EV the which wymmen: LV which wymmen: AV who; *laborant*: EV LV trauelen: AV labor; *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *charissimam*: EV LV most dereworthe womman: AV beloved; *quæ*: EV LV that: AV which; *laboravit*: EV LV hath trauelid: AV laboured.

13. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute.

14. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which.

15. *salutate*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which.

16. *salutate*: EV greetith wel: LV grete ȝe wel: AV salute; *invicem*: EV LV togidere: AV one another; *in*: EV LV in: AV with; *oscula*: EV LV coss: AV kiss; *salutant*: EV LV greten wel: AV salute; *omnes*: EV LV alle: AV om.

17. *rogo*: EV LV preie: AV beseech; *autem*: EV forsoth: LV but: AV now; *ut observetis*: EV LV that ȝe asprie: AV mark; *qui*: EV LV that: AV which; *dissensiones*: EV LV discenciouns: AV divisions; *offendicula*: EV hirtyngis, or sclaunderis: LV hirtyngis: AV offences; *præter*: EV LV bisidis: AV contrary to; *quam*: EV LV that: AV which; *faciunt*: EV LV make: AV cause; *declinate*: EV LV bowe awei: AV avoid; *ab*: EV LV fro: AV om.

18. *huiusmodi*: EV LV suche men: AV they that are such; *enim*: EV sothely: LV AV for; *Christo*: EV LV to Crist: AV Christ; *suo*: EV LV her: AV their own; *ventri*: EV LV to wombe: AV belly; *dulces*: EV LV swete: AV good; *benedictiones*: EV LV blessyngis: AV fair speeches; *innocentium*: EV LV innocent men: AV the simple.

19. *enim*: EV sothli: LV but: AV for; *in omnem locum*: EV LV into euery place: AV unto all men; *divulgata est*: EV LV is pupplischid: AV is come abroad; *gaudeo*: EV ioye: LV haue ioye: AV am glad; *in vobis*: EV LV in

you: AV on your behalf; AV ins. yet; *volo*: EV LV wole: AV would; *esse*: EV for to be: LV to be: AV have; *in bono*: EV LV in good thing: AV unto that which is good; *in malo*: EV in yuel thing: LV in yuel: AV concerning evil. C. 1. 45  
Ic wille ðæt gē sien wise tō gōde, qnd bilewite tō yfele.

20. *autem*: EV forsothe: LV AV and; *conterat*: EV defoule: LV tredde: AV shall bruise; *velociter*: EV LV swiftli: AV shortly; AV ins. amen.

21. *salutat*: EV LV gretith wel: AV salute; *adjutor*: EV LV helpere: AV workfellow; EV LV ins. also; *cognati*: EV LV cosyns: AV kinsmen.

22. *saluto*: EV LV grete wel: AV salute; *Tertius*: EV the thridde: LV AV Tertius; *qui*: EV LV that: AV who; *scripsi*: EV haue writyn: LV AV wrote; LV AV ins. this.

23. *salutat*: EV LV gretith wel: AV saluteth; *hospes*: EV herborgere: LV AV host; *universa*: EV LV al: AV whole; *ecclesia*: EV LV chirche: AV of church; *salutat*: EV LV gretith wel: AV saluteth; *arcarius*: EV tresorer, or kepere: LV tresorere: AV chamberlain.

24. LV AV ins. be.

25. *autem*: EV forsoth: LV and: AV now; LV ins. onour and glorie be; *potens*: EV LV myzti: AV of power; *confirmare*: EV LV conferme: AV stablish; *juxta*: EV LV bi: AV according to; *secundam*: EV vp: LV bi: AV according to; *temporibus æternis*: EV LV in tymes euerlastinge: AV since the world began; *taciti*: EV holdun stille, that is, not schewid: LV holdun styлле: AV which was kept secret.

26. *quod*: EV the which mysterie: LV which mysterie: AV but; *patefactum est*: EV LV is maad opyn: AV is made manifest; *secundum*: EV vp: LV bi: AV according to; *æterni*: EV LV withouten bigynnyng and endyng: AV everlasting; *ad*: EV LV to: AV for; *in*: EV LV in: AV to; *gentibus*: EV LV hethene men: AV nations; EV LV ins. the mysterie; *cogniti*: EV LV knowun: AV made known.

27. *solī*: EV LV aloone: AV only; *per*: EV LV bi: AV through; *cui honor et*: EV LV to whom onour and; AV om.; LV AV ins. be; *in sæcula sæculorum*: EV LV in-to worldis of worldis: AV for ever.

## LATIN-ENGLISH GLOSSARIAL INDEX

[Except proper names, co-ordinate conjunctions, and the negative *non*, every Latin word has been included in this list, and every instance of its use recorded, with its equivalent in the later Wycliffite version. Since the list is intended primarily to offer facilities for the study of the English vocabulary, it has not been thought necessary to insist upon rigid consistency, as in the case of participles and infinitives translated by a clause; nor to give other forms of the Latin noun or adjective than the nominative singular, even when the plural is used in a different meaning from the singular. Head-words are given in strictly alphabetical order; nouns, adjectives, and participles in the nominative singular. Forms of pronouns, in alphabetical order, are given under the head of the nominative singular; forms of verbs, including participles, under the head of the infinitive. If, however, only a single form of a given pronoun or verb occurs, it is placed among the head-words. Variations in spelling are not recorded, except when the identity of the word seems hidden.]

*A, Ab*: fro, 4. 24, 5. 9, 6. 4, 6. 7, 6. 9, 6. 18, 6. 22, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 6, 8. 2, 8. 11, 8. 21, 8. 35, 8. 39, 9. 3, 10. 7, 10. 9, 15. 19, 15. 31, 16. 17; from, 5. 14; of, 1. 7, 1. 20, 3. 21, 10. 20, 11. 26, 11. 27, 12. 21, 13. 1, 15. 15, 15. 24.

*Abba*: abba, 8. 15.

*Abbrevians*: abreggyng, 9. 28.

*Abiiciamus*: caste awei, 13. 12.

*Abolita est*: is don away, 4. 14.

*Abominaris*: wlatist, 2. 22.

*Absconditum*: hid, 2. 29.

*Absit*: God forbede, 3. 3, 3. 6, 3. 31, 6. 2, 6. 15, 7. 7, 7. 13, 9. 14, 11. 1, 11. 11.

*Absque*: withouten, 1. 31.

*Abstulero*: schal do waei, 11. 27.

*Abundantia*: abundaunce, 15. 29; plente, 5. 17.

*Abundare*:

*abundaret*: schulde be plenteuouse, 5. 20.

*abundavit*: hath aboundid, 3. 7, 5. 15; was plenteuouse, 5. 20.

*abundet*: be plenteuouse, 6. 1; encrees, 14. 5.

*abundetis*: encrees, 15. 13.

*Abyssus*: helle, 10. 7.

*Acceptio*: accepcioun, 2. 11.

*Accessus*: nizgoyng-to, 5. 2.

*Accipere*:

*accepimus*: han resseyued, 1. 5, 5. 11.

*accepistis*: han take, 8. 15.

*accepit*: took, 4. 11.

*acceptus*: accepted, 15. 16, 15. 31; acceptith, 4. 6; takun, 7. 8, 7. 11.

*accipiens*: (*that-clause*) 5. 17.

*Accusare :**accusabit :* schal accuse, 8. 33.*accusans :* (that-clause) 2. 15.*Acquiescunt :* assenten, 2. 8.*Acquirant :* geten, 13. 2.*Actus :* dede, 12. 4.

*Ad :* at, 5. 1; for, 11. 14; into, 6. 19; (omitted) 1. 11; on, 8. 34; to, 1. 5, 1. 10, 1. 13, 2. 4, 3. 12, 3. 15, 3. 25, 3. 26, 4. 3, 4. 5, 4. 9, 4. 11, 4. 22, 4. 23, 5. 13, 5. 14, 6. 16, 7. 10, 8. 18, 8. 31, 10. 1, 10. 4, 10. 10, 10. 19, 10. 21, 12. 3, 15. 2, 15. 4, 15. 8, 15. 17, 15. 19, 15. 22, 15. 23, 15. 29, 15. 30, 15. 32, 16. 26.

*Adducere :**adducam :* schal lede, 10. 19.*adducit :* ledith, 2. 4.*Adhærens :* drawynge to, 12. 9.

*Adhuc :* 3it, 3. 7, 5. 8, 6. 2, 8. 22, 9. 19; (omitted) 5. 6; to this tyme, 1. 13, 15. 22.

*Adjacet :* lieth to, 7. 18, 7. 21.

*Adjutor :* helper, 16. 3, 16. 9, 16. 21.

*Adjuvare :**adjuvat :* helpith, 8. 26.*adjuvatis :* helpe, 15. 30.

*Adoptio :* adopcioun, 8. 15, 8. 23, 9. 4.

*Adultera :* auoutresse, 7. 3.

*Adulterabis :* schalt do letcherie, 13. 9.

*Adversus :* ægens, 8. 33, 11. 2, 11. 18.

*Ædificarem :* bilde, 15. 20.

*Ædificatio :* edificacioun, 14. 19, 15. 2.

*Æmulari :**æmulandum :* to folowe, 11. 14.*æmulentur :* sue, 11. 11.

*Æmulatio :* enuye, 10. 19, 13. 13; loue, 10. 2.

*Æquitas :* equityte, 9. 28.*Æstimari :**æstimantur :* ben demed, 9. 8.

*æstimati sumus :* ben gessid, 8. 36.

*Æternus :* euerlastynge, 2. 7, 5. 21, 6. 22, 6. 23, 6. 25,

16. 25; withouten bigynnyng and endyng, 16. 26.

*Affectio :* loue, 1. 31.*Afficiant :* punysche, 1. 24.*Agere :**agebant :* diden, 3. 13.*agis :* doist, 2. 1.*agit :* doith, 13. 4.*ago :* do, 7. 15, 7. 19.*agunt :* don, 1. 32, 2. 2, 2. 3.*agissent :* hadden don, 9. 11.*Aguntur :* ben led, 8. 14.*Ait :* seith, 15. 12.*aiunt :* seien, 3. 8.*Alienus :* anothris, 14. 4, 15. 20.*Alioquin :* ellis, 3. 6, 11. 6, 11. 22.

*Aliquando :* sum tyme, 1. 10, 7. 9, 11. 30.

*Aliquis, aliquid :* ony, 11. 17; onything, 9. 11, 15. 18; sum, 1. 13, 11. 14, 15. 26; sumwhat, 1. 11.

*Alius :* another, 2. 21, 7. 3, 7. 23; another man, 14. 2; noon other, 8. 39; o . . . another, 9. 21; one . . . another, 14. 5; other, 13. 9.

*Alligata est :* is bounden, 7. 2.*Aliarium :* auter, 11. 3.

*Alter :* anothir man, 2. 1; another, 7. 4, 12. 5; one, 12. 5.

*Alterutrum :* ech othere, 15. 5, 15. 14.

*Altitudo :* heiznesse, 11. 33; heizth, 8. 39.

*Altus, altum :* hize thing, 11. 20, 12. 16.

*Amaritudo :* bitternesse, 3. 14.*Ambulare :**ambulamus :* goen, 8. 4.*ambulant :* wandren, 8. 1.*ambulas :* walkist, 14. 15.

*ambulemus :* walke, 6. 4; wandle, 13. 13.

*Amen :* amen, 1. 25, 9. 5, 11. 36, 15. 33, 16. 24, 16. 27.

*Amissio :* loss, 11. 15.*Amplius :* more, 3. 1, 14. 13.

*An :* or, 4. 10, 8. 35; whether, 2. 4, 3. 29, 6. 3, 7. 1, 9. 21, 11. 2; whether . . . or, 4. 9.

*Anathema :* departid, 9. 3.

*Angelus*: awngel, 8. 38.  
*Angustia*: angwisch, 2. 9, 8. 35.  
*Anima*: lijf, 11. 3, 16. 4; soule, 2. 9, 13. 1.  
*Annuntiari*:  
*annuntiatus est*: is teld, 15. 21.  
*annuntiatur*: is schewid, 1. 8.  
*annuntietur*: be teld, 9. 17.  
*Annus*: zeer, 4. 19, 15. 23.  
*Ante*: bifor, 3. 18, 4. 17, 11. 4, 14. 10, 16. 7; tofore, 1. 2.  
*Apostolatus*: office of apostle, 1. 5.  
*Apostolus*: apostle, 1. 1, 11. 13, 16. 7.  
*Apparere*:  
*appareat*: seme, 7. 13.  
*apparui*: apperide, 10. 20.  
*Apprehenderunt*: han gete, 9. 30.  
*Appropinquavit*: hath neized, 13. 12.  
*Aptus*: able, 9. 22.  
*Apud*: anentis, 2. 11, 2. 13, 4. 2, 9. 14, 12. 16.  
*Arbitramur*: demen, 3. 28.  
*Arcarius*: tresorerer, 16. 23.  
*Arena*: grauel, 9. 27.  
*Arma*: armuris, 6. 13, 13. 12.  
*Ascendet*: schal stie, 10. 6.  
*Aspis*: snake, 3. 13.  
*Assignavero*: haue assigned, 15. 28.  
*Assistatis*: helpe, 16. 2.  
*Assumere*:  
*assume*: take, 14. 1.  
*assumpsit*: hath take, 14. 3.  
*Assumptio*: takyng vp, 11. 15.  
*Astutus*: helpide, 16. 2.  
*Audacius*: more boldli, 15. 15.  
*Audere*:  
*audet*: dar, 5. 7.  
*audeo*: dar, 15. 18.  
*audet*: is bold, 10. 20.  
*Audire*:  
*audiant*: here, 11. 8.  
*audient*: schulen here, 10. 14.  
*audierunt*: han herd, 10. 14; herden, 10. 18, 15. 21.  
*Auditor*: herer, 2. 13.  
*Auditus*: heryng, 10. 16, 10. 17.  
*Auris*: eer, 11. 8.  
*Aui*: nether, 1. 21; nether . . ether, 9. 11; or, 2. 15, 3. 1.

4. 13, 10. 7, 10. 14, 11. 34, 11. 35, 14. 4, 14. 10, 14. 21.  
*Audem*: and, 1. 13, 3. 19, 3. 22, 4. 4, 4. 23, 5. 3, 5. 4, 5. 5, 5. 11, 5. 20, 6. 8, 6. 18, 6. 22, 7. 8, 7. 9, 7. 16, 7. 20, 8. 8, 8. 17, 8. 23, 8. 25, 8. 26, 8. 28, 8. 30, 9. 10, 10. 20, 11. 6, 12. 5, 13. 1, 13. 2, 14. 23, 15. 9, 15. 13, 15. 14, 15. 15, 15. 20, 15. 29, 15. 33, 16. 1, 16. 20, 16. 25; but, 2. 3, 2. 5, 2. 8, 2. 10, 2. 17, 2. 25, 3. 4, 3. 5, 3. 21, 4. 5, 5. 8, 5. 13, 5. 16, 5. 20, 6. 10, 6. 11, 6. 17, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 6, 7. 10, 7. 14, 7. 17, 7. 18, 7. 23, 7. 25, 8. 6, 8. 9, 8. 13, 9. 6, 9. 13, 9. 27, 10. 6, 10. 10, 10. 17, 10. 21, 11. 7, 11. 20, 11. 22, 11. 28, 11. 30, 12. 4, 13. 3, 13. 4, 13. 12, 14. 1, 14. 2, 14. 4, 14. 10, 15. 1, 15. 5, 15. 23, 16. 17, 16. 18; for, 1. 17, 3. 4, 8. 10, 8. 24, 8. 27, 14. 23; zhe, 9. 30; (omitted) 1. 27, 6. 23, 8. 17, 10. 14, 11. 17, 14. 5; therfor, 12. 6.  
*Avaritia*: coueitise, 1. 29.  
*Avertat*: turne awei, 11. 26.  
*Baptismum*: bapty, 6. 4.  
*Baptisati sumus*: ben baptisid, 6. 3.  
*Barbarus*: barberyn, 1. 14.  
*Beatitudo*: blessidnesse, 4. 6, 4. 9.  
*Beatus*: blessid, 4. 7, 4. 8, 14. 22.  
*Bene*: wel, 11. 20.  
*Benedicere*:  
*benedicite*: blesse, 12. 14.  
*benedictus*: blessid, 9. 5.  
*benedictus est*: is blessid, 1. 25.  
*Benedictio*: blessyng, 15. 29, 16. 18.  
*Beneplacens*: wel plesyng, 12. 2.  
*Benignitas*: benyngnye, 2. 4.  
*Bibere*: drynke, 14. 21.  
*Blasphemare*:  
*blasphemamur*: ben blasfemed, 3. 8.  
*blasphematur*: is blasfemed, 2. 24.



**Blasphemare:**

*blasphemetur*: be blasfemed,  
14. 16.

*Bonitas*: goodnesse, 2. 4, 11. 22.

*Bonum*: good, 7. 18, 8. 28, 9. 11,  
12. 9, 12. 21, 13. 4, 14. 21,  
15. 2; good man, 5. 7; good  
thing, 2. 10, 3. 8, 3. 12, 7. 13,  
7. 15, 7. 18, 7. 19, 7. 21, 10.  
15, 12. 17, 13. 3, 14. 16, 16. 19.

*Bonus*: good, 2. 7, 7. 12, 7. 16,  
11. 24, 12. 2, 13. 3.

*Breviatus*: breggid, 9. 28.

**Cadere:**

*caderent*: schulden falle doun,  
11. 11.

*cadit*: fallith, 14. 4.

*ceciderunt*: felden doun, 11. 22;  
felden, 15. 3.

*Cæcitas*: blyndnesse, 11. 25.

*Cæcus*: blynde man, 2. 19.

*Cantabo*: schal syng, 15. 9.

*Captio*: catchyng, 11. 9.

*Captivans*: makynge caitif, 7. 23.

*Caput*: heed, 12. 20.

*Carbones*: colis, 12. 20.

*Carnalis*: fleischli, 7. 14;

fleischli thing, 15. 27.

*Caro*: fleisch, 1. 3, 2. 28, 3. 20,

4. 1, 6. 19, 7. 5, 7. 18, 7. 25,

8. 1, 8. 3, 8. 4, 8. 5, 8. 6,

8. 7, 8. 8, 8. 9, 8. 12, 8. 13,

9. 3, 9. 5, 9. 8, 11. 14, 13. 14,

14. 21.

*Causa*: cause, 13. 4.

*Causati sumus*: han schewid bi  
skile, 3. 9.

*Centum*: hundrid, 4. 19.

*Certus*: certeyn, 8. 38, 15. 14.

*Cervix*: necke, 16. 4.

*Ceteri*: othere, 1. 13, 11. 7.

*Charissimus*: moost dere, 12. 19;

moost dereworthe, 11. 28,

16. 12.

*Charitas*: charite, 5. 5, 5. 8, 8. 35,

8. 39, 12. 10, 14. 15, 15. 30.

*Ciba*: fede, 12. 20.

*Cibus*: mete, 14. 15.

*Circuitus*: cumpas, 15. 19.

*Circumcisio*: circumcisioun, 2. 25,

2. 26, 2. 27, 2. 28, 2. 29,

3. 1, 3. 30, 4. 9, 4. 10, 4. 11,  
4. 12, 15. 8.

*Civitas*: city, 16. 23.

**Clamare:**

*clamamus*: crien, 8. 15.

*clamat*: crieth, 9. 27.

*Calum*: heuene, 1. 18, 10. 6.

*Cæpero*: bygynne, 15. 24.

*Cogitatio*: thougt, 1. 21, 2. 15,  
14. 1.

*Cognatus*: cosyn, 9. 3, 16. 7, 16. 11,  
16. 21.

*Cognitio*: knowyng, 3. 20.

*Cognominaris*: art named, 2. 17.

**Cognoscere:**

*cognitus*: knowun, 16. 26.

*cognoverunt*: knewen, 3. 17.

*cognovi*: knew, 7. 7.

*cognovissent*: hadden knowe,  
1. 21, 1. 32.

*cognovit*: knewe, 10. 19, 11. 34.

*Cohæredas*: eiris togidere, 8. 17.

*Collatio*: gifte, 15. 26.

*Coluerunt*: herieden, 1. 25.

*Comessatio*: superflu feest, 13. 13.

**Commendare:**

*commendat*: comende, 3. 5;

comendith, 5. 8.

*commendo*: comende, 16. 1.

*Commune*: vnclene, 14. 14.

*Communicans*: zyuyng good,  
12. 13.

*Commutaverunt*: chaungiden,  
1. 25.

*Compatimur*: suffren togidere,  
8. 17.

*Complantatus*: plauntid togidere,  
6. 5.

*Compunctio*: compunccioun, 11. 8.

*Concaptivus*: euen-prisouner, 16. 7.

*Conclusit*: closide togidere, 11. 32.

*Concubitus*: liggyng-by, 9. 10.

*Concupiscentia*: coueytise, 7. 8;

coueitynge, 6. 12, 7. 7.

*Concupiscas*: schalt coueyte, 7. 7,  
13. 9.

*Condelector*: delite togidere, 7. 22.

**Condemnare:**

*condemnas*: condempnest, 2. 1.

*condemnet*: condempneth, 8. 34.

*Condemnatio*: condempnacioun,  
5. 16, 5. 18.

*Condignus*: worthi, 8. 18.  
*Confessio*: knowleching, 10. 10.  
*Confidere*:  
*confidis*: tristist, 2. 19.  
*confido*: trist, 14. 14.  
*Confirmare*: conferme, 16. 25.  
*confirmandas*: to conferme, 15. 8.  
*confirmandos*: (that-clause) 1. 11.  
*Confiteri*:  
*confitearis*: knoulechist, 10. 9.  
*confitebitur*: schal knouleche, 14. 11.  
*confitebor*: schal knowleche, 15. 9.  
*Conformari*: be confourmyd, 12. 2.  
*Conformis*: lijk, 8. 29.  
*Confortatus est*: was coumfortid, 4. 20.  
*Confundere*:  
*confundetur*: schal be confoundid, 9. 33, 10. 11.  
*confundit*: confoundith, 5. 5.  
*Congere*: schalt gidere togidere, 12. 20.  
*Conglorificemur*: ben glorified togidere, 8. 17.  
*Conscientia*: conscience, 2. 15, 9. 1, 13. 5.  
*Consentire*:  
*consentiens*: consentynge, 12. 16.  
*consentio*: consente, 7. 16.  
*consentiunt*: consenten, 1. 32.  
*Consepuliti sumus*: ben togidere buried, 6. 4.  
*Consequi*:  
*consecuta est*: hath getun, 11. 7.  
*consecuti estis*: han gete, 11. 30.  
*consecutus*: getynge, 9. 25.  
*consecutus est*: hath getun, 11. 7.  
*consequantur*: geten, 11. 31.  
*Consideravit*: biheelde, 4. 19.  
*Consiliarius*: counselour, 11. 34.  
*Consolari*: be coumfortid togidere, 1. 12.  
*Consolatio*: coumfort, 15. 4.  
*Conspiciuntur*: ben biholdun, 1. 20.  
*Constituere*:  
*constituentur*: schulen be, 5. 19.  
*constituti sunt*: ben maad, 5. 19.

*Consummare*:  
*consummans*: makynge an end, 9. 28; (that-clause) 2. 27.  
*consummauero*: haue endid, 15. 28.  
*Contemnis*: dispisist, 2. 4.  
*Contentio*: strijf, 1. 29, 2. 8, 13. 13.  
*Conterat*: tredde, 16. 20.  
*Contigit*: hath feld, 11. 25.  
*Continuus*: contynuel, 9. 2.  
*Contra*: azens, 1. 26, 4. 18, 8. 31, 11. 24.  
*Contradicentes*: azenseide, 10. 21.  
*Contristatur*: be maad sori in conscience, 14. 15.  
*Contritio*: sorewe, 3. 16.  
*Contumelia*: dispit, 9. 21; wrong, 1. 24.  
*Contumeliosus*: debater, 1. 30.  
*Conueniunt*: ben couenable, 1. 28.  
*Cooperantur*: worchen togidere, 8. 28.  
*Cor*: herte, 1. 21, 1. 24, 2. 5, 2. 15, 2. 29, 5. 5, 6. 17, 8. 27, 9. 2, 10. 1, 10. 6, 10. 8, 10. 9, 10. 10, 16. 18.  
*Coram*: bifor, 3. 20, 12. 17, 14. 22.  
*Corpus*: bodi, 1. 24, 4. 19, 6. 6, 6. 12, 7. 4, 7. 24, 8. 10, 8. 11, 8. 23, 12. 1, 12. 4, 12. 5.  
*Corruptibilis*: deedli, 1. 23.  
*Corruptio*: corrupcioun, 8. 21.  
*Creator*: creatour, 1. 25.  
*Creatura*: creature, 1. 20, 1. 25, 8. 19, 8. 20, 8. 21, 8. 22, 8. 39.  
*Credere*:  
*credendo*: bileuyng, 15. 13.  
*credent*: schulen bileue, 10. 14.  
*credens*: bileuyng, 4. 11; (that-clause) 1. 16, 4. 5, 4. 24, 10. 4, 10. 21.  
*credetis*: bileuest, 10. 9.  
*crediderunt*: bileueden, 3. 3, 11. 31; han bileued, 10. 14.  
*credidistis*: bileueden, 11. 30.  
*credidit*: bileued, 4. 3, 4. 18, 10. 16; thou hast bileued, 4. 17.  
*credimus*: bileuen, 6. 8; bileueden, 13. 11.  
*credit*: schal bileue, 9. 33; bileueth, 10. 11; leueth, 14. 2.

- Credere:**  
*credita sunt:* weren bitakun, 3. 2.  
*creditur:* bileueth, 10. 10.  
*credunt:* bileuen, 2. 8, 3. 22.  
*Crucifixus est:* is crucified, 6. 6.  
*Cubile:* bed, 13. 13.  
*Cum:* whanne, 1. 21, 1. 32, 2. 14, 2. 16, 3. 4, 4. 19, 5. 8, 5. 10, 5. 13, 6. 20, 7. 5, 7. 9, 9. 11, 11. 17, 11. 27, 13. 11, 15. 24, 15. 28; while, 5. 6.  
*Cum:* with, 6. 4, 6. 8, 7. 3, 8. 32, 12. 15, 12. 18, 15. 10, 15. 32, 15. 33, 16. 14, 16. 15, 16. 20, 16. 24.  
*Cunctus:* alle, 16. 4, 16. 26.  
*Cupiditas:* desire, 15. 23.  
*Cura:* bisynesse, 13. 14.  
*Currens:* rennynge, 9. 16.  
*Curvaverunt:* han bowid, 11. 4.  
*Custodiare:*  
*custodiamus:* kepe, 14. 19.  
*custodiat:* kepe, 2. 26.  
**Damnare:**  
*damnatus est:* is dampned, 14. 23.  
*damnavit:* dampnede, 8. 3.  
*Damnatio:* dampnacioun, 3. 8, 8. 1, 13. 2.  
**Dare:**  
*da:* zyue, 12. 20.  
*dans:* zyuyng, 4. 20.  
*data est:* is zouun, 12. 3, 12. 6, 15. 15.  
*date:* zyue, 12. 19.  
*datus est:* is zouun, 5. 5.  
*dedit:* gaf, 11. 8, 11. 35.  
*det:* zyue, 15. 5.  
*De:* fro, 1. 18, 7. 24, 13. 11; of, 1. 3, 8. 3, 11. 1, 15. 14, 15. 21.  
**Debere:**  
*debeatis:* owe, 13. 8.  
*debemus:* owen, 15. 1.  
*debent:* owen, 15. 27.  
*Debitor:* dettour, 1. 14, 8. 12, 15. 27.  
*Debitum:* dette, 4. 4, 13. 7.  
**Declinare:**  
*declinare:* bowe awei, 16. 17.  
*declinaverunt:* bowiden away, 3. 12.  
**Deducere:** lede doun, 10. 6.  
*deducar:* schal be led, 15. 24.  
**Defendens:** defendyng, 12. 19;  
*(that-clause)* 2. 15.  
**Delibatio:** a litil part of that that is tasted, 11. 16.  
**Delictum:** gilt, 5. 15, 5. 16, 5. 17, 5. 18, 5. 20, 11. 11, 11. 12; synne, 3. 25, 4. 25.  
**Descendet:** schal go doun, 10. 7.  
**Desiderare:**  
*desideret:* desirith, 8. 27.  
*desidero:* desire, 1. 11.  
*Desiderium:* desir, 1. 24, 1. 27, 13. 14.  
**Destruere:** distrie, 14. 20.  
*destruatur:* be distruyed, 6. 6.  
*destruimus:* distruye, 3. 31.  
**Detinere:**  
*detinebamur:* weren holdun, 7. 6.  
*detinent:* withholden, 1. 18.  
**Detractor:** detractour, 1. 30.  
**Dexter:** rízt half, 8. 34.  
**Dicere:** *(that-clause)* 3. 8.  
*dicemus:* schulen seie, 3. 5, 4. 1, 6. 1, 7. 7, 8. 31, 9. 14, 9. 30.  
*dicens:* seiyng, 1. 22.  
*diceret:* seide, 7. 7.  
*dices:* seist, 11. 19; schalt seie, 13. 9.  
*dicimus:* seien, 4. 9.  
*dicis:* seist, 9. 19; techist, 2. 22.  
*dicit:* seith, 4. 3, 4. 6, 9. 15, 9. 17, 9. 20, 9. 25, 10. 6, 10. 8, 10. 11, 10. 16, 10. 19, 10. 20, 10. 21, 11. 2, 11. 4, 11. 9, 12. 19, 14. 11, 15. 10.  
*dico:* seie, 3. 5, 6. 19, 9. 1, 10. 18, 10. 19, 11. 1, 11. 11, 11. 13, 12. 3, 15. 8.  
*dictum est:* is seid, 9. 26; was seid, 4. 18, 9. 12.  
*dixeris:* seie, 10. 6.  
*Didicistis:* han lerned, 16. 17.  
**Dies:** dai, 2. 5, 2. 16, 8. 36, 10. 21, 11. 8, 13. 12, 13. 13, 14. 5, 14. 6.  
**Differens:** dyuersyng, 12. 6.  
**Diffidentia:** vntrist, 4. 20.  
*Diffusa est:* is spred abroad, 5. 5.

- Digne*: worthili, 16. 2.  
*Dignus*: worthi, 1. 32.  
*Dilectio*: loue, 12. 9, 13. 10, 15. 14.  
*Dilectissimus*: most dereworth, 16. 8.  
*Diligere*:  
*dilectus*: loued, 9. 25, 16. 5;  
derlyng, 1. 7, 16. 9.  
*dilexi*: louede, 9. 13.  
*dilexit*: louyde: 8. 37.  
*diligatis*: loue, 13. 8.  
*diligens*: louyng, 12. 10; (*that-clause*) 8. 28.  
*diliges*: schalt loue, 13. 9.  
*diligit*: loueth, 13. 8.  
*Diminutio*: makyng lesse, 11. 12.  
*Disceptatio*: demyng, 14. 1.  
*Discernit*: demeth, 14. 23.  
*Dissensio*: discencioun, 16. 17.  
*Distinctio*: departyng, 3. 22; *distinctionioun*, 10. 12.  
*Diues*: riche, 10. 12.  
*Divinitas*: godhed, 1. 20.  
*Divinus*: Goddis, 11. 4.  
*Divisi*: hath departid, 12. 3.  
*Divitia*: richessis, 2. 4, 9. 23, 11. 12, 11. 33.  
*Divulgata est*: is pupplischid, 16. 19.  
*Docere*:  
*doces*: techist, 2. 21.  
*docet*: techith, 12. 7.  
*Doctrina*: doctryne, 16. 17; *techyng*, 6. 17, 12. 7, 15. 4.  
*Dolor*: sorewe, 9. 2.  
*Dolose*: gilefuli, 3. 13.  
*Dolus*: gile, 1. 29.  
*Domesticus*: meyneal, 16. 5.  
*Dominari*:  
*dominabitur*: schal haue lordschip, 6. 9, 6. 14.  
*dominatur*: hath lordschip, 7. 1.  
*dominetur*: be Lord, 14. 9.  
*Dominus*: God, 4. 8, 9. 29; Lord (applied to God or Christ), 1. 4, 1. 7, 4. 24, 5. 1, 5. 11, 5. 21, 6. 11, 6. 23, 7. 25, 8. 39, 9. 28, 10. 9, 10. 12, 10. 13, 10. 16, 11. 3, 11. 34, 12. 11, 12. 19, 13. 14, 14. 6, 14. 8, 14. 11, 14. 14, 15. 6, 15. 9, 15. 11, 15. 30, 16. 2, 16. 8, 16. 11, 16. 12, 16. 13, 16. 18, 16. 20, 16. 22, 16. 24; lord (applied to man), 14. 4.  
*Domus*: hous, 16. 11.  
*Donabit*: gaf, 8. 32.  
*Donatio*: gift, 12. 6; *zyuyng*, 5. 17.  
*Donec*: til that, 11. 25.  
*Donum*: gifte, 5. 15, 5. 16, 11. 29.  
*Dorsum*: bak, 11. 10.  
*Dulcis*: swete, 16. 18.  
*Duritia*: hardnesse, 2. 5.  
*Dux*: ledere, 2. 19.  
*Ebrietas*: drunkenesse, 13. 13.  
*Eccs*: lo, 9. 33.  
*Ecclesia*: chirche, 16. 1, 16. 4, 16. 5, 16. 16, 16. 23.  
*Efficit*: doith, 15. 18.  
*Effugies*: schalt ascape, 2. 3.  
*Effundendum*: schede, 3. 15.  
*Egent*: han nede, 3. 23.  
*Ego*: Y, 3. 7, 7. 9, 7. 10, 7. 14, 7. 17, 7. 20, 7. 24, 7. 25, 9. 3, 10. 19, 11. 1, 11. 3, 11. 13, 11. 19, 12. 19, 14. 11, 16. 4, 16. 22.  
*me*: me, 1. 15, 7. 8, 7. 11, 7. 17, 7. 18, 7. 20, 7. 23, 7. 24, 8. 2, 9. 20, 10. 10, 10. 20, 11. 27, 15. 3, 15. 18, 15. 30, 16. 7; (omitted) 15. 30.  
*mihi*: to me, 1. 9, 7. 10, 7. 13, 7. 18, 7. 21, 9. 1, 9. 2, 9. 19, 11. 4, 12. 3, 12. 19, 14. 11, 15. 15, 16. 5, 16. 8.  
*Ego ipse*: Y mysilf, 9. 3, 15. 14.  
*mihi ipsi*: mysilf, 16. 2.  
*Ejusmodi*: suche manere, 2. 14.  
*Elatus*: hiz ouer mesure, 1. 30.  
*Electio*: chesyng, 11. 5; *elecction*, 9. 11, 11. 7, 11. 28.  
*Electus*: chosun, 16. 13; *chosun man*, 8. 33.  
*Eloquium*: spekyng, 3. 2.  
*Emortuus*: nyȝ deed, 4. 19.  
*Enim*: and, 2. 2, 3. 3, 5. 6, 7. 14, 8. 16, 8. 18, 9. 11, 9. 17, 9. 32, 10. 12, 11. 29, 11. 30, 14. 15, 14. 18; but, 6. 19, 8. 20, 8. 24, 8. 38, 10. 2, 11. 13, 11. 25, 16. 19; but and, 7. 18; for, 1. 9, 1. 11,

1. 16, 1. 17, 1. 18, 1. 19, 1. 20,  
1. 22, 2. 1, 2. 11, 2. 12, 2. 13,  
2. 14, 2. 24, 2. 28, 3. 7, 3. 9,  
3. 20, 3. 22, 3. 23, 3. 28, 4. 2,  
4. 3, 4. 9, 4. 13, 4. 14, 4. 15, 5. 7,  
5. 10, 5. 13, 5. 15, 5. 17, 5. 19,  
6. 2, 6. 4, 6. 5, 6. 7, 6. 10,  
6. 14, 6. 20, 6. 23, 7. 1, 7. 5,  
7. 8, 7. 15, 7. 19, 7. 22, 8. 2,  
8. 5, 8. 7, 8. 13, 8. 14, 8. 15,  
9. 3, 9. 6, 9. 15, 9. 19, 10. 3,  
10. 4, 10. 5, 10. 10, 10. 13,  
10. 16, 11. 15, 11. 21, 11. 23,  
11. 32, 12. 3, 12. 4, 12. 19,  
12. 20, 13. 1, 13. 4, 13. 6,  
13. 8, 13. 11, 14. 2, 14. 3,  
14. 4, 14. 6, 14. 7, 14. 8,  
14. 10, 14. 11, 15. 4, 15. 8,  
15. 18, 15. 26, 15. 27, 16. 18;  
forsothe, 9. 28; forwhi, 9. 9,  
10. 11, 11. 34, 14. 9, 14. 17;  
(omitted) 13. 6.  
*Epistola*: epistle, 16. 22.  
*Ergo*: thanne, 2. 21, 3. 1, 3. 9,  
3. 27, 4. 1, 4. 9, 4. 10, 7. 13,  
8. 31, 8. 35, 10. 14, 11. 7;  
therfor, 3. 31, 5. 1, 6. 1, 6. 12,  
6. 15, 6. 21, 7. 7, 8. 1, 8. 12,  
9. 14, 9. 18, 9. 30, 10. 17,  
11. 1, 11. 5, 11. 11, 11. 19,  
11. 22, 13. 7, 13. 10, 13. 12,  
14. 8, 14. 13, 14. 16, 15. 30.  
*Eripiat*: schal delyuere, 11. 26.  
*Error*: erreur, 1. 27.  
*Erubescere*:  
  *erubescitis*: schamen, 6. 21.  
  *erubesco*: schame, 1. 16.  
*Eruditor*: techere, 2. 20.  
*Esca*: mete, 14. 17, 14. 20.  
*Esse*: be, 2. 19, 6. 11, 7. 10, 9. 3,  
  12. 16, 14. 14; ben, 3. 10;  
  \* (*that*-clause) 1. 22, 3. 9, 16. 19.  
*erant*: weren, 7. 5.  
*erat*: was, 5. 13, 7. 10, 8. 3.  
*erimus*: schulen be, 5. 9, 5. 10,  
  6. 5.  
*eris*: schalt be, 10. 9.  
*erit*: schal be, 4. 18, 9. 9, 9. 26,  
  10. 13, 15. 12.  
*es*: art, 2. 1, 2. 27, 9. 20, 14. 4.  
*essemus*: weren, 5. 6, 5. 8, 5. 10,  
  7. 5.

*Esse*:*esses*: were, 11. 17.*esset*: schuld be, 4. 13; was,  
  4. 19, 5. 13.*essetis*: weren, 6. 20.*est*: be, 11. 16, 13. 9; is, 1. 9,

1. 12, 1. 15, 1. 16, 1. 19,

1. 26, 2. 2, 2. 11, 2. 28, 2. 29,

3. 1, 3. 4, 3. 5, 3. 8, 3. 10,

3. 11, 3. 12, 3. 13, 3. 14,

3. 18, 3. 22, 3. 24, 3. 26, 3. 27,

3. 30, 4. 11, 4. 12, 4. 15, 4. 16,

4. 21, 5. 14, 6. 21, 7. 2, 7. 7,

7. 13, 7. 14, 7. 16, 7. 18,

7. 23, 8. 1, 8. 5, 8. 6, 8. 7,

8. 9, 8. 10, 8. 24, 8. 34, 8. 39,

9. 2, 9. 4, 9. 5, 9. 8, 9. 9,

9. 16, 9. 30, 10. 5, 10. 6,

10. 7, 10. 8, 10. 12, 11. 6,

11. 15, 11. 23, 12. 18, 13. 1,

13. 4, 13. 10, 13. 11, 14. 2,

14. 4, 14. 14, 14. 17, 14. 20,

14. 21, 14. 23, 16. 1, 16. 5,

  16. 25; is maad, 11. 11;  
(omitted) 2. 27, 3. 11.*estis*: ben, 1. 15, 6. 14, 6. 16,

8. 9, 15. 14.

*fuertis*: be, 7. 3; schal be, 9. 27.*fuertis*: weren, 16. 7.*fuisset*: was, 15. 8.*fuissetis*: hadden be, 9. 29.*fuissetis*: weren, 6. 17, 6. 20.*fuit*: as, 11. 34.*sim*: be, 15. 16.*sini*: mowe be, 1. 20.*sis*: be, 2. 25.*sit*: be, 3. 26, 4. 11, 4. 12, 4. 16,

7. 3, 8. 29, 15. 33; is, 12. 2.

*sitis*: be, 11. 25; ben, 7. 4.*sum*: am, 1. 14, 7. 14, 8. 38,

11. 1, 11. 13, 15. 14.

*sumus*: ben, 6. 15, 8. 12, 8. 16,

12. 5, 14. 8.

*sunt*: ben, 1. 7, 1. 32, 2. 8,

2. 13, 2. 14, 2. 19, 3. 19,

4. 12, 4. 14, 4. 17, 8. 1, 8. 5,

8. 8, 8. 14, 8. 18, 9. 3, 9. 4,

9. 6, 9. 7, 9. 8, 11. 12, 11. 29,

11. 33, 11. 36, 12. 3, 13. 1,

13. 3, 13. 6, 14. 19, 14. 20,

15. 26, 15. 27, 15. 31, 16. 7,

16. 10, 16. 11, 16. 14, 16. 15.

*Esurierit*: hungrith, 12. 20.  
*Etenim*: for, 15. 3, 16. 2.  
*Etiā*: also, 1. 32, 4. 9, 4. 20, 5. 14, 6. 8, 8. 32, 9. 24, 12. 17, 13. 5; and, 8. 34; (omitted) 2. 15.  
*Evacuabit*: hath auoidid, 3. 3.  
*Evangelium*: Crist, 15. 29; gospel, 1. 1, 1. 9, 1. 16, 2. 16, 10. 16, 11. 28, 15. 16, 15. 19, 15. 20, 16. 25; (omitted) 15. 29.  
*Evangelizare*: preche the gospel, 1. 15.  
*evangelizans*: (that-clause) 10. 15.  
*Evanescent*: vanschiden, 1. 21.  
*Ex*: a, 11. 25, 15. 15; bi, 3. 30; fro, 6. 9, 7. 4; in, 15. 24; of, 1. 3, 1. 4, 1. 17, 2. 8, 2. 27, 2. 29, 3. 20, 3. 26, 4. 2, 4. 12, 2. 29, 3. 20, 3. 26, 4. 2, 4. 12, 4. 14, 4. 16, 5. 1, 5. 16, 6. 13, 6. 17, 9. 5, 9. 6, 9. 10, 9. 12, 9. 21, 9. 24, 9. 30, 9. 32, 10. 5, 10. 6, 10. 17, 11. 1, 11. 6, 11. 14, 11. 15, 11. 17, 11. 24, 11. 26, 11. 36, 12. 18, 13. 3, 14. 23, 15. 23, 16. 11; (omitted) 11. 25.  
*Exarserunt*: brenneden, 1. 27.  
*Excæcati sunt*: ben blyndid, 11. 7.  
*Excidere*:  
*excideris*: schalt be kit down, 11. 22.  
*excisus es*: art kit down, 11. 24.  
*Exciderit*: hath falle down, 9. 6.  
*Excitavi*: haue stirid, 9. 17.  
*Exclusa est*: is excludid, 3. 27.  
*Exhibere*:  
*exhibeatis*: zyue, 6. 13, 12. 1.  
*exhibete*: zyue, 6. 13, 6. 19.  
*exhibetis*: zyuen, 6. 16.  
*exhibuistis*: han zounn, 6. 19.  
*Exhortari*:  
*exhortando*: monestyng, 12. 8.  
*exhortatur*: stirith sothi, 12. 8.  
*Exinanitus est*: is distried, 4. 14.  
*Existimare*:  
*existimas*: gessist, 2. 3.  
*existimat*: demeth, 14. 14.

*Existimare*:  
*existimate*: deme, 6. 11.  
*existimo*: deme, 8. 18.  
*Exiuit*: wente out, 10. 18.  
*Expandi*: streizte out, 10. 21.  
*Expectare*:  
*expectamus*: abiden, 8. 25.  
*expectans*: abidyng, 8. 23.  
*expectat*: abidith, 8. 19.  
*Expectatio*: abidyng, 8. 19.  
*Exurget*: schal rise vp, 15. 12.  
*Facere*: do, 4. 21, 7. 21; make, 9. 21, 9. 22, 15. 26.  
*fac*: do, 13. 3.  
*faciam*: make, 11. 14.  
*faciamus*: do, 3. 8.  
*faciant*: do, 1. 28.  
*faciat*: doith, 3. 12.  
*faciens*: doer, 1. 32; doynge, 12. 20.  
*faciet*: schal make, 9. 28.  
*facio*: do, 7. 15, 7. 16, 7. 19, 7. 20; make, 1. 9.  
*facis*: doist, 2. 3, 2. 22.  
*faciunt*: don, 1. 32, 2. 14; maken, 16. 17.  
*facta est*: is maad, 2. 25.  
*facta sunt*: been maad, 1. 20.  
*factæ sunt*: ben maad, 11. 5.  
*facti essemus*: hadden be maad, 9. 29.  
*facti estis*: ben maad, 6. 18.  
*facti sumus*: ben maad, 6. 5, 8. 24.  
*facti sunt*: ben maad, 3. 12, 15. 27; weren maad, 1. 22.  
*factum est*: is maad, 7. 13.  
*factus*: maad, 6. 22.  
*factus es*: art maad, 11. 17.  
*factus est*: is maad, 1. 3.  
*feceris*: doist, 13. 4.  
*fecerit*: schal do, 10. 5.  
*feceritis*: do, 13. 14.  
*fecisti*: hast maad, 9. 20.  
*fiat*: be, 15. 16, 15. 31; be maad, 3. 19, 11. 9; (omitted) 7. 13.  
*fient*: schulen be maad, 9. 27.  
*fietet*: schulde be maad, 4. 18, 11. 26.

- Facere :**  
*fieri*: be don, 12. 18; be maad, 8. 29.  
*fit*: is maad, 10. 1, 10. 10.  
**Factor**: doer, 2. 13.  
**Factum**: dede, 8. 13, 15. 18; dedis doying, 3. 27.  
**Falsus**: fals, 13. 9.  
**Fames**: hungur, 8. 35.  
**Fere**: almost, 4. 19.  
**Fert**: 3yueth, 4. 6.  
**Fervens**: feruent, 12. 11.  
**Fides**: bileue, 4. 19, 4. 20, 10. 6, 10. 8, 14. 1; feith, 1. 5, 1. 8, 1. 12, 1. 17, 3. 3, 3. 22, 3. 25, 3. 26, 3. 27, 3. 28, 3. 30, 3. 31, 4. 5, 4. 9, 4. 11, 4. 12, 4. 13, 4. 14, 4. 16, 4. 20, 5. 1, 5. 2, 9. 30, 9. 32, 10. 8, 10. 17, 11. 20, 12. 3, 12. 6, 14. 22, 14. 23, 16. 26.  
**Figmentum**: maad thing, 9. 20.  
**Figulus**: potter, 9. 21.  
**Filius**: child, 5. 2; (omitted) 9. 27; sone, 1. 3, 1. 4, 1. 9, 5. 10, 8. 3, 8. 14, 8. 15, 8. 16, 8. 17, 8. 19, 8. 21, 8. 23, 8. 29, 8. 32, 9. 4, 9. 7, 9. 8, 9. 9, 9. 26.  
**Finis**: end, 6. 21, 6. 22, 10. 4, 10. 18.  
**Finxit**: made, 9. 20.  
**Firmior**: saddere, 15. 1.  
**Firmus**: stable, 4. 16.  
**Flectetur**: schal be bowid, 14. 11.  
**Flere**: wepe, 12. 15.  
*flens*: (that-clause) 12. 15.  
**Fœdus**: boond of pees, 1. 31.  
**Famina**: womman, 1. 26, 1. 27.  
**Forma**: foorme, 2. 20, 6. 17; licnesse, 5. 14.  
**Fornicatio**: fornycacioun, 1. 29.  
**Forsitan**: perauenture, 5. 7.  
**Fortis**: perauenture, 11. 21.  
**Fortitudo**: strengthe, 8. 38.  
**Fracti sunt**: ben brokun, 11. 17, 11. 19, 11. 20.  
**Frater**: brother, 1. 13, 7. 1, 7. 4, 8. 12, 8. 29, 9. 3, 10. 1, 11. 25, 12. 1, 14. 10, 14. 13, 14. 15, 14. 21, 15. 14, 15. 15, 15. 30, 16. 14, 16. 17, 16. 23.
- Fraternitas**: britherhod, 12. 10.  
**Fructificare**:  
*fructificarent*: to bere fruyt, 7. 5.  
*fructificemus*: 3e bere fruyt, 7. 4.  
**Fructus**: fruyt, 1. 13, 6. 21, 6. 22, 15. 28.  
**Fruitus fuero**: vse, 15. 24.  
**Fundamentum**: ground, 15. 20.  
**Furari**:  
*furaberis*: schalt stele, 13. 9.  
*furandum*: (that-clause) 2. 21.  
*furaris*: steliste, 2. 21.  
**Futurus**: Crist to comynge, 5. 14; thingis to comynge, 8. 38; to comynge, 8. 18.
- Gaudere**: ioye, 12. 15.  
*gaudens*: ioiynge, 12. 12.  
 (that-clause) 12. 15.  
*gaudeo*: haue ioye, 16. 19.  
**Gaudium**: ioye, 14. 17, 15. 13, 15. 32.  
**Gemimus**: sorewen, 8. 23.  
**Gemitus**: sorewyng, 8. 26.  
**Gens**: folc, 1. 5, 1. 13, 4. 17, 4. 18, 10. 19; *Gentes*: hethene men, 2. 14, 2. 24, 3. 29, 9. 24, 9. 30, 11. 11, 11. 12, 11. 13, 11. 25, 15. 9, 15. 10, 15. 11, 15. 12, 15. 16, 15. 18, 16. 4, 16. 26.  
*Gentiles*: hethene men, 15. 27.  
**Genu**: kne, 11. 4, 14. 11.  
**Gladius**: swerd, 8. 35, 13. 4.  
**Gloria**: glorie, 1. 23, 2. 7, 2. 10, 3. 7, 3. 23, 4. 2, 4. 20, 5. 2, 6. 4, 8. 18, 8. 21, 9. 4, 9. 23, 11. 36, 15. 17, 16. 27.  
**Gloriari**: haue glorie, 11. 18.  
*gloriamur*: glorien, 5. 3, 5. 11; han glorie, 5. 2.  
*gloriaris*: gloriest, 11. 18; hast glorie, 2. 17, 2. 23.  
**Gloriatio**: gloryng, 3. 27.  
**Glorificare**:  
*glorificaverunt*: glorifieden, 1. 21.  
*glorificavit*: glorifiede, 8. 30.  
**Gratia**: grace, 1. 5, 1. 7, 1. 11, 3. 24, 4. 4, 4. 5, 4. 16, 5. 2,

5. 15. 5. 16. 5. 17. 5. 20.  
5. 21. 6. 1. 6. 14. 6. 15. 6. 23.  
7. 25. 11. 5. 11. 6. 12. 3. 12. 6.  
15. 15. 16. 20. 16. 24.

*Gratias agere*:

*gratias*: Y thanke, 6. 17.

*gratias agit*: doith thankyngis,  
14. 6.

*gratias ago*: do thankyngis, 1. 8.  
16. 4.

*gratias egerunt*: diden thank-  
yngis, 1. 21.

*Gratis*: freli, 3. 24.

*Guttur*: throte, 3. 13.

*Habere*: (*that*-clause) 1. 28.

*habe*: haue, 14. 22.

*habeam*: haue, 1. 10. 1. 13.

*habeamus*: haue, 5. 1. 15. 4.

*habebis*: schalt haue, 13. 3.

*habemus*: han, 5. 2. 12. 4.

*habens*: hadde, 9. 10; haue 3e,  
12. 18; hauynge, 2. 14; (*that*-  
clause) 2. 20, 8. 23, 12. 6;  
Y haue, 15. 23.

*habent*: han, 2. 14, 10. 2, 12. 4.

*habeo*: haue, 15. 17.

*habes*: hast, 14. 22.

*habet*: hath, 4. 2, 8. 9, 9. 21.

*habetis*: han, 6. 22.

*habui* (*odio*): hatide, 9. 13.

*habuistis*: hadden, 6. 21.

• *Habitat*: dwellith, 7. 17, 7. 18,  
7. 20, 8. 9, 8. 11.

*Hæsitavit*: doutide, 4. 20.

*Heres*: eir, 4. 13, 4. 14, 8. 17.

*Hic*: this, 8. 9.

*hæc*: this, 4. 9; these thingis,  
8. 31.

*hi*: (omitted) 9. 8.

*his*: these, 8. 37, 15. 22.

*hoc*: (omitted) 2. 3, 7. 15; that,  
7. 18, 10. 7; thilke, 7. 19;  
this, 3. 26, 7. 10, 9. 9, 10. 8,  
11. 5, 11. 7, 11. 25, 11. 27,  
13. 9, 13. 10, 13. 11, 15. 20;  
this thing, 6. 6, 9. 17, 12. 20,  
14. 9, 14. 13, 14. 18, 15. 28.

*hos*: hem, 8. 30.

*huc*: this, 12. 2.

*hujus*: this, 7. 24, 8. 18.

*hunc*: this, 3. 6, 5. 12, 15. 28.

*Hilaritas*: gladnesse, 12. 8.

*Hoc ipsum*: this thing, 9. 17;  
this same thing, 13. 6.

*Hodierne* (*dies*): this dai, 11. 8.

*Homicidium*: mansleyng, 1. 29.

*Homo*: man, 1. 18, 1. 23, 2. 1,  
2. 3, 2. 9, 2. 16, 2. 29, 3. 4,  
3. 5, 3. 28, 4. 6, 5. 12, 5. 15,  
5. 18, 5. 19, 6. 6, 7. 1, 7. 22,  
7. 24, 9. 20, 10. 5, 12. 17,  
12. 18, 14. 18, 14. 20.

*Honeste*: onestli, 13. 13.

*Honor*: honour, 2. 7, 2. 10, 9. 21,  
13. 7, 15. 7, 16. 27; to wor-  
schipen, 12. 10.

*Honorare*: onoure, 15. 9.

*Honorificare*:

*honorificabo*: schal onoure,  
11. 13.

*honorificetis*: worschipe, 15. 6.

*Hora*: our, 13. 11.

*Hospes*: oost, 16. 23.

*Hospitalitas*: hospitalite, 12. 13.

*Hostia*: sacrifice, 12. 1.

*Hujusmodi*: suche men, 16. 18.

*Humanus*: that thing that is of  
man, 6. 19.

*Humilis*: meke thing, 12. 16.

*Ibi*: there, 9. 26.

*Idem*: same, 9. 21, 10. 12, 12. 4;  
same thing, 2. 1.

*Ideo*: therfor, 4. 16, 4. 22, 13. 5,  
13. 6.

*Idipsum*: same thing, 12. 16, 15. 5.

*Idolum*: maumet, 2. 22.

*Igitur*: thanne, 5. 9; therfor,  
2. 26, 5. 18, 7. 3, 7. 21, 7. 25,  
9. 16, 15. 17, 15. 25, 15. 28,  
16. 19.

*Ignis*: (omitted) 12. 20.

*Ignominia*: schenschipe, 1. 26.

*Ignorare*: (*that*-clause) 1. 13,  
11. 25.

*ignorans*: vnknowynge, 10. 3.

*ignoras*: knowist not, 2. 4.

*ignoratis*: knowen not, 6. 3, 7. 1.

*Ille*:

*illa*: it, 8. 23, 13. 3; sche, 9. 10.

*illi*: on hym, 6. 9; thei, 11. 23;  
to him, 4. 3, 4. 22, 4. 23,  
11. 4, 11. 35, 12. 20, 14. 14.



**Ille :**

*illis* : hem, 1. 19, 10. 1, 11. 14, 11. 17, 16. 17; *tho thingis*, 6. 21; *to hem*, 1. 19, 2. 15, 3. 2, 4. 11, 10. 2, 11. 8, 11. 9, 11. 27, 15. 27.

*illius* : *his*, 2. 26.

*illo* : hym, 3. 20, 6. 4, 8. 32; *in illo*, *therynne*, 6. 2.

*illorum* : of hem, 3. 3, 6. 21, 11. 11, 11. 12, 11. 30; *to hem*, 1. 19, 2. 15, 3. 2.

*illos* : hem, 1. 24, 1. 26, 1. 28, 8. 30, 11. 11, 11. 23.

*illud* : it, 7. 17, 7. 20; *that*, 7. 11; *that thing*, 7. 16, 7. 20; *thilke*, 7. 15.

*illum* : hym, 8. 32, 10. 9, 10. 11, 10. 12, 12. 20, 14. 3, 14. 4, 14. 15.

*Illuc* : *thidur*, 15. 24.

*Imago* : ymage, 1. 23, 8. 29.

*Imbecillitas* : febleness, 15. 1.

*Immunditia* : vnclennesse, 1. 24, 6. 19.

*Immutauerunt* : chaungiden, 1. 26.

*Imo* : zhe, 8. 34; *zhis*, 3. 29.

*Impediobar* : was lettid, 15. 22.

*Impertiar* : *to parten*, 1. 11.

*Impietas* : vnpite, 1. 18; *wickidnesse*, 11. 26.

*Impius* : *wickid man*, 4. 5, 5. 6.

**Implere :**

*impletetur* : were fulfillid, 8. 4.

*implevit* : hath fulfillid, 13. 8.

*Impenitens* : vnrepentaunt, 2. 5.

*Impossibilis* : vnpossible, 8. 3.

*Improperans* : dispisyng, 15. 3.

*Improperum* : repreue, 15. 3.

*Impudicitia* : vncastitee, 13. 13.

**Imputare :**

*imputabatur* : was rettid, 5. 13.

*imputabitur* : arettide, 4. 8.

*imputatur* : is arettid, 4. 4.

*imputavit* : arettide, 4. 8.

**In :** azens, 2. 2, 9. 32; among,

1. 6, 8. 29, 11. 17, 15. 9,

15. 16, 16. 7; at, 16. 1; bi,

2. 29, 12. 21; for, 13. 6, 14. 9;

in, 1. 2, 1. 4, 1. 5, 1. 8, 1. 9,

1. 10, 1. 11, 1. 12, 1. 13, 1. 15,

1. 17, 1. 18, 1. 21, 1. 24, 1. 27,

1. 28, 2. 1, 2. 5, 2. 12, 2. 15,

2. 16, 2. 17, 2. 19, 2. 20, 2. 22,

2. 23, 2. 28, 2. 29, 3. 4, 3. 7,

3. 16, 3. 19, 3. 22, 3. 24, 3. 25,

3. 26, 4. 9, 4. 10, 4. 11, 4. 12,

4. 20, 4. 24, 5. 2, 5. 3, 5. 5, 5. 8,

5. 9, 5. 10, 5. 11, 5. 12, 5. 13,

5. 14, 5. 15, 5. 17, 6. 1, 6. 2, 6. 3,

6. 4, 6. 11, 6. 12, 6. 17, 6. 21,

6. 23, 7. 1, 7. 5, 7. 6, 7. 8,

7. 17, 7. 18, 7. 20, 7. 23, 8. 1,

8. 2, 8. 3, 8. 4, 8. 8, 8. 9,

8. 10, 8. 11, 8. 15, 8. 18,

8. 20, 8. 37, 8. 39, 9. 1, 9. 7,

9. 8, 9. 17, 9. 22, 9. 25, 9. 26,

9. 28, 9. 33, 10. 5, 10. 6,

10. 8, 10. 9, 10. 11, 10. 12,

11. 2, 11. 5, 11. 22, 11. 23,

11. 25, 11. 32, 11. 36, 12. 2,

12. 4, 12. 5, 12. 7, 12. 8,

12. 12, 13. 9, 13. 13, 13. 14,

14. 1, 14. 5, 14. 14, 14. 17,

14. 18, 14. 21, 14. 22, 15. 2,

15. 12, 15. 13, 15. 16, 15. 17,

15. 19, 15. 23, 15. 26, 15. 27,

15. 30, 15. 31, 15. 32, 16. 1,

16. 2, 16. 3, 16. 5, 16. 6,

16. 7, 16. 8, 16. 9, 16. 10,

16. 11, 16. 12, 16. 13, 16. 16,

16. 19, 16. 22, 16. 26; into,

1. 1, 1. 16, 1. 17, 1. 23, 1. 24,

1. 25, 1. 26, 1. 27, 1. 28, 2. 5,

2. 9, 2. 26, 3. 7, 3. 22, 4. 5,

4. 18, 5. 2, 5. 12, 5. 14, 5. 15,

5. 16, 5. 18, 5. 21, 6. 4, 6. 17,

6. 19, 6. 22, 8. 3, 8. 21, 8. 28,

9. 5, 9. 21, 9. 22, 9. 23, 9. 31,

10. 1, 10. 6, 10. 7, 10. 14,

10. 18, 10. 19, 11. 8, 11. 9,

11. 22, 11. 24, 11. 31, 11. 36,

13. 4, 15. 2, 15. 5, 15. 7,

15. 15, 15. 18, 15. 24, 15. 28,

15. 29, 16. 19, 16. 27; (omit-

ted) 10. 19, 14. 19; (phrases)

*in manifesto* : openli, 2. 28; *in*

*invicem* : togidere, 14. 19; to,

1. 19, 2. 2, 9. 17, 15. 25, 15. 26.

*Incompositus* : vnmanerli, 1. 31.

*Incomprehensibilis* : incomprehen-

sible, 11. 33.

*Incorruptibilis* : vncorruptible,

1. 23.

*Incorruptio* : vncorruptioun, 2. 7.  
*Incredulitas* : vnbileue, 3. 3, 11. 20, 11. 23, 11. 30, 11. 32.  
*Incurva* : bowe down, 11. 10.  
*Indignatio* : indignacioun, 2. 8.  
*Indignerit* : schal nede, 16. 2.  
*Induere* :  
*induamur* : be clothid, 13. 12.  
*induimini* : be clothid, 13. 14.  
*Indurat* : endurith, 9. 18.  
*Inenarrabilis* : that moun not be teld out, 8. 26.  
*Inexcusabilis* : not excusid, 1. 20; vnexcusable, 2. 1.  
*Infans* : yonge child, 2. 20.  
*Infelicitas* : cursidnesse, 3. 16.  
*Infelix* : vnceli, 7. 24.  
*Infert* : bryngith in, 3. 5.  
*Infidelis* : vnfeithful man, 15. 31.  
*Infirmari* :  
*infirmabatur* : was sijk, 8. 3.  
*infirmatur* : is maad sijk, 14. 21.  
*informatus est* : was maad vnstidfast, 4. 19.  
*Infirmilas* : infirmyte, 8. 26; vnstidefastnesse, 6. 19.  
*Infirmus* : sijk, 5. 6, 14. 2; sijk man, 14. 1, 15. 1.  
*Ingemiscit* : sorewith, 8. 22.  
*Inhabitans* : that dwellith, 8. 11.  
*Inhonoras* : vnworschipist, 2. 23.  
*Inimicus* : enemy, 5. 10, 8. 7, 11. 28, 12. 20.  
*Iniquitas* : wickidnesse, 1. 29, 2. 8, 3. 5, 4. 7, 6. 13, 6. 19, 9. 14.  
*Iniquus* : wickid, 3. 5.  
*Injustitia* : vnrihtwisnes, 1. 18; wickidnesse, 1. 18.  
*Innocens* : innocent man, 16. 18.  
*Inobedientia* : inobedience, 5. 19.  
*Inserere* : sette in, 11. 23.  
*inserar* : be graffid in, 11. 19.  
*inserentur* : schulen be set yn, 11. 23, 11. 24.  
*insertus es* : art graffid, 11. 27; art set in, 11. 24.  
*Insipiens* : vnwise, 1. 21, 1. 31, 10. 19; vnwise man, 1. 14, 2. 20.  
*Instans* : bisy, 12. 12; *instantia*, present thingis, 8. 38.  
*Instauratur* : is instorid, 13. 9.

*Instructus* : lerud, 2. 18.  
*Intelligere* :  
*intellectus* : (that-clause) 1. 20.  
*intellegerunt* : vndirstoden, 1. 32.  
*intelligens* : vndurstondynge, 3. 11.  
*intelligent* : schulen vndurstonde, 15. 21.  
*intelligo* : vndurstonde, 7. 15.  
*Inter* : among, 2. 24, 12. 3; bytwixe, 2. 15, 14. 5.  
*Interior* : ynnere, 7. 22.  
*Interitus* : deth, 9. 22.  
*Intermissio* : cessyng, 1. 9.  
*Interpellat* : preieth, 8. 34, 11. 2.  
*Interrogabant* : axiden, 10. 20.  
*Intra* : withynne, 8. 23.  
*Intrare* :  
*intraret* : entride, 11. 25.  
*intravit* : entride, 5. 12.  
*Inutilis* : vnprofitable, 3. 12.  
*Invenire* :  
*inuenio* : fynde, 7. 18, 7. 21.  
*invenisse* : (that-clause) 4. 1.  
*inuentum est* : was foundun, 7. 10.  
*inventus sum* : am foundun, 10. 20.  
*Inventor* : fynder, 1. 30.  
*Investigabilis* : vnserchable, 11. 33.  
*Invicem* : eche . . othere, 12. 10, 14. 13; (omitted) 2. 15; togidere, 1. 12, 12. 10, 12. 16, 13. 8, 14. 19, 15. 7, 16. 16; *in invicem*, togidere, 1. 27.  
*Invidia* : enuye, 1. 29.  
*Invisibilis* : vnuyisible thing, 1. 20.  
*Invocare* :  
*invocabunt* : schulen inwardli clepe, 10. 14.  
*invocant* : inwardli clepen, 10. 12.  
*invocaverit* : schal inwardli clepe, 10. 13.  
*Ipse* : he, 3. 26, 8. 29; ilke, 8. 16, 8. 26; mysilf, 7. 25, 9. 3.  
*ipsa* : ilke, 8. 21; sche, 16. 2.  
*ipsi* : to hym, 11. 36; (omitted) 15. 14; thei, 2. 14, 11. 31, 13. 2; vsilf, 8. 23.  
*ipsius* : his, 3. 24, 3. 25, 5. 9, 5. 10, 6. 3; of hym, 1. 20, 3. 7, 5. 10.

*Ipsa* :*ipso* : hym, 11. 36.*ipsorum* : of hem, 2. 15.*ipsum* : him, 4. 23, 5. 9, 11. 36, 14. 14; (omitted) 9. 17.*Ira* : wraththe, 1. 18, 2. 5, 2. 8, 3. 5, 4. 15, 5. 9, 9. 22, 10. 19, 12. 19, 13. 4, 13. 5.*Is* : he, 14. 3.*ea* : it, 10. 5; tho, 4. 17; tho thingis, 1. 20, 1. 28, 1. 32, 2. 3, 2. 14, 4. 17.*eam* : her, 16. 2; it, 8. 20; (omitted) 1. 12; that, 6. 17.*ei* : hir, 16. 2; hym, 1. 3, 1. 9; to hym, 4. 4, 4. 5, 4. 18, 9. 12, 9. 20, 10. 14, 11. 35, 13. 4, 14. 14, 16. 26; to that, 4. 16.*eis* : hem, 16. 14, 16. 15; to hem, 9. 26.*eius* : hir, 7. 2, 7. 3; his, 1. 5, 1. 9, 2. 4, 2. 6, 2. 18, 3. 26, 4. 5, 4. 13, 5. 10, 6. 5, 6. 12, 8. 9, 9. 19, 11. 33, 11. 34, 12. 20, 15. 10, 16. 13, 16. 15; of him, 1. 20, 8. 11; of that thing, 6. 16.*eo* : him, 15. 21; it, 1. 17; that thing, 14. 22.*eorum* : her 1. 24, 3. 13, 3. 18, 11. 27, 15. 27, 16. 5; of hem, 1. 21, 1. 26, 2. 19, 3. 13, 3. 15, 3. 16, 10. 18, 11. 9, 11. 10, 11. 12, 11. 15, 15. 27; of tho thingis, 15. 18; tho, 1. 18.*eos* : hem, 2. 2, 2. 3, 3. 9, 5. 14, 11. 22, 16. 10, 16. 11, 16. 17.*eum* : hym, 3. 22, 3. 26, 4. 5, 4. 24, 8. 20, 8. 37, 15. 11, 15. 12; it, 9. 33; that, 1. 26.*id* : (omitted) 2. 27; that, 1. 12, 9. 8, 10. 6.*ii* : thei, 11. 24; these, 8. 14, 9. 6.*iis* : to hem, 2. 7, 2. 8, 3. 19, 4. 12, 8. 1, 8. 28, 10. 20, 15. 27, 15. 28.*Ista* :*istam* : this, 5. 2.*isti* : these, 11. 31.*Ita* : so, 1. 15, 1. 20, 5. 12, 5. 15, 5. 16, 5. 19, 5. 21, 6. 4, 6. 11,

6. 19, 7. 6, 11. 31, 12. 5, 15. 14, 15. 19; so that, 1. 15.

*Itaque* : and so, 7. 4; thanne, 9. 19; therfor, 7. 12, 12. 1, 13. 2, 14. 12, 14. 19.*Ilor* : weie, 1. 10.*Iterum* : eft, 15. 10, 15. 11; eft-soone, 8. 15, 11. 23.*Jam* : now, 6. 9, 7. 17, 11. 6, 13. 11, 14. 15; (omitted) 4. 19, 7. 20, 15. 23.*Judicare* :*judicabit* : schal deme, 2. 16, 2. 27, 3. 6.*judicabuntur* : schulen be demyd, 2. 12.*judicaris* : art demed, 3. 4.*judicas* : demest, 2. 1, 2. 3, 14. 4, 14. 10.*judicat* : demeth, 14. 5, 14. 22.*judicate* : deme, 14. 13.*judicemus* : deme, 14. 13.*judicet* : deme, 14. 3.*judicor* : am demed, 3. 7.*Judicium* : doom, 2. 2, 2. 3, 2. 5, 5. 16, 11. 33.*Justificare* :*justificabitur* : schal be iustified, 3. 20.*justificabuntur* : schulen be maad iust, 2. 13.*justificans* : iustifyynge, 3. 26.*justificari* : be iustified, 3. 28.*justificat* : iustifieth, 3. 30, 4. 5, 8. 33.*justificatus* : ben iustified, 3. 24; iustified, 5. 1, 5. 9.*justificatus est* : is iustified, 4. 2, 6. 7.*justificavit* : iustifiede, 8. 30.*justificeris* : be iustified, 3. 4.*Justificatio* : iustefiing, 4. 25, 5. 18, 8. 4, 8. 10; iustificacioun, 5. 16.*Justitia* : rígtwisnesse, 1. 17, 1. 32, 2. 26, 3. 5, 3. 21, 3. 22, 3. 25, 3. 26, 4. 3, 4. 5, 4. 6, 4. 9, 4. 11, 4. 13, 4. 22, 4. 23, 5. 17, 5. 18, 5. 21, 6. 13, 6. 16, 6. 18, 6. 19, 6. 20, 9. 30, 9. 31, 10. 3, 10. 4, 10. 5, 10. 6, 10. 10, 14. 17.

*Iustus*: iust, 2. 13, 3. 8, 3. 10,  
3. 26, 5. 19, 7. 12; iust man,  
1. 17, 5. 7; rightful, 2. 5.

*Iusta*: bi, 16. 25.

*Labium*: lippe, 3. 13.

*Laborare*:

*laborant*: trauelen, 16. 12.

*laboravit*: hath trauelid, 16. 6,  
16. 12.

*Lætamini*: be glad, 15. 10.

*Lapis*: stoon, 9. 32, 9. 33.

*Laqueum*: gryn, 11. 9.

*Laudate*: herie, 15. 11.

*Laus*: preisyng, 2. 29, 13. 3.

*Legislatio*: gyuyng of the law, 9. 4.

*Lex*: lawe, 2. 12, 2. 13, 2. 14, 2. 15,  
2. 17, 2. 18, 2. 20, 2. 23, 2. 25,  
2. 26, 2. 27, 3. 19, 3. 20, 3. 21,  
3. 27, 3. 28, 3. 31, 4. 13, 4. 14,  
4. 15, 4. 16, 5. 13, 5. 20, 6. 14,  
6. 15, 7. 1, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 4,  
7. 5, 7. 6, 7. 7, 7. 8, 7. 9, 7. 12,  
7. 14, 7. 16, 7. 21, 7. 22, 7. 23,  
7. 25, 8. 2, 8. 3, 8. 4, 8. 7,  
9. 31, 10. 4, 10. 5, 13. 8, 13. 10.

*Liber*: fre, 6. 20.

*Liberare*:

*liberabit*: schal delyuer, 7. 24.

*liberabitur*: schal be delyuered,  
8. 21.

*liberata est*: is delyuered, 7. 3.

*liberatus*: delyuered, 6. 18, 6. 22.

*liberavit*: hath delyuerid, 8. 2.

*liberer*: be delyuerid, 15. 31.

*Libertas*: liberte, 8. 21.

*Lingua*: tunge, 3. 13, 14. 11.

*Littera*: lettre, 2. 27, 2. 29, 7. 6.

*Locus*: place, 9. 26, 12. 19, 15. 23,  
16. 19.

*Longanimitas*: long abidyng, 2. 4.

*Loqui*: speke, 15. 18.

*loquitur*: spekith, 3. 19.

*loquor*: speke, 7. 1.

*Lumen*: lizt, 2. 19.

*Lutum*: cley, 9. 21.

*Lux*: lizt, 13. 12.

*Magis*: more, 5. 9, 5. 10, 5. 15,  
5. 17, 11. 12, 11. 24, 14. 13.

*Magister*: maistir, 2. 20.

*Magnificare*: magnefie, 15. 11.

*Magnus*: greet, 9. 2.

*Major*: more, 9. 12.

*Maledicere*: curse, 12. 14.

*Maledictio*: cursyng, 3. 14.

*Malignitas*: yuel wille, 1. 29.

*Malitia*: malice, 1. 29.

*Malum*: yuel, 2. 9, 9. 11, 12. 9,  
12. 17, 12. 21, 13. 3, 13. 4,  
13. 10, 14. 20, 16. 19; yuel  
thing, 1. 30, 3. 8, 7. 15, 7. 19,  
7. 21.

*Mandatum*: comaundement, 7. 9,  
7. 10, 7. 11, 7. 12, 7. 13;  
maundement, 7. 8, 13. 9.

*Manducare*: that mai ete, 14. 2;  
ete, 14. 21.

*manducans*: (that-clause) 14. 3.

*manducat*: etith, 14. 3, 14. 6,  
14. 20.

*manducaverit*: etith, 14. 23.

*manducet*: ete, 14. 2.

*Manere*:

*maneret*: schulde dwelle, 9. 11.

*manet*: dwellith, 4. 9.

*Manifestare*:

*manifestata est*: is schewid,  
3. 21.

*manifestavit*: hath schewid,  
1. 19.

*Manifestus*: opene, 2. 28; schewid,  
1. 19; *in manifesto*: openli,  
2. 28.

*Manus*: hond, 10. 21.

*Mare*: see, 9. 27.

*Masculus*: man, 1. 27.

*Massa*: gobet, 9. 21; hool gobet,  
11. 16.

*Mater*: modir, 16. 13.

*Membrum*: membre, 6. 13, 6. 19,  
7. 5, 7. 23, 12. 4, 12. 5.

*Memoria*: mynde, 1. 9, 15. 15.

*Mendacium*: leesyng, 1. 25, 3. 7.

*Mendax*: liere, 3. 4.

*Mens*: soule, 7. 23, 7. 25.

*Mensa*: boord, 11. 9.

*Mensura*: mesure, 12. 3.

*Mentior*: lye, 9. 1.

*Mercus*: mede, 1. 27, 4. 4.

*Meus*: my, 1. 8, 1. 9, 1. 10, 2. 16

3. 7, 7. 4, 7. 18, 7. 23, 9. 1'

9. 2, 9. 3, 9. 17, 9. 25, 9. 26'

11. 3, 11. 13, 11. 14, 15. 31'

16. 4, 16. 7, 16. 9, 16. 11, 16. 21, 16. 25; myn, 1. 12, 10. 1, 10. 21, 16. 3, 16. 13, 16. 21, 16. 23; (omitted) 15. 14.
- Millia**: thousyndes, 11. 4.
- Minister**: mynystre, 13. 4, 13. 6, 15. 8, 15. 16.
- Ministerium**: mynysterie, 11. 13; seruisse, 12. 7, 16. 1.
- Ministrare**: mynystre, 15. 25, 15. 27. **ministrando**: mynystryng, 12. 7.
- Misereri**:  
*miseretur*: haue mercy, 11. 32.  
*miseretur*: schal haue merci, 9. 15.  
*miserens*: hauynge merci, 9. 16.  
*miseror*: haue merci, 9. 15.  
*miseretur*: hath merci, 9. 18, 12. 8.
- Misericordia**: merci, 1. 31, 9. 15, 9. 23, 9. 25, 11. 30, 11. 31, 12. 1, 15. 9.
- Mittere**:  
*mittam*: schal sende, 10. 19.  
*mittantur*: be sent, 10. 15.  
*mittens*: sente, 8. 3.
- Modum**: wise, 3. 2; maner, 7. 13.
- Mœchari**:  
*mœchandum*: (*that*-clause) 2. 22.  
*mœcharis*: doist letcherie, 2. 22.
- Monere**: moneste, 15. 14.
- Mori**: die, 5. 7.  
*moriemini*: schulen die, 8. 13.  
*morimur*: dien, 14. 8.  
*moritur*: dieth, 5. 7, 6. 9, 14. 7.  
*mortui sumus*: ben deed, 6. 2, 6. 8.  
*mortui sunt*: ben deed, 5. 15.  
*mortuum erat*: was deed, 7. 8.  
*mortuum est*: is deed, 8. 10.  
*mortuus*: deed, 6. 11; deed man, 1. 4, 4. 17, 6. 13, 11. 9, 11. 15, 14. 9; deeth, 4. 24, 6. 4, 6. 9, 7. 4, 8. 11, 10. 7, 10. 9.  
*mortuus est*: diede, 5. 6, 14. 15; is deed, 6. 7; was deed, 5. 9, 6. 10, 8. 34, 14. 9.
- Mori**:  
*mortuus fuerit*: is deed, 7. 2, 7. 3.  
*mortuus sum*: was deed, 7. 10.
- Mors**: deth, 1. 32, 5. 10, 5. 12, 5. 14, 5. 17, 5. 21, 6. 3, 6. 4, 6. 5, 6. 9, 6. 16, 6. 21, 6. 23, 7. 5, 7. 6, 7. 10, 7. 13, 8. 2, 8. 6, 8. 38; synne, 7. 24.
- Mortalis**: deedli, 6. 12, 8. 11.
- Mortificare**:  
*mortificamur*: ben slayn, 8. 36.  
*mortificati estis*: ben maad deed, 7. 4.  
*mortificaveritis*: sleen, 8. 13.
- Mulier**: womman, 7. 2.
- Multo**: myche, 5. 9, 5. 10, 5. 15, 5. 17.
- Multum**: myche, 3. 2, 16. 6, 16. 12.
- Multus**: greet, 9. 22; many, 4. 17, 4. 18, 5. 15, 5. 16, 5. 19, 8. 29, 12. 4, 12. 5, 15. 23; many men, 16. 2.
- Mundus**: clene, 14. 20.
- Mundus**: world, 1. 8, 1. 20, 3. 6, 3. 19, 4. 13, 5. 12, 5. 13, 11. 12, 11. 15.
- Mutauerunt**: chaungiden, 1. 23.
- Mysterium**: mysterie, 11. 25, 16. 25.
- Nam**: and zit, 5. 7; for, 1. 26, 5. 16, 6. 21, 7. 2, 7. 7, 7. 11, 7. 18, 8. 3, 8. 6, 8. 19, 8. 24, 8. 26, 8. 29, 10. 12, 11. 1, 11. 24, 13. 3, 13. 9, 15. 27; for whi, 14. 5.
- Nati fuissent**: weren borun, 9. 11.
- Natura**: kynde 1. 26, 2. 27, 11. 24.
- Naturalis**: kyndli, 1. 26, 1. 27, 11. 21, 11. 24.
- Naturaliter**: kyndli, 2. 14.
- Ne**: lest, 11. 21, 15. 20; that not, 11. 10, 14. 13.
- Nec**: nether, 8. 7; not, 11. 21.
- Necessitas**: nede, 12. 13, 13. 5.
- Negotium**: cause, 16. 2.
- Nemo**: no man, 13. 8, 14. 7.
- Nequaquam**: nay, 3. 9.
- Neque**: nether, 2. 28, 6. 13, 8. 38, 8. 39, 9. 7, 9. 16, 14. 21.
- Nequitia**: weiwardnesse, 1. 29.

**Nescire :**

*nasciebam :* wiste not, 7. 7.

*nascimus :* witen not, 8. 26.

*nescitis :* witen not, 6. 16, 11. 2.

**Nihil :** no thing, 8. 1, 14. 14.

**Nisi :** but, 7. 7, 9. 29, 10. 15, 11. 15, 13. 1, 13. 8; but for, 7. 7; no but, 14. 14.

**Nobiles :** noble, 16. 7.

**Nolle :**

*noli :* nyle, 11. 18, 11. 20, 12. 21, 14. 15, 14. 20.

*nolis :* nyle, 12. 2, 12. 14, 12. 16.

*nolo :* nyle, 1. 13; wole not, 7. 16, 7. 19, 7. 20, 11. 25.

**Nomen :** name, 1. 5, 2. 24, 9. 17, 10. 13, 15. 9.

**Nominatus est :** was named, 15. 20.

**Non :** nay, 3. 27.

**Nondum :** not yet, 9. 11.

**Nonne :** whethir . . not, 2. 26, 3. 29.

**Nos :** (omitted) 9. 24; vs, 4. 24, 8. 23, 8. 31, 8. 35, 8. 37, 8. 39; we, 3. 8, 6. 4, 8. 23, 13. 11, 15. 1.

*nobis :* to vs, 5. 5, 8. 32, 9. 29, 12. 6; to vssilf, 15. 1; vs, 4. 24, 5. 8, 5. 9, 8. 4, 8. 18, 8. 26, 8. 31, 8. 32, 8. 34.

*nostrum :* of vs, 14. 7, 14. 12; vs, 4. 16.

**Nos ipsi :** we vssilf, 8. 23.

**Noscere :**

*nosti :* hast knowe, 2. 18.

*notum est :* is knowun, 1. 19.

*notus :* knowun, 9. 22.

**Noster :** (omitted) 16. 18; oure, 1. 4, 1. 7, 3. 5, 4. 1, 4. 12, 4. 24, 4. 25, 5. 1, 5. 5, 5. 11, 5. 21, 6. 6, 6. 11, 6. 23, 7. 5, 7. 25, 8. 16, 8. 23, 8. 26, 8. 39, 9. 10, 10. 16, 13. 11, 14. 16, 15. 4, 15. 6, 15. 30, 16. 1, 16. 9, 16. 20, 16. 24.

**Notitia :** knowyng, 1. 28.

**Novitas :** newnesse, 6. 4, 7. 6, 12. 2.

**Nox :** nyzt, 13. 12.

**Nuditas :** nakidnesse, 8. 25.

**Nullus :** no man, 12. 17.

**Numerus :** noumbre, 9. 27.

**Numquid :** whethir, 3. 3, 3. 5, 9. 14, 9. 20, 10. 18, 10. 19, 11. 1, 11. 11.

**Nunc :** now, 3. 21, 5. 9, 5. 11, 6. 19, 6. 21, 6. 22, 7. 6, 7. 17, 8. 1, 11. 30, 11. 31, 13. 11, 15. 23, 15. 25, 16. 26.

**Obedientia :** obedience, 15. 18, 16. 19.

**Obedire :**

*obediatis :* obeische, 6. 12.

*obediendum :* to obeie, 1. 5, 6. 16.

*obediens :* obeschyng, 1. 30.

*obedistis :* han obeischid, 6. 17.

*obeditis :* han obeschied, 6. 16.

*obediunt :* obeien, 10. 16.

**Obeditio :** obedience, 5. 19, 6. 16, 16. 26.

**Oblatio :** offryng, 15. 16, 15. 31.

**Obscurare :**

*obscuratum est :* was derkid, 1. 21.

*obscrentur :* ben maad derk, 11. 10.

**Obscurare :**

*obscreans :* biseche, 1. 10.

*obsacro :* biseche, 12. 1, 15. 30.

**Obscuratio :** biseching, 10. 1.

**Obsequium :** seruyce, 9. 4, 12. 1, 15. 31.

**Observare :**

*observes :* kepe, 2. 25.

*observetis :* aspie, 16. 17.

**Obstruatur :** be stoppid, 3. 19.

**Occasio :** occasioun, 7. 8, 7. 11.

**Occidere :**

*occiderunt :* han slayn, 11. 3.

*occides :* schalt sle, 13. 9.

*occidit :* slow, 7. 11.

**Occisio :** slauchtir, 8. 36.

**Occultum :** priuy thing, 2. 16.

**Oculus :** ixe, 3. 18, 11. 8, 11. 10.

**Odibilis :** hateful, 1. 30.

**Odisse :**

*odi :* hate, 7. 15.

*odiens :* hatyng, 12. 9.

**Odium (habui) :** hatide, 9. 13.

**Offendere :**

*offenderunt :* offendiden, 11. 11;

spurneden, 9. 32.

*offenditur :* offendith, 14. 21.

- Offendiculum*: hirtyng, 14. 13, 16. 17; offendyng, 14. 20.
- Offensio*: offencioun, 9. 32, 9. 33.
- Oleaster*: wielde olyue tre, 11. 17, 11. 24.
- Olyva*: olyue tre, 11. 17, 11. 24.
- Olus*: wortis, 14. 2.
- Omnis*: alle, 1. 5, 1. 6, 1. 7, 1. 8, 1. 18, 1. 29, 3. 2, 3. 9, 3. 12, 4. 16, 5. 12, 5. 18, 7. 8, 8. 32, 9. 6, 9. 7, 10. 12, 10. 18, 11. 26, 11. 32, 12. 3, 12. 4, 12. 17, 12. 18, 13. 7, 14. 10, 15. 11, 15. 13, 15. 14, 15. 33, 16. 15, 16. 16, 16. 24; alle men, 3. 22, 3. 23, 4. 11, 10. 16; all thing, 8. 28, 8. 32, 8. 37, 9. 5, 11. 32, 11. 36, 14. 2, 14. 20, 14. 23; ech, 2. 1, 2. 9, 3. 4, 3. 19, 3. 20, 4. 16, 8. 22, 9. 33, 10. 11, 14. 5, 14. 11; ech man, 1. 16, 2. 10, 10. 4, 10. 13; euery, 13. 1, 16. 19.
- Operari*:  
*operabantur*: wrougten, 7. 5.  
*operans*: (*that*-clause) 2. 9, 2. 10; wrougten, 1. 27.  
*operatum est*: hath wrougt, 7. 8; wrougte, 7. 13.  
*operatur*: worchith, 4. 4, 4. 5, 4. 15, 5. 3, 13. 10.  
*operor*: worche, 7. 15, 7. 17, 7. 20.
- Oporiet*: bihoueth, 8. 26, 12. 3.  
*oportuit*: bihofte, 1. 27.
- Opiabam*: desiride, 9. 3.
- Opus*: werk, 2. 6, 2. 7, 2. 15, 3. 20, 3. 28, 4. 2, 4. 6, 9. 12, 9. 32, 11. 6, 13. 3, 13. 12, 14. 20.
- Oratio*: preier, 1. 10, 12. 12, 15. 30.
- Orbis (terras)*: world, 10. 18.
- Ordinatus sunt*: ben ordeyned, 13. 1.
- Ordinatio*: ordynaunce, 13. 2.
- Oremus*: schulen preie, 8. 26.
- Os*: mouth, 3. 14, 3. 19, 10. 8, 10. 9, 10. 10, 15. 6.
- Osculum*: coss, 16. 16.
- Ostendere*: schewe, 9. 22.  
*ostendam*: schewe, 9. 17.  
*ostenderet*: to shewe, 9. 23.  
*ostendunt*: schewen, 2. 15.
- Ostensio*: schewyng, 3. 25, 3. 26.
- Ovis*: scheep, 8. 36.
- Palam*: opynli, 10. 20.
- Parcere*:  
*parcat*: spare, 11. 21.  
*pepercit*: sparide, 8. 32, 11. 21.
- Parentes*: fadir and modir, 1. 30.
- Pars*: parti, 11. 25, 15. 15, 15. 24.
- Particeps*: partener, 15. 27.
- Parturit*: trauelith with peyne, 8. 22.
- Passio*: passioun, 1. 26, 7. 5, 8. 18.
- Patefactum est*: is maad opyn, 16. 26.
- Patens*: opyn, 3. 13.
- Pater*: fadir, 1. 7, 4. 1, 4. 11, 4. 12, 4. 16, 4. 17, 4. 18, 6. 4, 8. 15, 9. 5, 9. 10, 11. 28, 15. 6, 15. 8.
- Patiens*: patient, 12. 12.
- Patientia*: patience, 2. 4, 2. 7, 5. 3, 5. 4, 8. 25, 9. 22, 15. 4, 15. 5.
- Pauper*: pore man, 15. 26.
- Pax*: pees, 1. 7, 2. 10, 3. 17, 5. 1, 8. 6, 10. 15, 12. 18, 14. 17, 14. 19, 15. 13, 15. 33, 16. 20.
- Peccare*:  
*peccabimus*: schulen do synne, 6. 15.  
*peccans*: synne, 7. 13.  
*peccaverunt*: han synned, 2. 12; synnedden, 3. 23, 5. 12, 5. 14.
- Peccator*: synner, 3. 7, 5. 8, 5. 19.
- Peccatum*: synne, 3. 9, 3. 20, 4. 7, 4. 8, 5. 12, 5. 13, 5. 16, 5. 21, 6. 1, 6. 2, 6. 6, 6. 7, 6. 10, 6. 11, 6. 12, 6. 13, 6. 14, 6. 16, 6. 17, 6. 18, 6. 20, 6. 22, 6. 23, 7. 5, 7. 7, 7. 8, 7. 9, 7. 11, 7. 13, 7. 14, 7. 17, 7. 20, 7. 23, 7. 25, 8. 2, 8. 3, 8. 10, 11. 27, 14. 23.
- Penes*: anentis, 14. 22.
- Per*: bi, 1. 2, 1. 5, 1. 8, 1. 12, 1. 20, 2. 12, 2. 16, 2. 18, 2. 23, 2. 24, 2. 27, 3. 2, 3. 20, 3. 22, 3. 24, 3. 25, 3. 27, 3. 28, 3. 30, 3. 31, 4. 11, 4. 13, 5. 1, 5. 2, 5. 5, 5. 9, 5. 10, 5. 11, 5. 12,

5. 16, 5. 17, 5. 18, 5. 19, 5. 21,  
6. 4, 7. 4, 7. 5, 7. 7, 7. 8,  
7. 11, 7. 25, 8. 3, 8. 25, 10. 17,  
11. 36, 12. 1, 12. 3, 14. 14,  
14. 20, 15. 4, 15. 18, 15. 19,  
15. 28, 15. 30, 15. 32, 16. 18,  
16. 26, 16. 27; thorow, 5. 17,  
7. 13.  
*Perdere*: lese, 14. 15.  
*Perficere*: performe, 7. 18.  
*perfectus*: parfitt, 12. 2.  
*Perhibere*:  
*perhibens*: berith, 9. 1.  
*perhibeo*: bere, 10. 2.  
*Peribunt*: schulen perische, 2. 12.  
*Periculum*: perel, 8. 35.  
*Permanere*:  
*permanebimus*: dwelle, 6. 1.  
*permanserint*: dwellen, 11. 23.  
*permanseris*: dwellist, 11. 22.  
*Persecutio*: persecucioun, 8. 35.  
*Persequentibus*: men that pur-  
suen, 12. 14.  
*Persona*: person 2. 11.  
*Pertransiit*: passide forth, 5. 12.  
*Pervenit*: cam parfitli, 9. 31.  
*Pes*: foot, 3. 15, 10. 15, 16. 20.  
*Petra*: stoon, 9. 33.  
*Piger*: slow, 12. 11.  
*Pinguedo*: fatnesse, 11. 17.  
*Placere*: plesse, 8. 8, 15. 1.  
*placeat*: plesse, 15. 2.  
*placens*: plesyng, 12. 1.  
*placet*: plesith, 14. 18.  
*placuit*: pleside, 15. 3, 15. 27.  
*Plebs*: puple, 9. 25, 9. 26, 11. 2,  
15. 10.  
*Plenissime*: moost fulli, 4. 21.  
*Plenitudo*: fulfillyng, 13. 10;  
plente, 11. 12, 11. 25.  
*Plenus*: ful, 1. 29, 3. 14, 15. 14.  
*Plurimum*: ful myche, 15. 22.  
*Plus*: more 12. 3.  
*plures*: many men, 5. 15.  
*Penitentia*: forthenkyng, 2. 4,  
11. 29.  
*Ponere*:  
*ponatis*: putte, 14. 13.  
*pono*: putte, 9. 33.  
*posui*: haue set, 4. 17.  
*Populus*: puple, 10. 21, 11. 1,  
15. 11.

*Portare*:  
*portas*: berist, 11. 18.  
*portat*: berith, 13. 4.  
*Posse*:  
*possitis*: moun, 15. 14.  
*possunt*: moun, 8. 8.  
*poterit*: may, 8. 39.  
*potest*: may, 8. 7, 12. 18.  
*Postulat*: axith, 8. 26, 8. 27.  
*Potens*: myȝti, 4. 21, 11. 23, 14. 4,  
16. 25.  
*Potentia*: power, 9. 22.  
*Potestas*: power, 9. 21, 13. 1,  
13. 2, 13. 3.  
*Potius*: rather, 1. 25.  
*Potus*: drynke, 12. 20, 14. 17.  
*Præcedere*:  
*præcedens*: biforgoyng, 3. 25;  
(that-clause) 15. 23.  
*præcessit*: wente bifor, 13. 12.  
*Præcellimus*: passen, 3. 9.  
*Præceptum*: comaundement,  
16. 26.  
*Prædestinare*:  
*prædestinatus est*: was bifor  
ordeyned, 1. 4.  
*prædestinavit*: bifore ordenede,  
8. 29, 8. 30.  
*Prædicare*:  
*prædicabunt*: schulen preche,  
10. 15.  
*prædicamus*: prechen, 10. 8.  
*prædicans*: prechour, 10. 14.  
*prædicas*: prechist, 2. 21.  
*prædicavi*: haue prechid, 15. 20.  
*Prædicatio*: prechyng, 16. 25.  
*Prædixit*: bifor seide, 9. 29.  
*Præst*: is souereyn, 12. 8.  
*Præparavit*: made redi, 9. 23.  
*Præputium*: prepucie, 2. 25, 2. 26,  
2. 27, 3. 30, 4. 9, 4. 10, 4. 11,  
4. 12.  
*Præcivit*: knewe bifor, 8. 29,  
11. 2.  
*Præstare*:  
*præstabo*: schal ȝyue, 9. 15.  
*præstatis*: ȝyuen 13. 6.  
*Præter*: bisidis, 16. 17.  
*Præteriens*: goyng, 15. 24.  
*Prævaricatio*: brekyng, 2. 23;  
trespas, 4. 15; trespassyng,  
5. 14.



- Pravaricator*: trespassour, 2. 25, 2. 27.  
*Pravensens*: come before, 12. 10.  
*Primitia*: first-fruytis, 8. 23.  
*Primitivus*: firste, 16. 5.  
*Primogenitus*: first bigetun, 8. 29.  
*Primum*: first, 1. 8, 1. 16, 2. 9, 2. 10, 3. 2, 15. 24.  
*Primus*: first, 10. 19.  
*Princeps*: prince, 13. 3.  
*Principatus*: principatus, 8. 38.  
*Prior*: formere, 11. 35.  
*Pro*: for, 1. 5, 1. 8, 5. 6, 5. 7, 5. 9, 8. 26, 8. 27, 8. 31, 8. 32, 8. 34, 9. 3, 9. 27, 10. 1, 12. 17, 14. 12, 14. 15, 16. 4; (omitted) 15. 30.  
*Probare*:  
*probas*: preuest, 2. 18.  
*probat*: preueth, 14. 22.  
*probatus est*: is preued, 14. 18.  
*probauerunt*: han assaied, 15. 26; preueden, 1. 28.  
*probetis*: preue, 12. 2.  
*Probatio*: preuyng, 5. 4.  
*Probus*: noble, 16. 10.  
*Prodest*: profiteth, 2. 25.  
*Prodigium*: greet wonder, 15. 19.  
*Proficisci*: passe, 15. 24.  
*proficiscar*: schal passe, 15. 28; schal passe forth, 15. 25.  
*Profundum*: depnesse, 8. 39.  
*Prohibitum* sum: am lett, 1. 13, 15. 22.  
*Promissio*: biheest, 4. 13, 4. 14, 4. 16, 9. 8, 9. 9, 15. 8.  
*Promissum*: biheest, 9. 4.  
*Promittere*:  
*promiserat*: hadde bihote, 1. 2.  
*promisit*: hath bihiȝt, 4. 21.  
*Promptus*: redi, 1. 15.  
*Props*: nȝȝ, 10. 8.  
*Propheta*: profet, 1. 2, 3. 21, 11. 3, 16. 26.  
*Prophetia*: prophecie, 12. 6.  
*Propitiatio*: forȝyuer, 3. 25.  
*Propondere*:  
*proposui*: purposide, 1. 13.  
*proposuit*: ordeynede, 3. 25.  
*Propositum*: purpos, 4. 5, 8. 28, 9. 11.  
*Proprior*: neer, 13. 11.  
*Proprius*: owne, 8. 32.  
*Propter*: for, 3. 25, 4. 23, 4. 24, 4. 25, 6. 19, 8. 10, 8. 11, 8. 20, 8. 36, 8. 37, 11. 20, 11. 28, 11. 30, 13. 5, 14. 15, 14. 20, 15. 8, 15. 15; *propter quod*: for which thing, 1. 24, 15. 7, 15. 22; wherfor, 2. 1.  
*Propterea*: therfor, 1. 26, 5. 12, 15. 9.  
*Prosperus*: spedi, 1. 10.  
*Providens*: purueye, 12. 17.  
*Provocem*: stire, 11. 14.  
*Proximus*: neigbore, 13. 8, 13. 9, 13. 10, 15. 2.  
*Prudens*: prudent, 12. 16.  
*Prudentia*: prudence, 8. 6.  
*Quadrupes*: foure-footid beest, 1. 23.  
*Quare*:  
*quarebat*: souȝte, 11. 7.  
*quarens*: sekyng, 10. 3; (*that*-clause) 10. 20.  
*quarunt*: seken, 2. 7, 11. 3.  
*Quam*: hou, 10. 15, 11. 33; than, 1. 25, 12. 3, 13. 11.  
*Quamdiu*: as long as, 11. 13.  
*Quanto*: hou myche, 11. 12, 11. 24.  
*Quantus*: as long . . . as, 7. 1.  
*Quare*: whi, 9. 32, 14. 10.  
*Quasi*: as, 9. 32.  
*Quemadmodum*: hou, 11. 2.  
*Queritur*: is souȝt, 9. 19.  
*Qui*: and he, 1. 4; that, 1. 7, 1. 15, 1. 18, 1. 25, 1. 26, 1. 32, 2. 1, 2. 2, 2. 3, 2. 6, 2. 7, 2. 8, 2. 15, 2. 19, 2. 21, 2. 22, 2. 23, 2. 27, 2. 28, 2. 29, 3. 5, 3. 12, 3. 19, 3. 22, 3. 26, 3. 30, 4. 4, 4. 5, 4. 12, 4. 14, 4. 16, 4. 24, 5. 5, 5. 14, 6. 2, 6. 7, 7. 4, 8. 1, 8. 4, 8. 5, 8. 8, 8. 11, 8. 20, 8. 27, 8. 28, 8. 33, 8. 34, 8. 37, 9. 3, 9. 4, 9. 5, 9. 6, 9. 7, 9. 8, 9. 20, 9. 33, 10. 5, 10. 11, 10. 12, 10. 20, 11. 4, 11. 22, 11. 24, 11. 26, 12. 3, 12. 7, 12. 8, 13. 2, 13. 4, 13. 8, 14. 2, 14. 3, 14. 4, 14. 6, 14. 14, 14. 18, 14. 20,

14. 22, 14. 23, 15. 12, 15. 21, 15. 26, 15. 31, 16. 5, 16. 10, 16. 11, 16. 14, 16. 15, 16. 17, 16. 22, 16. 25; the which, 1. 25, 1. 32, 5. 14, 8. 32, 8. 34; what, 2. 21; which, 1. 3, 4. 11, 4. 16, 4. 17, 4. 18, 4. 25, 8. 1, 16. 4, 16. 7  
*cui*: to which, 6. 16; to whom, 1. 9, 4. 8, 4. 16, 6. 16, 13. 7, 16. 27; whom, 4. 6.  
*cujus*: of whom, 9. 18; on whom, 9. 15; whos, 2. 29.  
*qua*: which, 5. 2, 7. 6.  
*que*: that, 1. 12, 1. 20, 1. 28, 2. 14, 2. 28, 3. 24, 4. 17, 7. 5, 7. 23, 8. 18, 8. 24, 8. 39, 9. 30, 10. 5, 10. 6, 12. 3, 12. 6, 15. 15, 16. 1, 16. 12; that that, 7. 2; the whiche, 16. 6; tho thing-is that, 8. 5, 13. 1, 14. 19; which, 2. 1, 4. 11, 4. 12, 9. 23, 12. 2, 15. 18, 16. 1, 16. 12.  
*quam*: that, 1. 27, 16. 17; which, 6. 17, 11. 2.  
*quem*: whom, 1. 5, 3. 25, 5. 2, 5. 11, 9. 18, 10. 14.  
*quibus*: to which, 4. 24, 16. 4; to whom, 15. 21; which, 1. 6, 6. 21, 9. 5.  
*quo*: what thing, 2. 1, 8. 3, 14. 21; which, 8. 15; which man, 5. 12; whom, 14. 15.  
*quod*: (omitted) 2. 27, 13. 9; *secundum quod*: as, 4. 18; that, 7. 10, 7. 15, 7. 16, 7. 17, 7. 19, 7. 20, 8. 24, 11. 7, 14. 22, 14. 23; that that, 1. 15, 7. 13, 7. 15, 8. 3, 12. 18; that thing that, 1. 19, 8. 25; which, 1. 2, 10. 8, 16. 26; which thing, 1. 24, 15. 22.  
*quorum*: of which, 3. 14; whos, 3. 8, 4. 7, 9. 4, 9. 5.  
*quos*: thilke that, 8. 29, 8. 30; whiche, 8. 30, 9. 24.  
*Quia*: for, 1. 8, 1. 19, 1. 21, 3. 2, 3. 10, 3. 20, 4. 17, 4. 21, 5. 5, 7. 1, 8. 21, 8. 27, 8. 36, 9. 17, 9. 28, 9. 32, 11. 25, 14. 23; that, 1. 13, 2. 3, 4. 9, 4. 21, 4. 23, 6. 3, 6. 6, 6. 8,

7. 14, 7. 18, 8. 38, 9. 12, 10. 9, 13. 11, 14. 14.  
*Quicumque*: whiche euere, 6. 3; whoeuere, 2. 12, 8. 14, 10. 13.  
*quacumque*: whateuere thing-is, 3. 19, 4. 21, 15. 4.  
*quocumque*: whateuere, 16. 2.  
*Quidam*: sum, 3. 3; sum men, 3. 8.  
*Quidem*: and, 8. 17; for, 2. 25, 11. 13, 14. 20; zhe 11. 22; *et quidem*: zhis, sothely, 10. 18; (omitted) 1. 8, 3. 2, 3. 30, 5. 16, 6. 11, 7. 12, 8. 10, 8. 17, 9. 21, 10. 1, 11. 28; sothelli, 2. 7.  
*Quis*: ony, 8. 9; ony man, 5. 7; sum man, 5. 7; who, 7. 24, 8. 24, 8. 31, 8. 33, 8. 34, 8. 35, 9. 19, 9. 20, 10. 6, 10. 7, 10. 16, 11. 34, 11. 35, 14. 4.  
*quæ*: what, 3. 1, 11. 15.  
*quam*: what, 3. 27.  
*quem*: what, 6. 21.  
*quid*: ony thing, 14. 14; that thing, 8. 24; what, 3. 1, 3. 3, 3. 5, 3. 7, 3. 9, 4. 1, 4. 3, 5. 6, 6. 1, 6. 15, 7. 7, 8. 26, 8. 27, 8. 31, 9. 14, 9. 19, 9. 20, 9. 30, 10. 8, 11. 2, 11. 4, 11. 7, 14. 10.  
*Quisquam* (non): no man, 3. 10;  
*quidquam*: ony thing, 13. 8.  
*Quod*: and, 8. 11; for, 6. 9, 11. 16, 11. 18; that, 1. 9, 5. 3, 6. 10, 6. 17, 8. 16, 8. 18, 8. 22, 9. 6, 9. 22, 9. 30, 10. 2, 10. 9, 11. 12, 15. 24; what, 11. 17.  
*Quomodo*: as, 6. 4; hou, 3. 6, 4. 10, 6. 2, 8. 32, 10. 14, 10. 15; ony maner, 1. 10, 11. 14.  
*Quoniam*: for, 3. 30, 6. 15, 7. 21, 8. 7, 9. 2, 10. 5, 11. 36, 14. 11; for if, 5. 8; that, 1. 32, 2. 2, 2. 4, 3. 19, 6. 16, 7. 16, 8. 28, 15. 14, 15. 29.  
*Quoque*: zhe and, 1. 20; (omitted) 16. 2.  
*Radix*: roote, 11. 16, 11. 17, 11. 18, 15. 12.  
*Ramus*: braunch, 11. 16, 11. 17, 11. 18, 11. 19, 11. 21.

*Ratio* : resoun, 12. 6, 14. 12.  
*Rationabilis* : resonable, 12. 1.  
*Recipientes* : resseyueden, 1. 27.  
*Reconciliare* :  
     *reconciliati sumus* : ben recoun-  
     selid, 5. 10.  
     *reconciliatus* : recouncelid, 5. 10.  
*Reconciliatio* : recouncelyng, 5. 11,  
     11. 15.  
*Reddere* :  
     *reddens* : zeldith, 2. 15; zeld-  
     yng, 12. 17.  
     *reddet* : schal zelde, 2. 6, 14. 12.  
     *reddit* : zeldith, 8. 16.  
     *reddite* : zelde, 13. 7.  
*Redemptio* : azenbiyng, 3. 24,  
     8. 23.  
*Reducens* : bryngyng, 15. 15.  
*Reformamini* : be reformed, 12. 2.  
*Refrigerer* : be refreischid, 15. 32.  
*Regere* : gouerne, 15. 12.  
*Regio* : countree, 15. 23.  
*Regnare* :  
     *regnabunt* : schulen regne, 5. 17.  
     *regnauit* : regnyde, 5. 14, 5. 17,  
     5. 21.  
     *regnei* : regne, 5. 21, 6. 12.  
*Regnum* : rewme, 14. 17.  
*Relinquere* :  
     *relictus* : forsoken, 1. 27.  
     *relictus sum* : am lefte, 11. 3.  
     *reliqui* : haue left, 11. 4.  
     *reliquisset* : hadde left, 9. 29.  
*Reliquus* : relif, 9. 27, 11. 5.  
*Remissa sunt* : ben forjouun,  
     4. 7.  
*Remissio* : remyssioun, 3. 25.  
*Replere* :  
     *repleat* : fulfille, 15. 13.  
     *repletus* : ben fillid, 15. 14;  
     (that-clause) 1. 29.  
     *repleverim* : haue fillid, 15. 19.  
*Reprobatus* : repreuable, 1. 28.  
*Repromissio* : biheeste, 4. 20.  
*Repugnans* : azenfiztyng, 7. 23.  
*Reputit* : hath put aweil, 11. 1,  
     11. 2.  
*Reputare* :  
     *reputabitur* : schal be arettid,  
     2. 26, 4. 24.  
     *reputata est* : was arettid, 4. 9,  
     4. 10.

*Reputare* :  
     *reputatum est* : was arettid, 4. 3,  
     4. 22, 4. 23.  
     *reputatur* : is arettid, 4. 5.  
     *reputetur* : be arettid, 4. 11.  
*Requiescis* : restist, 2. 17.  
*Requirens* : sekyng, 3. 11.  
*Resistere* :  
     *resistit* : azenstondith, 13. 2;  
     withstondith, 9. 19.  
     *resistunt* : azenstonden, 13. 2.  
*Respondeas* : answerist, 9. 20.  
*Responsum* : answer, 11. 4.  
*Resurgere* :  
     *resurgens* : rysyng azen, 6. 9.  
     *resurrexit* : roos azen, 4. 25, 7. 4,  
     8. 34, 14. 9.  
*Resurrectio* : azenrisyng, 1. 4; ris-  
     yng azen, 6. 5.  
*Retribuere* :  
     *retribuam* : schal zelde, 12. 19.  
     *retribuetur* : schal be quyt,  
     11. 35.  
*Retributio* : zeldyng, 11. 9.  
*Revelare* :  
     *revelabitur* : schal be schewid,  
     8. 18.  
     *revelatur* : is schewid, 1. 17, 1. 18.  
*Revelatio* : reuelacioun, 16. 25;  
     schewyng, 2. 5, 8. 19.  
*Revisit* : lyuede azen, 7. 9.  
*Revocare* : azenlepe, 10. 7.  
*Rogo* : preye, 16. 17.  
*Rursus* : eft, 15. 12.  
*Sabaoth* : oostis, 9. 29.  
*Sacrilegium* : sacrilegie, 2. 22.  
*Sæculum* : world, 9. 5, 11. 36,  
     12. 2, 16. 27; worldis of worl-  
     dis, 1. 25.  
*Sæpe* : ofte, 1. 13.  
*Salus* : heelthe, 1. 16, 10. 1, 10. 10,  
     11. 11, 13. 11.  
*Salutare* :  
     *salutant* : greten wel, 16. 16.  
     *salutat* : gretith wel, 16. 21,  
     16. 23.  
     *salutate* : grete, 16. 3; grete  
     wel, 16. 5, 16. 6, 16. 7, 16. 8,  
     16. 9, 16. 10, 16. 11, 16. 12,  
     16. 13, 16. 14, 16. 15, 16. 16.  
     *saluto* : grete wel, 16. 22.

*Salvus*: saaf, 5. 9, 5. 10, 8. 24, 9. 27, 10. 9, 10. 13, 11. 5, 11. 14, 11. 26.

*Sanctificare*:

*sanctificans*: halewe, 15. 16.

*sanctificatus*: halewid, 15. 16.

*Sanctificatio*: halewyng, 1. 4; hoolynesse, 6. 19, 6. 22.

*Sanctus*: holi man, 8. 27; hooli, 1. 2, 1. 7, 5. 5, 7. 12, 9. 1, 11. 16, 12. 1, 14. 17, 15. 13, 15. 16, 15. 19, 15. 30, 16. 16; seynt, 8. 28, 12. 13, 15. 25, 15. 26, 15. 31, 16. 2, 16. 15.

*Sanguis*: blood, 3. 15, 3. 25, 5. 9.

*Sapere*: sauere, 11. 20, 12. 3; vndurstonde, 15. 5.

*sapiens*: sauerynge, 12. 16.

*sapit*: vnderstondith, 14. 6.

*sapiunt*: saueren, 8. 5.

*Sapiens*: wise, 1. 22, 11. 25, 16. 19, 16. 27; wise man, 1. 14.

*Sapientia*: wisdom, 8. 7, 11. 33.

*Scandalizatur*: is sclaudrid, 14. 21.

*Scandalum*: sclaudre, 9. 33, 11. 9, 14. 13.

*Scientia*: kunnyng, 2. 20, 10. 2, 11. 33, 15. 14.

*Scire*:

*sciens*: knowen, 13. 11; (*that-clause*) 7. 1; witynge, 4. 21, 5. 3, 6. 6, 6. 9.

*scimus*: witen, 2. 2, 3. 19, 7. 14, 8. 22, 8. 28.

*scio*: woot, 7. 18, 14. 14, 15. 29.

*scit*: woot, 8. 27.

*Scribere*:

*scripsi*: wroot, 15. 15, 16. 22.

*scripsit*: wroot, 10. 5.

*scripta sunt*: ben writun, 15. 4.

*scriptus*: writun, 2. 15.

*scriptum est*: is writun, 1. 17, 2. 24, 3. 4, 3. 10, 4. 17, 4. 23, 8. 36, 9. 13, 9. 33, 10. 15, 11. 8, 11. 26, 12. 19, 14. 11, 15. 3, 15. 9, 15. 20.

*Scriptura*: scripture, 1. 2, 4. 3, 9. 17, 10. 8, 10. 11, 11. 2, 15. 4, 16. 26.

*Scrutatur*: sekith, 8. 27.

*Se*: he, 14. 2; hemsilf, 1. 22, 2. 15; hymself, 14. 12; it, 9. 20.

*sibi*: to hemsilf, 2. 14, 13. 2; to hymself, 14. 7, 15. 3.

*Sectari*:

*sectabantur*: sueden, 9. 30.

*sectando*: suyng, 9. 31.

*sectans*: kepyng, 12. 13.

*sectantur*: suen, 4. 12.

*sectemur*: sue, 14. 19.

*Secundum*: aftir, 2. 2, 2. 5, 2. 6, 2. 16, 3. 5, 4. 1, 4. 5, 5. 6, 5. 8, 7. 22, 8. 1, 8. 4, 8. 5, 8. 12, 8. 13, 8. 28, 9. 3, 9. 5, 9. 9, 10. 2, 11. 28, 12. 6, 14. 15, 15. 5; as, 4. 18; bi, 1. 3, 1. 4, 2. 7, 4. 4, 4. 16, 8. 27, 9. 11, 11. 5, 11. 24, 11. 28, 15. 5, 16. 25, 16. 26; *secundum quod*: as, 4. 18.

*Sed*: but, 1. 21, 1. 32, 2. 13, 2. 29, 3. 27, 3. 31, 4. 2, 4. 4, 4. 10, 4. 12, 4. 13, 4. 16, 4. 20, 4. 24, 5. 3, 5. 11, 5. 14, 5. 15, 6. 13, 6. 14, 6. 15, 7. 7, 7. 9, 7. 13, 7. 15, 7. 17, 7. 19, 7. 20, 8. 4, 8. 9, 8. 15, 8. 20, 8. 23, 8. 26, 8. 32, 8. 37, 9. 7, 9. 8, 9. 10, 9. 12, 9. 16, 9. 24, 9. 32, 10. 2, 10. 8, 10. 16, 10. 18, 10. 19, 11. 4, 11. 11, 11. 18, 11. 20, 12. 2, 12. 3, 12. 16, 12. 17, 12. 19, 12. 20, 12. 21, 13. 3, 13. 5, 13. 14, 14. 13, 14. 17, 14. 20, 15. 20, 16. 4, 16. 18, 16. 19; *zhe*, 11. 23; (*omitted*) 6. 13, 15. 3.

*Seducere*:

*seducunt*: disseyuen, 16. 18.

*seduxit*: disceyuede, 7. 11.

*Segregatus*: departid, 1. 1.

*Semel*: onys, 6. 10.

*Semen*: seed, 1. 3, 4. 13, 4. 16, 4. 18, 9. 7, 9. 8, 9. 29, 11. 1.

*Sematipsum*: hymself, 14. 22.

*sematipsis*: hemsilf, 1. 24, 1. 27.

*Semper*: algatis, 11. 10; euer, 1. 10.

*Sempiternus*: euerlastyng, 1. 20.

*Sensus*: wit, 1. 28, 11. 34, 12. 2, 14. 5.

*Sentire :**sentiens :* fele, 12. 16.*sentiant :* feelen, 8. 5.*Separare :* departe, 8. 39.*separabit :* schal departe, 8. 35.*Septem :* seune, 11. 4.*Sepulcrum :* sepulcre, 3. 13.*Sermo :* word, 3. 4. 16. 18.*Serpens :* serpent, 1. 23.*Servire :* serue, 6. 19.*serviamus :* serue, 6. 6; seruen, 7. 6.*serviens :* seruynge, 12. 11; seruen, 13. 6.*servierunt :* serueden, 1. 25.*serviet :* schulde serue, 9. 13.*servio :* serue, 1. 9. 7. 25.*servit :* serueth, 14. 18.*serviunt :* seruen, 16. 18.*Servitus :* seruage, 8. 15. 8. 21.*Servus :* seruaunt, 1. 1. 6. 16. 6. 17. 6. 18. 6. 20. 6. 22. 14. 4.*Severitas :* fersnesse, 11. 22.*Si :* if, 1. 10. 2. 17. 2. 25. 2. 26. 3. 3. 3. 5. 3. 7. 4. 2. 4. 14. 5. 10. 5. 15. 5. 17. 6. 5. 6. 8. 7. 2. 7. 3. 7. 16. 7. 20. 8. 9. 8. 10. 8. 11. 8. 13. 8. 17. 8. 25. 8. 31. 9. 22. 9. 27. 10. 9. 11. 6. 11. 12. 11. 14. 11. 15. 11. 16. 11. 17. 11. 18. 11. 21. 11. 22. 11. 23. 11. 24. 11. 28. 12. 18. 12. 20. 13. 4. 13. 9. 14. 15. 14. 23. 15. 24; (omitted) 15. 27.*Sic :* so, 5. 18. 9. 20. 11. 5. 11. 11. 11. 26. 15. 20; thus, 4. 18. 10. 6.*Sicut :* as, 1. 13. 1. 17. 1. 21. 1. 28. 2. 24. 3. 4. 3. 8. 3. 10. 4. 6. 4. 17. 5. 12. 5. 15. 5. 16. 5. 18. 5. 19. 5. 21. 6. 19. 8. 26. 8. 36. 9. 13. 9. 25. 9. 29. 9. 33. 10. 15. 11. 8. 11. 26. 11. 30. 12. 3. 12. 4. 13. 9. 13. 13. 15. 3. 15. 7. 15. 9. 15. 20.*Signaculum :* tokenyng, 4. 11.*Signum :* signe, 4. 11; tokene, 15. 19.*Similis :* lijk, 9. 29.*Similiter :* also, 1. 27. 8. 26.*Similitudo :* licnesse, 1. 23. 5. 14. 6. 5. 8. 3.*Simplex :* symple, 16. 19.*Simplicitas :* symplenessse, 12. 8.*Simul :* also, 6. 5; togidere, 1. 12. 3. 12. 6. 6. 6. 8.*Simulatio :* feynyng, 12. 9.*Sine :* withouten, 1. 9. 1. 31. 2. 12. 3. 21. 3. 28. 4. 6. 7. 8. 7. 9. 10. 14. 11. 29. 12. 9. 13. 4.*Singuli :* ech, 12. 5.*Sitit :* thirstith, 12. 20.*Sive :* ether . . ether, 6. 16. 12. 6. 12. 7; whethir . . or, 14. 8.*Sobrietas :* sobrenesse, 12. 3.*Socius :* felowe, 11. 17.*Solatium :* solace, 15. 5.*Sollicitudo :* bisynesse, 12. 8. 12. 11.*Solum :* oneli, 1. 32. 4. 16. 5. 3. 5. 11. 8. 23. 9. 10. 9. 24. 13. 5.*Solus :* aloone, 11. 3. 16. 4. 16. 27.*Solvere :**soluta est :* is delyuered, 7. 2.*soluti sumus :* ben vnboundun, 7. 6.*Somnus :* sleep, 13. 11.*Sonus :* word, 10. 18.*Soror :* sister, 16. 1. 16. 15.*Speciosus :* faire, 10. 15.*Sperare :**sperabunt :* schulen hope, 15. 12.*speramus :* hopen, 8. 25.*sperat :* hopith, 8. 24.*spero :* hope, 15. 24.*Spernere :**spernat :* dispise, 14. 3.*spernis :* dispisist, 14. 10.*Spes :* hope, 4. 18. 5. 2. 5. 4. 5. 5. 8. 20. 8. 24. 12. 12. 15. 4. 15. 13.*Spiritualis :* goostli thing, 15. 27; spiritual, 1. 11. 7. 14.*Spiritus :* goost, 5. 5. 9. 1. 14. 17. 15. 13. 15. 16. 15. 19. 15. 30; spirit, 1. 4. 1. 9. 2. 29. 7. 6. 8. 2. 8. 4. 8. 5. 8. 6. 8. 9. 8. 10. 8. 11. 8. 13. 8. 14. 8. 15. 8. 16. 8. 23. 8. 26. 8. 27. 11. 8. 12. 11.*Stare :**stabimus :* schulen stonde, 14. 10.

*Stare :*

- stabit :* schal stonde, 14. 4.  
*stamus :* stonden, 5. 2.  
*stas :* stondist, 11. 20.  
*stat :* stondith, 14. 4.  
*Statuere :* make parfit, 14. 4; make stidefast, 10. 3.  
*statuimus :* stablischen, 3. 31.  
*Stipendium :* wagis, 6. 23.  
*Stultus :* fool, 1. 22.  
*Sub :* vndur, 3. 9, 3. 13, 6. 14, 6. 15, 7. 2, 7. 14, 16. 20.  
*Subdere :*  
*subdita sit :* be suget, 13. 1.  
*subditi estote :* be suget, 13. 5.  
*subditus :* suget, 3. 19.  
*Subintravit :* entride, 5. 20.  
*Subjicere :*  
*subjicit :* made suget, 8. 20.  
*subjecta est :* is suget, 8. 7, 8. 20.  
*subjecti sunt :* ben suget, 10. 3.  
*Sublimior :* heizere, 13. 1.  
*Suffoderunt :* han vndurdoluun, 11. 3.  
*Super :* aboue, 9. 5; for, 15. 9; on, 1. 18, 3. 22, 9. 28, 12. 20, 15. 3; vpon, 15. 20.  
*Superabundavit :* was more plenteouse, 5. 20.  
*Superamus :* ouercomen, 8. 37.  
*Superbus :* proude, 1. 30.  
*Supposuerunt :* vndurputtiden, 16. 4.  
*Supra :* ouer, 7. 13.  
*Surgere :* (that-clause) 13. 11.  
*surrexit :* aroos, 6. 4.  
*Suscipere :*  
*suscepit :* took, 15. 7.  
*susciptatis :* resseyue, 16. 2.  
*suscipte :* take, 15. 7.  
*Suscitavit :* reiseide, 4. 24, 8. 11, 10. 9.  
*Sustentatio :* beryng-vp, 3. 26.  
*Sustinere :* susteyne, 15. 1.  
*sustinuit :* hath suffrid, 9. 22.  
*Susurro :* preuy bacbiter, 1. 29.  
*Suus :* his, 4. 19.  
*sua :* her, 1. 24.  
*sua :* her, 11. 24; his, 3. 25, 9. 23.  
*suam :* her owne, 10. 3; his, 5. 8, 9. 22, 11. 2.

*Suus :*

- suas :* her, 16. 4.  
*sui :* her, 1. 27; his 8. 29.  
*suus :* her, 1. 21, 1. 27, 2. 15, 3. 13.  
*suo :* her, 16. 18; his, 1. 3, 8. 32, 14. 4, 14. 5, 15. 2.  
*suos :* his, 1. 2.  
*suum :* his, 4. 19, 8. 3, 11. 1.  
*Tacitus :* styлле, 16. 25.  
*Talis :* sicke thing, 1. 32, 2. 2, 2. 3.  
*Tamen :* netheles, 8. 9, 8. 17.  
*Tamquam :* as, 3. 7, 4. 17, 6. 13, 9. 27, 15. 15.  
*Tandem :* (omitted) 1. 10.  
*Tantum :* oneli, 3. 29, 4. 9, 4. 12, 4. 23, 12. 17.  
*Tecta sunt :* ben hid, 4. 7.  
*Te ipsum :* thisilf, 2. 1, 2. 19, 2. 21, 13. 9.  
*Temetipsum :* thisilf, 14. 22.  
*Tempus :* tyme, 3. 26, 5. 6, 5. 8, 7. 1, 8. 18, 9. 9, 11. 5, 13. 11, 16. 25.  
*Tenebra :* derknessis, 2. 19, 13. 12.  
*Terra :* erthe, 9. 17, 9. 28, 10. 18;  
*terra orbis :* world, 10. 18.  
*Testamentum :* testament, 9. 4, 11. 27.  
*Testificatus :* that is witnessid, 3. 21.  
*Testimonium :* witnessyng, 2. 15, 8. 16, 9. 1, 10. 2, 13. 9.  
*Testis :* witnesse, 1. 9.  
*Thesaurisas :* tresorist, 2. 5.  
*Timere :* (that-clause) 13. 3.  
*time :* drede, 11. 20, 13. 4.  
*Timor :* drede, 3. 18, 8. 15, 13. 3, 13. 7.  
*Totus :* al, 8. 36, 10. 21.  
*Tradere :*  
*tradidit :* bitook, 1. 24, 1. 26, 1. 28, 8. 32.  
*traditi estis :* ben bitakun, 6. 17.  
*traditus est :* was bitakun, 4. 25.  
*Tribuit :* zyueth, 12. 8.  
*Tribulatio :* tribulacioun, 2. 9, 5. 3, 8. 35, 12. 12.  
*Tribunal :* trone, 14. 10.  
*Tribus :* lynage, 11. 1.

- Tributum*: tribut. 13. 6, 13. 7.  
*Tristitia*: heuynesse, 9. 2.  
*Tu*: thou, 2. 3, 2. 17, 9. 20, 11. 17, 11. 18, 11. 20, 11. 22, 11. 24, 14. 4, 14. 10, 14. 22.  
*te*: thee, 2. 4, 2. 27, 4. 17, 8. 36, 9. 17, 11. 18, 11. 22.  
*tibi*: thee, 11. 21, 15. 3; to thee, 2. 5, 9. 7, 13. 4, 15. 9.  
*Tunc*: thanne, 6. 21.  
*Turpitude*: filthehed, 1. 27.  
*Tuus*: thi, 2. 25, 3. 4, 3. 27, 4. 18, 10. 8, 10. 9, 11. 3, 13. 9, 14. 10, 14. 15, 14. 21, 15. 9; thin, 2. 5, 10. 6, 10. 8, 10. 9, 11. 3, 12. 20.  
*Ubi*: where, 3. 27, 4. 15, 5. 20, 9. 26, 15. 20.  
*Ullterius*: fertherre, 15. 23.  
*Ultra*: more, 6. 6, 6. 9.  
*Unanimis*: of o wille, 15. 6.  
*Univervsus*: al, 1. 8, 9. 17, 16. 23.  
*Unus*: o, 5. 12, 5. 15, 5. 16, 5. 19, 12. 4, 12. 5, 15. 6; oon, 3. 12, 3. 30, 5. 15, 5. 16, 5. 17, 5. 18, 5. 19, 9. 10, 12. 4.  
*Unusquisque*: ech, 14. 12, 15. 2; ech man, 2. 6, 12. 3, 14. 5.  
*Usque*: (omitted) 11. 8, 15. 19, 15. 22; til, 3. 12, 5. 13, 5. 14, 8. 22.  
*Usus*: vss, 1. 26, 1. 27.  
*Ut*: (omitted) 5. 6; (phrase) 1. 11, 7. 5, 9. 23; that, 1. 13, 1. 20, 1. 24, 1. 28, 3. 4, 3. 8, 3. 19, 3. 26, 4. 11, 4. 13, 4. 16, 4. 18, 5. 20, 5. 21, 6. 1, 6. 4, 6. 6, 6. 12, 7. 3, 7. 4, 7. 6, 7. 13, 8. 4, 8. 12, 8. 17, 8. 29, 9. 11, 9. 17, 11. 8, 11. 11, 11. 19, 11. 25, 11. 31, 11. 32, 12. 1, 12. 2, 13. 8, 14. 9, 15. 4, 15. 6, 15. 13, 15. 14, 15. 16, 15. 19, 15. 30, 15. 31, 15. 32, 16. 2, 16. 17.  
*Utiliora*: more profitable thingis, 2. 18.  
*Utilitas*: profit, 3. 1.  
*Vanitas*: vanyte, 8. 20.  
*Vas*: vessel, 9. 21, 9. 22, 9. 23.  
*Vechgal*: tol, 13. 7.  
*Vel*: or, 14. 13.  
*Velle*: wille, 7. 18.  
*vis*: wilt, 13. 3.  
*volens*: willynge, 7. 21, 8. 20, 9. 16, 9. 22.  
*volo*: wole, 7. 15, 7. 19, 16. 19.  
*vult*: wole, 9. 18.  
*Velocis*: swifte, 3. 15.  
*Velociter*: swiftli, 16. 20.  
*Venenum*: venym, 3. 13.  
*Venire*: come, 1. 13, 15. 22.  
*veniam*: come, 15. 32; schal come, 9. 9, 15. 29.  
*veniant*: come, 3. 8.  
*veniendi*: to come, 1. 10, 15. 23.  
*veniens*: comynge, 15. 29.  
*veniet*: schal come, 11. 26.  
*venisset*: was comun, 7. 9.  
*Venter*: wombe, 16. 18.  
*Venumdatus*: seld, 7. 14.  
*Verax*: sothefast, 3. 4.  
*Verbum*: word, 9. 6, 9. 9, 9. 28, 10. 8, 10. 17, 10. 18, 13. 9, 15. 18.  
*Veritas*: treuthe, 1. 18, 1. 25, 2. 2, 2. 8, 2. 20, 3. 7, 9. 1, 15. 8.  
*Vero*: and, 5. 4, 6. 22, 10. 15, 11. 7, 15. 23; but, 6. 22, 8. 5, 8. 10, 9. 31; (omitted) 9. 21; sotheli, 4. 5.  
*Vester*: zoure, 1. 8, 1. 12, 6. 12, 6. 13, 6. 19, 6. 22, 8. 11, 11. 31, 12. 1, 12. 2, 15. 30, 16. 19, 16. 20.  
*Vestigium*: step, 4. 12.  
*Vetus*: olde, 6. 6.  
*Vetustas*: eldnesse, 7. 6.  
*Via*: weie, 3. 16, 3. 17, 11. 33.  
*Videre*: se, 1. 11.  
*vide*: se, 11. 22.  
*videam*: schal se, 15. 24.  
*videant*: se, 11. 8, 11. 10.  
*videbunt*: schulen se, 15. 21.  
*videmus*: seen, 8. 25.  
*video*: se, 7. 23.  
*videt*: seeth, 8. 24.  
*videtur*: is seyn, 8. 24.  
*Vincere*:  
*vincas*: ouercome, 3. 4.  
*vince*: ouercome, 12. 21.  
*vinci*: be ouercomun, 12. 21.

*Vindex*: vengere, 13. 4.  
*Vindicta*: veniannce, 12. 19.  
*Vinem*: wyn, 14. 21.  
*Vir*: hosebonde, 7. 2, 7. 3; man, 4. 8, 7. 3, 11. 4.  
*Virtus*: vertu, 1. 4, 1. 16, 1. 20, 8. 38, 9. 17, 15. 13, 15. 19.  
*Vita*: lijt, 2. 7, 5. 10, 5. 17, 5. 18, 5. 21, 6. 4, 6. 22, 6. 23, 7. 10, 8. 2, 8. 6, 8. 38, 11. 15.  
*Vivere*:  
*vivamus*: lyuen, 8. 12.  
*vivebam*: lyuede, 7. 9.  
*vivemus*: lyue, 6. 2; schulen lyue, 6. 8.  
*vivens*: lyuynge, 6. 11, 12. 1; (*that*-clause) 6. 13; while . . lyueth, 7. 2, 7. 3.  
*vivet*: schal lyue, 10. 5.  
*vivetis*: schulen lyue, 8. 13.  
*vivimus*: lynen, 14. 8.  
*vivit*: lyueth, 1. 17, 6. 10, 7. 1, 8. 10, 14. 7.  
*vivo*: lyue, 14. 11.  
*vixeritis*: lynen, 8. 13.  
*Vivificare*:  
*vivificabit*: schal quykene, 8. 11.  
*vivificat*: quykeneth, 4. 17.  
*Vivus*: lyuynge, 9. 26; quyke, 14. 9.  
*Vix*: vnnethis, 5. 7.  
*Vobis ipsis*: zousilf, 11. 25.  
*Vocare*:  
*vocabitur*: schal be clepid, 7. 3, 9. 7.

*Vocare*:  
*vocabo*: schal clepe, 9. 25.  
*vocabuntur*: schulen be clepid, 9. 26.  
*vocans*: clepynge, 9. 12.  
*vocat*: clepith, 4. 17.  
*vocati estis*: ben clepid, 1. 6.  
*vocati sunt*: ben clepid, 8. 28.  
*vocatus*: clepid, 1. 1, 1. 7.  
*vocavit*: clepide, 8. 30, 9. 24.  
*Vocatio*: cleping, 11. 29.  
*Volucris*: brid, 1. 23.  
*Voluntas*: wille, 1. 10, 2. 18, 9. 19, 10. 1, 12. 2, 15. 32.  
*Vos*: 3e, 1. 6, 1. 11, 1. 13, 6. 11, 7. 4, 8. 9, 9. 26, 11. 25, 11. 30, 16. 19; 3ou, 1. 10, 1. 11, 2. 24, 6. 16, 10. 19, 11. 28, 12. 1, 12. 3, 12. 14, 15. 7, 15. 13, 15. 15, 15. 22, 15. 23, 15. 24, 15. 28, 15. 29, 15. 30, 15. 32, 16. 16, 16. 17, 16. 21, 16. 23, 16. 25; 3ousilf, 6. 11, 6. 13.  
*vestri*: of 3ou, 1. 10, 16. 2.  
*vestrum*: of vs, 15. 2.  
*vobis*: 3ou, 1. 7, 1. 8, 1. 12, 1. 13, 8. 9, 8. 10, 8. 11, 12. 18, 15. 14, 15. 24, 15. 32, 15. 33, 16. 19, 16. 20, 16. 24; (omit-  
ted) 1. 11; on 3ou, 6. 14; to 3ou, 1. 15, 11. 13, 11. 25, 15. 5, 15. 15, 16. 1; vs, 16. 6.  
*Vosmetipsos*: 3ousilf, 12. 16, 12. 19.  
*Vulva*: wombe, 4. 19.



## ENGLISH-LATIN WORD-LIST

[Only those English words which have an equivalent in the Latin text are given in this list. When a Latin term is rendered by a group of English words, the most significant word in the group is chosen as head-word. The remarks in the prefatory note to the Glossarial Index, in regard to inconsistencies, apply here also. In cross-references, no attention is paid to auxiliary verbs.]

*A* : ex.

*Abba* : abba.

*Abiden* : expectamus.

*Abidiith* : expectat.

*Abidyng* : expectatio.

*Abidyng, long* : longanimitas.

*Abidyng* : expectans.

*Able* : aptus.

*Aboue* : super.

*Aboundid, hath* : abundavit.

*Abreggyng* : abbrevians.

*Abrood*. See *Spred abrood*.

*Abundaunce* : abundantia.

*Accepcioun* : acceptio.

*Accepted* : acceptus.

*Accepthith* : acceptus.

*Accuse, schal* : accusabit.

*Adopcioun* : adoptio.

*Aftir* : secundum. See *Tyme, aftir the*.

*Azen*. See *Lynde-, Roos-, Rysyng-, azen*.

*Azenbiyng* : redemptio.

*Azenclupe* : revocare.

*Azenfiziynge* : repugnans.

*Azenrisyng* : resurrectio.

*Azens* : adversus, contra, in.

*Azenseide* : contradicentes.

*Azenstonden* : resistunt.

*Azenstondiith* : resistit.

*Algatis* : semper.

*Alle* : cunctus, omnis, totus, universus.

*Alle men, alle thingis* : omnis.

*Almost* : fere.

*Aloone* : solus.

*Also* : etiam, similiter, simul.

*Am* : sum.

*Amen* : amen.

*Among* : in, inter.

*And* : autem, enim, etiam, quidem, quod, vero. See *But and, zhe and*.

*And zis* : nam.

*And he* : qui.

*And so* : itaque.

*Anentis* : apud, penes.

*Angwisch* : angustia.

*Another* : alius.

*Anothir man* : alter.

*Another, of* : alter.

*Anothris* : alienus.

*Answer* : responsum.

*Answerist* : respondeas.

*Apostle* : apostolus.

*Aposle, office of* : apostolatus.

*Apperide* : apparui.

*Arettiid, be* : reputetur.

*Arettiid, is* : imputatur, reputatur.

*Arettiid, schal be* : reputabitur.

*Arettiid, was* : reputata(um) est.

*Arettiide* : imputabitur, imputavit.

*Armuris* : arma.

*Aroos* : surrexit.

*Art* : es.

*As* : quasi, quomodo, secundum, secundum quod, sicut, tamquam.

*Ascape, schalt* : effugies.

*Assigned, hawe* : assignavero.

*As long as* : quamdiu, quantus.

*Aspie* : observetis.

*Assaied, han* : probaverunt.

*Assenten* : acquiescunt.

*At*: ad, in.  
*Angel*: angelus.  
*Awoidid, hath*: evacuabit.  
*Awoutresse*: adultera.  
*Auler*: altarium.  
*Awei*. See *Bowiden*-, *Caste*-, *Do*-,  
*Don*-, *Put*-, *Turne*-, *awei*.  
*Ariden*: interrogabant.  
*Arieth*: postulat.  
  
*Bacbitor, priuy*: susurro.  
*Bah*: dorsum.  
*Baptisid, ben*: baptizati sumus.  
*Baptym*: baptismum.  
*Barberyn*: barbarus.  
*Be*: esse, est, fuerit, sim, sis, sit,  
sitis; fiat.  
*Be, hadden*: fuissemus.  
*Be, mowe*: sint.  
*Be, schal*: erit, fuerit.  
*Be, schalt*: eris.  
*Be, schuld*: esset.  
*Be, schulen*: constituentur, eri-  
mus.  
*Bed*: cubile.  
*Beest, fouwe-footid*: quadrupes.  
*Ben*: esse, estis, sitis, sumus,  
sunt.  
*Bemygnyte*: benignitas.  
*Bere*: perhibeo. See *Fruyt, bere*.  
*Berist*: portas.  
*Berith*: perhibens, portat.  
*Beryng-up*: sustentatio.  
*Bi*: ex, in, juxta, per, secundum.  
See *Liggyng by, Shewid bi*  
*skille*.  
*Bifor*: ante, coram. See *Come*-,  
*Knewe*-, *Ordenede*-, *Seide*-,  
*Wente*-, *bifor*.  
*Biforgoyng*: præcedens.  
*Bigetun, first*: primogenitus.  
*Bigynnyng and endyng, with-*  
*outen*: æternus.  
*Biheelde*: consideravit.  
*Biheest*: promissio, promissum,  
repromissio.  
*Bihixt, hath*: promisit.  
*Bihofte*: oportuit.  
*Biholdun, ben*: conspiciuntur.  
*Bihote, hadde*: promiserat.  
*Bihoueth*: oportet.  
*Bilde*: ædificarem.

*Bileue*: fides.  
*Bileue, schal*: credit.  
*Bileue, schulen*: credent.  
*Bileued, han*: crediderunt.  
*Bileued, hast bileued*: credidit.  
*Bileueden*: crediderunt, credidis-  
tis, credimus, credita sunt.  
*Bileuen*: credimus, credunt.  
*Bileuest*: credideris.  
*Bileueth*: credit, creditur.  
*Bileuyng*: credendo, credens.  
*Biried togidere, ben*: consepulti  
sumus.  
*Biseche*: obsecrans, obsecro.  
*Biseching*: obsecratio.  
*Bisidis*: præter.  
*Bisy*: instans.  
*Bisynesse*: cura, sollicitudo.  
*Bitakun, ben*: traditi estis.  
*Bitakun, was*: traditus est.  
*Bitakun, weren*: credita sunt.  
*Bitook*: tradidit.  
*Bitternesse*: amaritudo.  
*Blasfemed, be*: blasphemetur.  
*Blasfemed, ben*: blasphemamur.  
*Blasfemed, is*: blasphematur.  
*Blesse*: benedicite.  
*Blessid*: beatus, benedictus.  
*Blessid, is*: benedictus est.  
*Blessidnesse*: beatitudo.  
*Blessyng*: benedictio.  
*Blood*: sanguis.  
*Blynde man*: cæcus.  
*Blydenesse*: cæcitas.  
*Blyndid, ben*: excæcati sunt.  
*Bodi*: corpus.  
*Bold, is*: audet.  
*Boldli, more*: audacius.  
*Boond of pees*: fœdus.  
*Boord*: mensa.  
*Borun, weren*: nati fuissent.  
*Boundun, is*: alligata est.  
*Bowe awei*: declinate.  
*Bowe down*: incurva.  
*Bowid, han*: curvaverunt.  
*Bowid, schal be*: flectetur.  
*Bowiden away*: declinaverunt.  
*Braunch*: ramus.  
*Breggid*: breuiatus.  
*Brekying*: prævaricatio.  
*Brennedon*: exarserunt.  
*Brid*: volucris.

*Britherrhod*: fraternitas.  
*Brokun, ben*: fracti sunt.  
*Brother*: frater.  
*Bryngith in*: infert.  
*Bryngynge*: reducens.  
*But*: autem, enim, nisi, sed, vero.  
     See *No but*.  
*But and*: enim.  
*But for*: nisi.  
*Bygynne*: cœpero.  
*Bytwixe*: inter.  
  
*Caitif, mahynge*: captivans.  
*Cam parfili*: pervenit.  
*Caste awei*: abjiciamus.  
*Catchyng*: captio.  
*Cause*: causa, negotium.  
*Certeyn*: certus.  
*Cassyng*: intermissio.  
*Charite*: charitas.  
*Chaungiden*: commutaverunt,  
     immutaverunt, mutaverunt.  
*Chasyng*: electio.  
*Child*: filius.  
*Child, zonge*: infans.  
*Chirche*: ecclesia.  
*Chosun*: electus.  
*Circumcisioun*: circumcisio.  
*City*: civitas.  
*Clene*: mundus.  
*Clepe, inwardli*: invocant.  
*Clepe, schal*: vocabo.  
*Clepe, schal inwardli*: invoca-  
     verit.  
*Clepe, schulen inwardli*: invoca-  
     bunt.  
*Clepid*: vocatus.  
*Clepid, ben*: vocati estis (sunt).  
*Clepid, schal be*: vocabitur.  
*Clepid, schulen be*: vocabuntur.  
*Clepide*: vocavit.  
*Clepiith*: vocat.  
*Clepyng*: vocatio.  
*Clepynge*: vocans.  
*Cley*: lutum.  
*Closide togidere*: conclusit.  
*Clothid, be*: induamur, induimini.  
*Colis*: carbones  
*Comaundement*: mandatum, præ-  
     ceptum.  
*Come*: venire, veniam, veniant.  
*Come bifore*: præveniens.

*Come, schal*: veniam, veniet.  
*Come, to*: veniendi.  
*Comende*: commendat, commendo.  
*Comendith*: commendat.  
*Compunccioun*: compunctio.  
*Comun, was*: venisset.  
*Comynge*: futurus, veniens.  
*Comynge, Crist to*: futurus.  
*Comynge, thingis to*: futurus.  
*Condempnacioun*: condemnatio.  
*Condempnest*: condemnas.  
*Condempneth*: condemnet.  
*Conferme*: confirmare.  
*Conferme, to*: confirmandas.  
*Confoundid, schal be*: confunde-  
     tur.  
*Confoundith*: confundit.  
*Confourmyd, be*: conformari.  
*Conscience*: conscientia. See *Sori*  
     in *conscience*.  
*Consente*: consensio.  
*Consenten*: consentiunt.  
*Consentyng*: consentiens.  
*Contynuel*: continuus.  
*Corrupcioun*: corruptio.  
*Coss*: osculum.  
*Cosyn*: cognatus.  
*Cowetise*: avaritia, concupis-  
     centia.  
*Cowesitynge*: concupiscentia.  
*Cowenable, ben*: conveniunt.  
*Coweyte, schalt*: concupisces.  
*Coumfort*: consolatio.  
*Coumfortid togidere, be*: con-  
     solari.  
*Coumfortid, was*: confortatus est.  
*Counselour*: consiliarius.  
*Creatour*: creator.  
*Creature*: creatura.  
*Crien*: clamamus.  
*Crieth*: clamat.  
*Crist*: evangelium. See *Comynge*,  
     *Crist to*.  
*Crucified, is*: crucifixus est.  
*Cumpas*: circuitus.  
*Cuntree*: regio.  
*Curse*: maledicere.  
*Cursidnesse*: infelicitas.  
*Cursyng*: maledictio.  
  
*Dai*: dies.  
*Dai, this*: hodiernus dies.

- Dampnacioun* : damnatio.  
*Dampned, is* : damnatus est.  
*Dampnede* : damnavit.  
*Dar* : audeat, audeo.  
*Debater* : contumeliosus.  
*Dede* : actus, factum.  
*Dedis doying* : factum.  
*Deed, deed man* : mortuus.  
*Deed, ben* : mortui sumus (sunt).  
*Deed, ben maad* : mortificati estis.  
*Deed, is* : mortuus(m) est (fuerit).  
*Deed, nyz* : emortuus.  
*Deed, was* : mortuus(m) sum (est, erat).  
*Deedi* : corruptibilis, mortalis.  
*Defendynge* : defendens.  
*Dekite togidere* : condelector.  
*Delyuere, schal* : eripiat, liberabit.  
*Delyuered* : liberatus.  
*Delyuerid, be* : liberer.  
*Delyuerid, hath* : liberavit.  
*Delyuerid, is* : liberata est, soluta est.  
*Delyuerid, schal be* : liberabitur.  
*Deme* : existimate, existimo ; iudicate, iudicemus, iudicet.  
*Deme, schal* : iudicabit.  
*Demed, am* : iudicor.  
*Demed, art* : iudicaris.  
*Demed, ben* : æstimantur.  
*Demen* : arbitramur.  
*Demest* : iudicas.  
*Demeth* : discernit, existimat, iudicat.  
*Demyd, schulen be* : iudicabuntur.  
*Demyng* : disceptatio.  
*Departe* : separare.  
*Departe, schal* : separabit.  
*Departed* : anathema, segregatus.  
*Departid, hath* : divisit.  
*Departying* : distinctio.  
*Depnesse* : profundum.  
*Dere, most* : charissimus.  
*Dereworths, most* : charissimus, dilectissimus.  
*Derk, ben maad* : obscurantur.  
*Derkid, was* : obscuratum est.  
*Derkmassis* : tenebræ.  
*Derlyng* : dilectus.  
*Desir* : cupiditas, desiderium.  
*Desire* : desidero.
- Desiride* : optabam.  
*Desirith* : desideret.  
*Deth* : interitus, mors, mortuus.  
*Detractour* : detractor.  
*Dette* : debitum.  
*Detmour* : debitor.  
*Diden* : agebant.  
*Die* : mori.  
*Die, schulen* : moriemini.  
*Diade* : mortuus est.  
*Dien* : morimur.  
*Dieth* : moritur.  
*Discencioun* : dissensio.  
*Disceyuede* : seduxit.  
*Dispise* : spernat.  
*Dispisist* : contemnis, spernis.  
*Dispisyng, man* : improprians.  
*Dispit* : contumelia.  
*Disseyuen* : seducunt.  
*Distinccioun* : distinctio.  
*Distrie* : destruere.  
*Distried, is* : exinanitus est.  
*Distruye* : destruimus.  
*Distruyed, be* : destruat.
- Do* : ago, facere, fac, faciamus, faciant, facio, feceritis.  
*Do awei, schal* : abstulero.  
*Do, schal* : feceritis.  
*Doctryne* : doctrina.  
*Doer* : faciens, factor.  
*Doist* : agis, facis, feceris.  
*Doith* : agit, efficit, faciat.  
*Don* : agunt, faciunt.  
*Don away, is* : abolita est.  
*Don, be* : fieri.  
*Don, hadden* : egissent.  
*Doom* : iudicium.  
*Down*. See *Falle-, Felden-, Go-, Kit-, Lede-, down*.  
*Doutide* : hæsitavit.  
*Doynge* : faciens. See *Dedis doying*.  
*Drawynge to* : adhærens.  
*Drede* : time.  
*Drede* : timor.  
*Drunkenesse* : ebrietas.  
*Drynke* : bibere.  
*Drynke* : potus.  
*Dwelle* : permanebimus.  
*Dwelle, schulde* : maneret.  
*Dwellen* : permanserint.  
*Dwellist* : permanseris.

- Dwellith*: habitat, inhabitans, manet.  
*Dyuersynge*: differens.  
  
*Ech*: omnis, singuli, unusquisque.  
*Ech man*: omnis, unusquisque.  
*Ech other*: alterutrum.  
*Eche . . othere*: invicem.  
*Edificacioun*: ædificatio.  
*Eor*: auris.  
*Eft*: iterum, rursus.  
*Eftsoone*: iterum.  
*Eir*: hæres.  
*Eiris togidere*: cohæredes.  
*Eldnesse*: vetustas.  
*Eleccioun*: electio.  
*Ellis*: alioquin.  
*Encrees*: abundet, abundetis.  
*End*: finis.  
*End, makyng an*: consummans.  
*Endid, haue*: consummavero.  
*Endurith*: indurat.  
*Endyng*. See *Bigynnyng and endyng*.  
*Enemy*: inimicus.  
*Entride*: intraret, intravit, subintravit.  
*Enuye*: æmulatio, invidia.  
*Epistle*: epistola.  
*Equyle*: æquitas.  
*Errour*: error.  
*Erthe*: terra.  
*Ete*: manducare, manducet.  
*Ete, mai*: manducare.  
*Ether . . ether*: sive. See *Nether . . ether*.  
*Etith*: manducat, manducaverit.  
*Euen*. See *Prisouner, euen*.  
*Euere*: semper. See *Whateuere, Whateuere thingis, Which, Who, euere*.  
*Euery*: omnis.  
*Euerlastyng*: æternus, sempiternus.  
*Excludid, is*: exclusus est.  
*Excusid, not*: inexcusabilis.  
  
*Fadir*: pater.  
*Fadir and modir*: parentes.  
*Faire*: speciosus.  
*Falle down, hath*: exciderit.  
*Falle down, schulden*: caderent.
- Fallith*: cadit.  
*Fals*: falsus.  
*Fatnesse*: pinguedo.  
*Feblesesse*: imbecillitas.  
*Fede*: ciba.  
*Feelen*: sentiunt.  
*Feest, superflu*: comessatio.  
*Feith*: fides.  
*Feld, hath*: contigit.  
*Felden, felden down*: ceciderunt.  
*Fele*: sentiens.  
*Felowe*: socius.  
*Fernessee*: severitas.  
*Ferthere*: ulterius.  
*Feruunt*: fervens.  
*Feynyng*: simulatio.  
*Fillid, ben*: repletus.  
*Fillid, haue*: repleverim.  
*Filikehed*: turpitudō.  
*First*: primum, primus, primitivus. See *Bigetun, first*.  
*First-fruytis*: primitiæ.  
*Fleisch*: caro.  
*Fleischli*: carnalis.  
*Folc*: gens.  
*Folowe*: æmulendum.  
*Fool*: stultus.  
*Foond*: invenisse.  
*Foorme*: forma.  
*Foot*: pes.  
*For*: autem, enim, etenim, in, nam, pro, propter, quia, quidem, quod, quoniam, super. See *But for*.  
*For if*: quoniam.  
*Forbede, God*: absit.  
*Forzounn, ben*: remissæ sunt.  
*Forzyuer*: propitiatio.  
*Formere*: prior.  
*Fornycacioun*: fornicatio.  
*Forsoken*: relictus.  
*Forsothe*: enim.  
*Forth*. See *Passo-, Passide-, forth*.  
*Forthenkyng*: pœnitentia.  
*For to*: ad.  
*Forwhi*: enim.  
*Foundun, am*: inventus sum.  
*Foundun, was*: inventum est.  
*Foure-footed*. See *Beest, foure-footed*.  
*Fre*: liber.

*Frel*: grātis.  
*Fro*: a, ab, de, ex.  
*From*: a, ab.  
*Fruyt*: fructus.  
*Fruyt, 3e bere*: fructificemus.  
*Fruyt, to bere*: fructificent.  
*Fruytis*. See *First-fruytis*.  
*Ful*: plenus. See *Myche, ful*.  
*Fulfile*: repleat.  
*Fulfillid, ben*: repletus.  
*Fulfillid, hath*: implevit.  
*Fulfillid, were*: impleretur.  
*Fulfillyng*: plenitudo.  
*Fulli, moost*: plenissime.  
*Fynde*: invenio.  
*Fynder*: inventor.

*Gessid, ben*: æstimati sumus.  
*Gessist*: existimas.  
*Gete, han*: apprehenderunt, consecuti estis.  
*Geten*: acquirant, consequantur.  
*Getun, hath*: consecutus(a) est.  
*Getynge*: consecutus.  
*Gidere togidere, schalt*: congeres.  
*Gile*: dolus.  
*Gilefuli*: dolose.  
*Gilt*: delictum.  
*Glad, be*: lætamini.  
*Gladnesse*: hilaritas.  
*Glorie*: gloria.  
*Gloria, han*: gloriamur.  
*Glorie, hast*: gloriaris.  
*Glorie, hawe*: gloriari.  
*Glorien*: gloriamur.  
*Gloriest*: gloriaris.  
*Glorified togidere, ben*: conglorificemur.  
*Glorifiede*: glorificavit.  
*Glorifieden*: glorificaverunt.  
*Gloriynge*: gloriatio.  
*Go down, schal*: descendet.  
*Gobet, hool gobet*: massa.  
*God*: Dominus. See *Forbede, God*.  
*Goddis*: divinus.  
*Godhed*: divinitas.  
*Goen*: ambulamus.  
*Good*: bonus. See *3yuyng good*.  
*Good, good man, good thing*: bonum.  
*Goodnesse*: bonitas.  
*Goost*: spiritus.

*Goostli thing*: spiritualis.  
*Gospel*: evangelium. See *Preche the gospel*.  
*Gouverne*: regere.  
*Goyng*: præteriens. See *Niz goyng to*.  
*Grace*: gratia.  
*Graffid, art*: insertus es.  
*Graffid in, be*: inserar.  
*Grael*: arena.  
*Greet*: magnus, multus. See *Wonder, greet*.  
*Grete*: salutate.  
*Grete wel*: salutate, saluto.  
*Greten wel*: salutant.  
*Gretith wel*: salutat.  
*Ground*: fundamentum.  
*Gryn*: laqueum.

*3af*: dedit, donavit.  
*3e*: vos.  
*3eer*: annus.  
*3elde, schal*: reddet, retribuam.  
*3eldith*: reddens, reddit.  
*3eldyng*: retributio.  
*3eldynge*: reddens.  
*3he*: autem, imo, quidem, sed.  
*3he and*: quoque.  
*3his*: imo.  
*3his, sothely*: et quidem.  
*3ifte*: collatio, donatio, donum.  
*3it*: adhuc. See *And-, Not-, Til-, 3it*.  
*3onge*. See *Child, 3onge*.  
*3ou*: vos, vobis.  
*3ou, of*: vestri.  
*3ou, on*: vobis.  
*3oure*: vester.  
*3ou, to*: vobis.  
*3ousilf*: vobis ipsis, vos, vos-metipsos.  
*3ounn, han*: exhibuistis.  
*3ounn, is*: datus(a) est.  
*3yue*: da, date, det, exhibeatis, exhibete.  
*3yue, schal*: præstabo.  
*3yuen*: exhibetis, præstatis.  
*3yueith*: fert, tribuit.  
*3yuyng*: donatio.  
*3yuyng*: dans.  
*3yuyng good*: communicans.  
*3yuyng of the law*: legislatio.

*Hadde*: habens.  
*Hadden*: habere, habuistis.  
*Halewe*: sanctificans.  
*Halewid*: sanctificatus.  
*Halewyng*: sanctificatio.  
*Half*. See *Rixt half*.  
*Han*: habemus, habent, habetis.  
*Hardnesse*: duritia.  
*Hast*: habes.  
*Hate*: odi.  
*Hateful*: odibilis.  
*Hath*: habet.  
*Hatide*: odio habui.  
*Hatyng*: odiens.  
*Haus*: habe, habeam, habeamus, habens, habent, habeo.  
*Haus, schali*: habebis.  
*Hauwyng*: habens.  
*He*: ipse, is, se. See *And he*.  
*Heed*: caput.  
*Heelthe*: salus.  
*Heiz*: altus.  
*Heizere*: sublimior.  
*Heiznesse*: altitudo.  
*Heizth*: altitudo.  
*Helle*: abyssus.  
*Helpe*: adjuvetis, assistatis.  
*Helper*: adjutor.  
*Helpide*: astitit.  
*Helpith*: adjuvat.  
*Hem*: eis, eos, hos, illis, illos.  
*Hem, of*: eorum, illorum, ipsorum.  
*Hem, to*: eis, iis, illis, illorum.  
*Hemself*: se, semetipais.  
*Hemself, to*: sibi.  
*Her*: eam, sua, suæ, suas, sui, suis, suo.  
*Her owne*: suam.  
*Herd, han*: audierunt.  
*Herden*: audierunt.  
*Here*: audiant.  
*Here, schulen*: audient.  
*Herer*: auditor.  
*Herie*: laudate.  
*Herieden*: coluerunt.  
*Herie*: cor.  
*Heryng*: auditus.  
*Heithene men*: gentes, gentiles.  
*Heuene*: cælum.  
*Heuynesse*: tristitia.  
*Hid*: absconditum.

*Hid, ben*: tecta sunt.  
*Hiz ouer mesure*: elatus.  
*Hize thing*: altus.  
*Hir*: ei, eius, eorum.  
*Hiriyng*: offendiculum.  
*His*: eius, illius, ipsius, suus, suæ, suam, sui, suo, suos, suum.  
*Holdun, weren*: detinebamur.  
*Hond*: manus.  
*Honour*: honor.  
*Hool*. See *Gobet, hool*.  
*Hooli, holi man*: sanctus.  
*Hoolynesse*: sanctificatio.  
*Hope*: spero.  
*Hope*: spes.  
*Hope, schulen*: sperabunt.  
*Hopen*: speramus.  
*Hopith*: sperat.  
*Hosebonds*: vir.  
*Hospitalite*: hospitalitas.  
*Hou*: quam, quemadmodum, quomodo.  
*Hou myche*: quanto.  
*Hous*: domus.  
*Hundrid*: centum.  
*Hungrih*: esurierit.  
*Hungur*: fames.  
*Hym*: ei, eo, eum, illo, illum, ipso, ipsum.  
*Hym, of*: eius, ipsius.  
*Hym, on*: illi.  
*Hym, to*: ei, illi, ipsi.  
*Hymself*: se, semetipsum.  
*Hymself, to*: sibi.  
*If*: si. See *For if*.  
*Ize*: oculus.  
*Ilke*: ipse, ipsa.  
*In*: ex, in. See *Bryngith-, Graf-fid-, Set-, in*.  
*Incomprehensible*: incomprehensibilis.  
*Indignacioun*: indignatio.  
*Infirmyte*: infirmitas.  
*Innocent man*: innocens.  
*Inobedience*: inobedientia.  
*Instorid, is*: instauratur.  
*Into*: ad, in.  
*Inwardli*: See *Clepe, inwardli*.  
*Ioiyng*: gaudens.  
*Ioye*: gaudere.  
*Ioye*: gaudium.

*Ioye, haue* : gaudeo.

*Is* : est, sit.

*It* : ea, (am, eo, eum, illa, illud, se.

*Iust, iust man* : justus.

*Iust, schulen be maad* : iustificabuntur.

*Iustefiying* : iustificatio.

*Iustificacioun* : iustificatio.

*Iustified, be* : iustificari, iustificeris.

*Iustified, ben iustified* : iustificatus.

*Iustified, is* : iustificatus est.

*Iustified, schal be* : iustificabitur.

*Iustifiede* : iustificavit.

*Iustifieth* : iustificat.

*Iustifynge* : iustificans.

*Kepe* : custodiamus, custodiat, observes.

*Kepyng* : sectans.

*Kit down, art* : excisus es.

*Kit down, schalt be* : excideris.

*Kne* : genu.

*Knew* : cognovi.

*Knewe* : cognovit.

*Knewe bifor* : præsivit.

*Knewen* : cognoverunt.

*Knowleche, schal* : confitebitur.

*Knowlechest* : confitearis.

*Knowe, hadde* : cognovissent.

*Knowe, hast* : nosti.

*Knownen* : sciens.

*Knownen not* : ignoratis.

*Knowist not* : ignoras.

*Knowleche, schal* : confitebor.

*Knowleching* : confessio.

*Knownun* : cognitus, notus.

*Knownun, is* : notum est.

*Knowyng* : cognitio, notitia.

*Kunnyng* : scientia.

*Kynde* : natura.

*Kyndli* : naturalis, naturaliter.

*Lawe* : lex. See *3yuyng of the law*.

*Led, ben* : aguntur.

*Led, schal be* : deducar.

*Lede down* : deducere.

*Lede, schal* : adducam.

*Ledere* : dux.

*Ledith* : adducit.

*Leesyng* : mendacium.

*Lefte, am* : relictus sum.

*Left, hadde* : reliquisset.

*Left, haue* : reliqui.

*Lerned, han* : didicistis.

*Lerud* : instructus.

*Les* : perdere.

*Lesse* : minor.

*Lesse, makyng* : diminutio.

*Lest* : ne.

*Letcherie, do* : adulterabis, mœchandum.

*Letcherie, doist* : mœcharis.

*Lett, am* : prohibitus sum.

*Lettid, was* : impediabar.

*Lettre* : littera.

*Leueth* : credit.

*Liberte* : libertas.

*Licnesse* : forma, similitudo.

*Liere* : mendax.

*Lieth to* : adiacet.

*Liggyng-by* : concubitus.

*Ligt* : lumen, lux.

*Lijf* : anima, vita.

*Lijk* : conformis, similis.

*Lippe* : labium.

*Lo* : ecce.

*Long* : See *Abidyng, long, As long as*.

*Lord* : dominus.

*Lord, be* : dominetur.

*Lordschip, hath* : dominatur.

*Lordschip, schal haue* : dominabitur.

*Loss* : amissio.

*Loue* : æmulatio, affectio, dilectio.

*Loue* : diligatis.

*Loue, schalt* : diliges :

*Loued* : dilectus.

*Louede* : dilexi, dilexit.

*Loueth* : diligit.

*Louyng* : diligens.

*Lye* : mentior.

*Lynage* : tribus.

*Lye* : vivemus, vivo.

*Lye, schal* : vivet.

*Lye, schulen* : vivemus, vivetis.

*Lynede* : vivebam.

*Lynede agen* : revixit.

*Lynen* : vivamus, vivimus, vixeritis.



*Lyueeth* : vivens, vivit.

*Lyuyng* : vivens, vivus.

*Maad* : factus. See *Redi-*, *Sugel-*, *mado*.

*Maad, art* : factus es.

*Maad, be* : fiat, fieri.

*Maad, ben* : constituti sunt, facta(æ) sunt, facti sumus (estis, sunt). See *Derk*, *ben maad*.

*Maad, hadden be* : facti essemus.

*Maad, hast* : fecisti.

*Maad, is* : est, factus(a, um) est, fit. See *Opyn-*, *Sijk-*, *is maad*.

*Maad, schulde be* : fieret.

*Maad, schulen be* : fient. See *Iust*, *schulen be maad*.

*Maad thing* : figmentum.

*Maad, was*. See *Vnstidfast*, *was maad*.

*Maad, weren* : facti sunt.

*Made* : finxit.

*Magnefie* : magnificate.

*Maistir* : magister.

*Make* : facere, faciam, facio. See *Parfit*, *Slidefast*, *make*.

*Make, schal* : faciet.

*Maken* : faciunt.

*Makyng*. See *Caistif*, *End*, *Lesse*, *makyng*.

*Malice* : malitia.

*Man* : homo, masculus, vir. See *Alle men*, *Anothir*, *Blynde*, *Deed*, *Dispising*, *Ech*, *Good*, *Heihene*, *Hooli*, *Innocent*, *Iust*, *Many*, *No*, *Ony*, *Pore*, *Sijk*, *Such*, *Sum*, *Vnfeithful*, *Vnwise*, *Which*, *Wickid*, *Wise*, *man*.

*Maner* : modum. See *Ony maner*.

*Manere, such* : ejusmodi.

*Mansleyng* : homicidium.

*Many* : multus.

*Many men* : plures.

*Maumet* : idolum.

*Maundement* : mandatum.

*May* : poterit, potest.

*Me* : me.

*Me, to* : mihi.

*Mede* : merces.

*Meke thing* : humilis.

*Membre* : membrum.

*Merçi* : misericordia.

*Merçi, haith* : miseretur.

*Merçi, haue* : misereatur, misereor.

*Merçi, hawyng* : miserens.

*Merçi, schal haue* : miserebor.

*Mesure* : mensura. See *Hiȝ ouer mesure*.

*Mele* : cibus, esca.

*Meyneal* : domesticus.

*Modir* : mater. See *Fadir* and *modir*.

*Moneste* : monere.

*Monestyng* : exhortando.

*More* : amplius, magis, major, plus, ultra. See *Boldli*, *Profitable thingis*, *more*.

*Most*. See *Deve*, *Deverworthe*, *Fulli*, *most*.

*Moun* : possitis, possunt.

*Mouth* : os.

*My, myn* : meus.

*Myche* : multo, multum. See *Hou myche*.

*Myche, ful* : plurimum.

*Myȝti* : potens.

*Mynde* : memoria.

*Mynysterie* : ministerium.

*Mynystre* : minister.

*Mynystre* : ministrare.

*Mynystryng* : ministrando.

*Mysilf* : ipse, mihi ipsi.

*Mysterie* : mysterium.

*Nakidnesse* : nuditas.

*Name* : nomen.

*Named, art* : cognominaris.

*Named, was* : nominatus est.

*Nay* : nequaquam, non.

*Necke* : cervix.

*Nede* : necessitas.

*Nede, han* : egent.

*Nede, schal* : indiguerit.

*Neer* : proprior.

*Neizbore* : proximus.

*Neized, haith* : appropinquavit.

*Neithes* : tamen.

*Neither* : aut, nec, neque.

*Neither . . . either* : aut.

*Newnesse* : novitas.

*Niz goyng to* : accessus.

*Noble* : nobilis, probus.

*No but*: nisi.  
*No man*: nemo, nullus, quisquam non.  
*No thing*: nihil.  
*Not*: nec. See *Excusid*-, *Knownen*-, *Whether*-, *Wiste*-, *Witen*-, not.  
*Not yet*: nondum.  
*Noumbre*: numerus.  
*Now*: jam, nunc.  
*Nyz*: prope. See *Deed*, *nyz*.  
*Nyzgoyng-to*: accessus.  
*Nyz*: nox.

*O, oon*: unus. See *Wille*, of o.  
*O . . an othere*: alius.  
*Obedience*: obedientia, obeditio.  
*Obeie*: obediendum.  
*Obeien*: obediunt.  
*Obeische*: obediatis.  
*Obeischid, kan*: obedistis, obeditis.  
*Obeschynge*: obediens.  
*Occasioun*: occasio.  
*Of*: de, ex.  
*Offencioun*: offensio.  
*Offendiden*: offenderunt.  
*Offendiith*: offenditur.  
*Offendyng*: offendiculum.  
*Office*: See *Apostle*, office of.  
*Offryng*: oblatio.  
*Ofte*: sæpe.  
*Olde*: vetus.  
*Olyue tre*: oliva.  
*Olyue tre, wiede*: oleaster.  
*On*: ad, super.  
*One*: alter.  
*One . . another*: alius.  
*Oneli*: solum, tantum.  
*Onesli*: honeste.  
*Onoure*: honorare.  
*Onoure, schal*: honorificabo.  
*Ony*: aliquis, quis.  
*Ony man*: quis.  
*Ony maner*: quomodo.  
*Onys*: semel.  
*Anything*: aliquis, quid, quidquam.  
*Oost*: hospes.  
*Oostis*: Sabaoth.  
*Opene*: manifestus, patens.  
*Openli*: in manifesto, palam.  
*Opyn, is maad*: patefactum est.  
*Or*: an, aut, vel. See *Whethir* . . or.

*Ordenede, bifore*: prædestinavit.  
*Ordeyned, ben*: ordinatæ sunt.  
*Ordeyned, was bifor*: prædestinatus est.  
*Ordeynede*: proposuit.  
*Ordynaunce*: ordinatio.  
*Other*: alius. See *Ech other*, *Eche* . . *othere*.  
*Othere*: ceteri.  
*Ouer*: supra. See *Hiz ouer mesure*.  
*Ouercome*: vincas, vince.  
*Ouercomen*: superamus.  
*Ouercomen, be*: vinci.  
*Our*: hora.  
*Oure*: noster.  
*Out*. See *Streizte*-, *Teld*-, *Wente*-, out.  
*Owe*: debeatis.  
*Owen*: debemus, debent.  
*Owne*: proprius. See *Her owne*.

*Pacience*: patientia.  
*Pacient*: patiens.  
*Parfit*: perfectus.  
*Parfit, make*: statuere.  
*Parfilli*: See *Cam parfilli*.  
*Parten, to*: impertiar.  
*Partenor*: particeps.  
*Parti*: pars.  
*Passe*: proficisci.  
*Passe, schal forth*: proficiscar.  
*Passen*: præcellimus.  
*Passide forth*: pertransiit.  
*Passioun*: passio.  
*Pees*: pax. See *Boond of peas*.  
*Perauenture*: forsitan, forte.  
*Perel*: periculum.  
*Performe*: perficere.  
*Perische, schulen*: peribunt.  
*Persecucioun*: persecutio.  
*Person*: persona.  
*Peyne*. See *Trauelith with peyne*.  
*Place*: locus.  
*Plauntid togidere*: complantatus.  
*Plente*: abundantia, plenitudo.  
*Plenteuouse, be*: abundet.  
*Plenteuouse, schulde be*: abundaret.  
*Plenteuouse, was*: abundavit.  
*Plenteuouse, was more*: superabundavit.  
*Plese*: placere, placeat.

*Pleside* : placuit.  
*Plesith* : placet.  
*Plesynge* : placens. See *Wel plesynge*.  
*Pore man* : pauper.  
*Potter* : figulus.  
*Power* : potentia, potestas.  
*Preche the gospel* : evangelizare.  
*Preche, schulen* : prædicabunt.  
*Prechen* : prædicamus.  
*Prechid, haue* : prædicavi.  
*Prechist* : prædicas.  
*Prechynge* : prædicatio.  
*Preie, schulen* : oremus.  
*Preier* : oratio.  
*Preieth* : interpellat.  
*Preisynge* : laus.  
*Prepucie* : præputium.  
*Present thingis* : instantia.  
*Preue* : probetis.  
*Preued, is* : probatus est.  
*Preueden* : probaverunt.  
*Preuest* : probas.  
*Preueth* : probat.  
*Preuynge* : probatio.  
*Preye* : rogo.  
*Prince* : princeps.  
*Principatus* : principatus.  
*Prisouner, euen-* : concaptivus.  
*Priuy* : See *Bachiter, Priuy*.  
*Profel* : propheta.  
*Profit* : utilitas.  
*Profitable thingis, more* : utiliora.  
*Profiteth* : prodest.  
*Prophecie* : prophetia.  
*Proude* : superbus.  
*Prudence* : prudentia.  
*Prudent* : prudens.  
*Punysche* : afficiant.  
*Puple* : plebs, populus.  
*Pupplischid, is* : divulgata est.  
*Purpos* : propositum.  
*Purposide* : proposui.  
*Pursuen, ment that* : persequentibus.  
*Purueye* : providens.  
*Put awei* : repulit.  
*Putte* : ponatis, pono.  
*Quyke* : vivus.  
*Quykene, schal* : vivificabit.  
*Quykeneth* : vivificat.  
*Quyrt, schal be* : retribuetur.

*Rathere* : potius.  
*Recouncelyng* : reconciliatio.  
*Recounselid* : reconciliatus.  
*Recounselid, ben* : reconciliatus sumus.  
*Redi* : promptus.  
*Redi, made* : præparavit.  
*Reformed, be* : reformamini.  
*Refreischid, be* : refrigerer.  
*Regne* : regnet.  
*Regne, schulen* : regnabunt.  
*Regnyde* : regnavit.  
*Reiside* : suscitavit.  
*Relif* : reliquus.  
*Remyssioun* : remissio.  
*Rennyng* : currens.  
*Repreuable* : reprobus.  
*Repreue* : improprium.  
*Resonable* : rationabilis.  
*Resoun* : ratio.  
*Resseyue* : suscipiatus.  
*Resseyued, han* : accepimus.  
*Resseyueden* : recipientes.  
*Restist* : requiescis.  
*Rettid, was* : imputabatur.  
*Reuelacioun* : revelatio.  
*Rewme* : regnum.  
*Riche* : dives.  
*Richessis* : divitiæ.  
*Rixtful* : justus.  
*Rixt half* : dexter.  
*Rixtwisnesse* : iustitia.  
*Rise up, schal* : exurget.  
*Roos azen* : resurrexit.  
*Roots* : radix.  
*Rysynge azen* : resurgens, resurrectio.  
*Saaf* : salvus.  
*Sacritice* : hostia.  
*Sacrilegie* : sacrilegium.  
*Saddere* : firmior.  
*Same* : idem.  
*Same thing* : idem, idipsum. See *This same thing*.  
*Sauere* : sapere.  
*Saueren* : sapiunt.  
*Sauerynge* : sapiens.  
*Schame* : erubescō.  
*Schamen* : erubescitis.  
*Sche* : illa, ipsa.  
*Scheep* : ovis.

*Schameſchipe*: ignominia.  
*Schewe*: ostendere, ostendam.  
*Schewe, to*: ostenderet.  
*Schewen*: ostendunt.  
*Schewid*: manifestus.  
*Schewid, hark*: manifestavit.  
*Schewid, is*: annuntiatur, manifestata est, revelatur.  
*Schewid, schal be*: revelabitur.  
*Schewid bi shile, han*: causati sumus.  
*Schewyng*: ostensio, revelatio.  
*Sclaundre*: scandalum.  
*Sclaundrid, is*: scandalizatur.  
*Scripture*: scriptura.  
*Se*: videre, vide, videant, video.  
*Se, schal*: videam.  
*Se, schulen*: videbunt.  
*See*: mare.  
*Seed*: semen.  
*Seen*: videmna.  
*Seeth*: videt.  
*Seid, is*: dictum est.  
*Seid, was*: dictum est.  
*Seide*: diceret.  
*Seide, bifor*: prædixit.  
*Seie*: dico, dixeris.  
*Seie, schalt*: dices.  
*Seie, schulen*: dicemus.  
*Seien*: aiunt, dicimus.  
*Seist*: dices, dicis.  
*Seith*: ait, dicit.  
*Seiyng*: dicens.  
*Saken*: quærunť.  
*Sakith*: scrutatur.  
*Sekyng*: quærens, requirens.  
*Seld*: venumdatus.  
*Seme*: appareat.  
*Sende, schal*: mittam.  
*Sent, be*: mittantur.  
*Sente*: mittens.  
*Sepulchre*: sepulcrum.  
*Serpent*: serpens.  
*Seruyage*: servitus.  
*Seruauť*: servus.  
*Serue*: servire, seruiamus, servio.  
*Serue, schulde*: serviet.  
*Seruoden*: servierunt.  
*Seruoen*: seruiamus, serviens, serviunt.  
*Seruoth*: servit.

*Seruiſe*: ministerium, obsequium.  
*Seruyng*: serviens.  
*Set, hause*: posui.  
*Set in*: inserere.  
*Set in, art*: insertus es.  
*Set yn, schulen be*: inserentur.  
*Seuene*: septem.  
*Seyn, is*: videtur.  
*Siche thing*: talis.  
*Signe*: signum.  
*Sijh, sijh man*: infirmus.  
*Sijh, is maad*: infirmatur.  
*Sijh, was*: infirmabatur.  
*Silf*. See *Zou-, Hem-, Hym-, My-, Thi-, Vs-, We ne-, Y my-, silf*.  
*Sister*: soror.  
*Shile*. See *Schewid bi shile*.  
*Slaughtir*: occisio.  
*Slayn, ben*: mortificamur.  
*Slayn, han*: occiderunt.  
*Sle, schalt*: occides.  
*Sleen*: mortificaveritis.  
*Sleep*: somnus.  
*Slow*: occidit.  
*Slow*: piger.  
*Snake*: aspis.  
*So*: ita, sic. See *And so*.  
*So that*: ita.  
*Sobrenesse*: sobrietas.  
*Softli*. See *Stirith softli*.  
*Solace*: solatium.  
*Sone*: filius.  
*Sorewe*: contritio, dolor.  
*Sorewen*: gemimus.  
*Sorewith*: ingemiscit.  
*Sorewyng*: gemitus.  
*Sori in conscience, be maad*: contristatur.  
*Sothefast*: verax.  
*Sotheli*: vero. See *This, sothely*.  
*Souereyn, is*: præst.  
*Sougt, is*: queritur.  
*Souzte*: quærebat.  
*Soule*: anima, mens.  
*Spare*: parcat.  
*Sparide*: pepercit.  
*Spedi*: prosperus.  
*Speke*: loqui, loquor.  
*Spekith*: loquitur.  
*Spekyng*: eloquium.  
*Spirit*: spiritus.

*Spiritual*: spiritualis.  
*Spred abroad, is*: diffusa est.  
*Spurneden*: offenderunt.  
*Stable*: firmus.  
*Stablischen*: statuimus.  
*Stele, schal*: furandum.  
*Stele, schalt*: furaberis.  
*Stelist*: furaris.  
*Step*: vestigium.  
*Stidefast, make*: statuere.  
*Stie, schal*: ascendet.  
*Stire*: provocem.  
*Stirid, haue*: excitavi.  
*Stirith sofli*: exhortatur.  
*Stonde, schal*: stabit.  
*Stonde, schulen*: stabimus.  
*Stonden*: stamus.  
*Stondist*: stas.  
*Stondiith*: stat.  
*Stoon*: lapis, petra.  
*Stoppid, be*: obstruatur.  
*Streizte out*: expandi.  
*Strengthe*: fortitudo.  
*Strijf*: contentio.  
*Stylls*: tacitus.  
*Such*. See *Manere, such*.  
*Such men*: hujusce modi.  
*Sue*: æmulentur, sectemur.  
*Suaden*: sectabantur.  
*Suan*: sectantur.  
*Suffren togidere*: compatimur.  
*Suffrid, hath*: sustinuit.  
*Sugel*: subditus.  
*Sugel, be*: subdita sit, subditi estote.  
*Sugel, ben*: subjecti sunt.  
*Sugel, is*: subjecta est.  
*Sugel, made*: subjecit.  
*Sum*: aliquis, quidam.  
*Sum man*: quis, quidam.  
*Sum tyme*: aliquando.  
*Sumwhat*: aliquis.  
*Superflu*. See *Feest, superflu*.  
*Susteyne*: sustinere.  
*Suyng*: sectando.  
*Swerd*: gladius.  
*Swete*: dulcis.  
*Swift*: velocis.  
*Swiftli*: velociter.  
*Symple*: simplex.  
*Sympleness*: simplicitas.  
*Synge, schal*: cantabo.

*Synne*: delictum, mors, peccatum.  
*Synne*: peccans.  
*Synne, schulen do*: peccabimus.  
*Synned, han*: peccaverunt.  
*Synned*: peccaverunt.  
*Synner*: peccator.  
*Take*: assumite, suscipite.  
*Take, han*: accepistis.  
*Take, hath*: assumpsit.  
*Takun*: acceptus.  
*Takyng up*: assumptio.  
*Tasted, a litil part of that that is*: delibatio.  
*Techere*: eruditor.  
*Techist*: dicis, doces.  
*Techiith*: docet.  
*Techyng*: doctrina.  
*Teld, be*: annuntietur.  
*Teld, is*: annuntiatum est.  
*Teld out, that moun not be*: inenarrabilis.  
*Testament*: testamentum.  
*Than*: quam.  
*Thanke, Y*: gratias.  
*Thankyngis, didn*: gratias egerunt.  
*Thankyngis, do*: gratias ago.  
*Thankyngis, doith*: gratias agit.  
*Thanne*: ergo, igitur, itaque, tunc.  
*That*: eam, eum, hoc, id, illud; qui, quæ, quam, quod, quid; quia, quod, quoniam, ut.  
*See So-, Til-, that*.  
*That not*: ne.  
*That that*: quod.  
*That thing*: eo, illud.  
*That thing, of*: eius.  
*That, to*: ei.  
*Thee*: te, tibi.  
*Thee, to*: tibi.  
*Thei*: ii, illi, ipsi.  
*There*: ibi.  
*Therfor*: autem, ergo, ideo, igitur, propterea.  
*Therynne*: in illo.  
*These*: his, ii, isti.  
*These thin gis*: hæc.  
*Thi, thin*: tuus.  
*Thisilf*: te ipsum, temetipsum.

- Thidur*: illuc.  
*Thilke*: hoc, illud, quos.  
*Thing*. See *Comynge*, *thingis to*,  
*Good-*, *Goostli-*, *Hize-*, *Maad-*,  
*Meke-*, *No-*, *Omy-*, *Present-*,  
*Profitable-*, *Same-*, *Siche-*,  
*That-*, *These-*, *This-*, *This*  
*same-*, *Tho-*, *Vnuysible-*,  
*What-*, *Whatsuere-*, *Which-*,  
*Yuel-*, *thing*.  
*Thirstith*: sitit.  
*This*: hic, hæc, hoc, huic, hujus,  
hunc, istam. See *Dai*, *this*.  
*This same thing*: hoc ipsum.  
*This thing*: hoc, hoc ipsum.  
*Tho*: ea.  
*Tho thingis*: ea, illis.  
*Tho thingis, of*: eorum.  
*Tho thingis that*: quæ.  
*Thoronz*: per.  
*Thou*: tu.  
*Thowzt*: cogitatio.  
*Thousyndes*: millia.  
*Throle*: guttur.  
*Thus*: sic.  
*Til*: usque.  
*Til zit*: adhuc.  
*Til that*: donec.  
*To*: ad. See *Drawynge-*, *For-*,  
*Lietk-*, *to*.  
*Tofore*: ante.  
*Togidere*: invicem, simul, in in-  
vicem. See *Biried-*, *Closide-*,  
*Coumfortid-*, *Delite-*, *Eiris-*,  
*Gidere-*, *Glorified-*, *Plauntid-*,  
*Suffren-*, *Worchen-*, *togidere*.  
*Tokene*: signum.  
*Tokenyng*: signaculum.  
*Tol*: vectigal.  
*Took*: accepit, suscepit.  
*Travelen*: laborant.  
*Travelid*, *hath*: laboravit.  
*Travelith with peyne*: parturit.  
*Tre*. See *Oliue tre*, *Olyue tre*,  
*wilde*.  
*Tredde*: conterat.  
*Tresorere*: arcarius.  
*Tresorist*: thesaurizans.  
*Trespas*: prævaricatio.  
*Trespasour*: prævaricator.  
*Trespasyng*: prævaricatio.  
*Treuthe*: veritas.
- Tribulacioun*: tribulatio.  
*Tribut*: tributum.  
*Trist*: confido.  
*Tristist*: confidis.  
*Trone*: tribunal.  
*Tunge*: lingua.  
*Turne awei*: avertat.  
*Tyme*: tempus. See *Sum tyme*.  
*Tyme, astir the*: adhuc.  
*Tyme, to this*: adhuc.  
*Vanyschiden*: evanuerunt.  
*Vanyte*: vanitas.  
*Vengere*: vindex.  
*Veniaunce*: vindicta.  
*Venym*: venenum.  
*Vertu*: virtus.  
*Vessel*: vas.  
*Vnbileus*: incredulitas.  
*Vnbounden, ben*: soluti sumus.  
*Vnceli*: infelix.  
*Vnchastitee*: impudicitia.  
*Vnclene*: commune.  
*Vnclennesse*: immunditia.  
*Vncorruptioun*: incorruptio.  
*Vncorruptible*: incorruptibilis.  
*Vndirstoden*: intellexerunt.  
*Vndur*: sub.  
*Vndurdoluun, han*: suffoderunt.  
*Vndurputtiden*: supposuerunt.  
*Vndurstonde*: intelligo, sapere.  
*Vndurstonde, schulen*: intelligent.  
*Vndurstondith*: sapit.  
*Vndurstondynge*: intelligens.  
*Vnexcusable*: inexcusabilis.  
*Vnfeithful man*: infidelis.  
*Vnknowynge*: ignorans.  
*Vnmanerli*: incompositus.  
*Vnneithis*: vix.  
*Vnpite*: impietas.  
*Vnpossible*: impossibilis.  
*Vnprofitable*: inutiles.  
*Vnrepentaunt*: impoenitens.  
*Vnriztwisnes*: injustitia.  
*Vnserchable*: investigabilis.  
*Vnstidefastnesse*: infirmitas.  
*Vnstidfast, was maad*: infirmatus  
est.  
*Vntrist*: diffidentia.  
*Vnuysible thing*: invisibilis.  
*Vnwise, unwise man*: insipiens.  
*Vnworschipist*: inhonoras.

*Vp.* See *Beryng-, Rise-, Tak yng-, vp.*

*Vpon*: super.

*Vs*: nos, nobis, nostrum.

*Vs, of*: nostrum, vestrum.

*Vs, to*: nobis.

*Vse*: fruitus fuero.

*Vss*: usus.

*Vssilf*: ipsi.

*Vssilf, to*: nobis.

*Wagis*: stipendium.

*Walke*: ambulemus.

*Walkist*: ambulas.

*Wandre*: ambulemus.

*Wandren*: ambulat.

*Was*: erat, esset, fuisse, fuit.

*We*: nos.

*We vssilf*: nos ipsi.

*Weie*: iter, via.

*Weiwardnesss*: nequitia.

*Wel*: bene. See *Grote wel*.

*Wel plesynge*: beneplacens.

*Wenle bifore*: præcessit.

*Went out*: exivit.

*Wepe*: flere.

*Were*: esses.

*Weren*: esse, erant, essemus, essetis, fuerunt, fuistis.

*Werh*: opus.

*Whanne*: cum.

*What*: quæ, quam, quem, quid, quod.

*Whateuere*: quocumque.

*Whateuere thingis*: quæcumque.

*What thing*: quo.

*Where*: ubi.

*Wherfor*: propter quod.

*Whether*: an, numquid.

*Whethir* . . . not: nonne.

*Whethir* . . . or: an, sive.

*Whi*: quare. See *For whi*.

*Which*: qua, quæ, quam, quibus, quo, quod, quos.

*Whiche euere*: quicumque.

*Which man*: quo.

*Which, of*: quorum.

*Which, the*: qui, quæ.

*Which thing*: quod.

*Which, to*: cui, quibus.

*While*: cum.

*Who*: quis.

*Whoeuere*: quicumque.

*Whom*: cui, quem, quo.

*Whom, of*: cujus.

*Whom, on*: cujus.

*Whom, to*: cui, quibus.

*Whos*: cujus, quorum.

*Wickid*: iniquus.

*Wickid man*: impius.

*Wickidnesss*: impietas, iniquitas, injustitia.

*Wielde*: See *Olyue tre, wielde*.

*Wille*: velle.

*Wille*: voluntas. See *Yuel wille*.

*Wille, of o*: unanimis.

*Willynge*: volens.

*Willt*: vis.

*Wisdom*: sapientia.

*Wise*: modum.

*Wise, wise men*: sapiens.

*Wiste not*: nesciebam.

*Wit*: sensus.

*Witen*: scimus.

*Witen not*: nescimus, nescitis.

*With*: cum.

*Withouten*: absque, sine. See *Blygynnyng and endyng, withouten*.

*Withynne*: intra.

*Withholden*: detinent.

*Withstondith*: resistit.

*Witnesse*: testis.

*Witmessid, that is*: testificatus.

*Witnessyng*: testimonium.

*Witynge*: sciens.

*Wlatist*: abominaris.

*Wole*: volo, vult.

*Wombe*: venter, vulva.

*Womman*: fœmina, mulier.

*Wonder, greet*: prodigium.

*Woot*: scio, scit.

*Worche*: operor.

*Worchen togidere*: cooperantur.

*Worchith*: operatur.

*Word*: sermo, sonus, verbum.

*World*: mundus, orbis terræ, sæculum.

*Worldis of worldis*: sæculum.

*Worschipe*: honorificetis.

*Worschipen*: honor.

*Worthi*: condignus, dignus.

*Worthili*: digne.

*Wortis* : olus.*Wraithie* : ira.*Writun* : scriptus.*Writun, ben* : scripta sunt.*Writun, is* : scriptum est.*Wrong* : contumelia.*Wroot* : scripsi, scripsit.*Wrouzi, haik* : operatum est.*Wrouzle* : operatum est.*Wrouzlen* : operabantur, operans.*Wyn* : vinum.*Y* : ego. See *Thanks, Y*.*Y mysilf* : ego ipse.*Ymage* : imago.*Ynnere* : interior.*Yuel, yuel thing* : malum.*Yuel wille* : malignitas.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABBOTT, EDWIN A. *A Shakespearian Grammar*. New York, 1891.
- BERGER, SAMUEL. *La Bible Française au Moyen Âge*. Paris, 1884.
- BLUNT, JOHN HENRY. *The Annotated Book of Common Prayer*. London, 1895.
- COOK, ALBERT S. *Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers*. 2 vols. New York, 1898–1903.
- DUTRIPON, F. P. *Concordantiæ Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatæ Editionis*. Paris, 1861.
- EASTWOOD and WRIGHT (W. A.). *The Bible Word-Book: a Glossary of Old English Bible Words*. London, 1866.
- EINENKEL, EUGEN. *Streifzüge durch die Mittelhenglische Syntax, unter Besonderer Berücksichtigung der Sprache Chaucer's*. Münster, 1887.
- English Hexapla*, The. London, 1841.
- FORSHALL and MADDEN. *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments, with the Apocryphal Books, in the Earliest English Versions made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*. 4 vols. Oxford, 1850.
- KELLNER, LEON. *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*. New York, 1892.
- LEE, SAMUEL. *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*. London, no date.
- MÄTZNER, E. *Englische Grammatik*. Berlin, 1878.
- MURRAY, JAMES A. H. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford, 1888—
- NESTLE, EBERHARD. *Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine*. Stuttgart, 1907.
- PAUES, ANNA D. *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*. Cambridge, 1904.
- SANDAY and HEADLAM. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Epistle to the Romans (The International Critical Commentary)*. New York, 1895.

- SMYTH, MARY W. *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350*. New York, 1911.
- STRONG, JAMES. *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. New York, 1894.
- SWEET, H. *New English Grammar*. Oxford, 1892.
- THAYER, J. H. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*. New York, 1887.
- TOLLER, T. N. *Outlines of the History of the English Language*. New York, 1900.
- TRENCH, RICHARD C. *A Select Glossary of English Words used formerly in Senses Different from their Present*. New York, 1859.
- — — *Synonyms of the New Testament*. Parts 1 and 2. New York, 1855.
- WRIGHT, WILLIAM ALDIS. *The Hexaplar Psalter*. Cambridge, 1911.



## YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH.

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR.

- I. The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification.  
CHARLTON M. LEWIS, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- II. Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings. CAROLINE  
LOUISA WHITE, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- III. The Life of St. Cecilia, from MS. Ashmole 48 and MS.  
Cotton Tiberius E. VII, with Introduction, Variants, and  
Glossary. BERTHA ELLEN LOVEWELL, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IV. Dryden's Dramatic Theory and Practice. MARGARET SHER-  
WOOD, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- V. Studies in Jonson's Comedy. ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE,  
Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VI. A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels, Latin-West Saxon  
and West Saxon-Latin. MATTIE ANSTICE HARRIS, Ph.D.  
\$1.50.
- VII. Andreas: The Legend of St. Andrew, translated from the  
Old English, with an Introduction. ROBERT KILBURN  
ROOT, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VIII. The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems.  
CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IX. A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances dealing  
with English and Germanic Legends, and with the  
Cycles of Charlemagne and of Arthur. ANNA HUNT  
BILLINGS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- X. The Earliest Lives of Dante, translated from the Italian of  
Giovanni Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni Aretino. JAMES  
ROBINSON SMITH. \$0.75.
- XI. A Study in Epic Development. IRENE T. MYERS, Ph.D.  
\$1.00.
- XII. The Short Story. HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, Ph.D. \$0.80.
- XIII. King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's  
Soliloquies, edited with Introduction, Notes, and  
Glossary. HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$1.00.

*Tale Studies in English*

- XIV. The Phonology of the Northumbrian Gloss of St. Matthew. EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XV. Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great, translated from the Greek, with an Introduction. FREDERICK M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XVI. The Translations of Beowulf: A Critical Bibliography. CHAUNCEY B. TINKER, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XVII. The Alchemist, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. CHARLES M. HATHAWAY, JR., Ph.D. \$2.50. Cloth, \$3.00.
- XVIII. The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose. HUBERT GIBSON SHEARIN, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XIX. Classical Mythology in Shakespeare. ROBERT KILBURN ROOT, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XX. The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage. ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XXI. The Elene of Cynewulf, translated into English Prose. LUCIUS HUDSON HOLT, Ph.D. \$0.80.
- XXII. King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, turned into Modern English. HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXIII. The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons. WILLIAM O. STEVENS, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXIV. An Index to the Old English Glosses of the Durham Hymnarium. HARVEY W. CHAPMAN. \$0.75.
- XXV. Bartholomew Fair, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. CARROLL STORRS ALDEN, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XXVI. Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics. FREDERICK M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXVII. Poetaster, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HERBERT S. MALLORY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXVIII. The Staple of News, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. DE WINTER, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.

*Tale Studies in English*

- XXIX. *The Devil is an Ass*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. WILLIAM SAVAGE JOHNSON, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXX. *The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of St. Luke*. MARGARET DUTTON KELLUM, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXXI. *Epicoene*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction Notes, and Glossary. AURELIA HENRY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXII. *The Syntax of the Temporal Clause in Old English Prose*. ARTHUR ADAMS, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXIII. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HERBERT S. MURCH, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXIV. *The New Inn*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. GEORGE BREMNER TENNANT, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXV. *A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies*. LORING H. DODD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXVI. *The Complaint of Nature*, translated from the Latin of Alain de Lille. DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT. \$0.75.
- XXXVII. *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker*. FREDERICK ERASTUS PIERCE, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXVIII. *English Nativity Plays*, edited with Introduction Notes, and Glossary. SAMUEL B. HEMINGWAY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth \$2.50.
- XXXIX. *Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose*. JOSEPHINE MAY BURNHAM, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XL. *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, by John Milton, edited with Introduction and Notes. WILLIAM TALBOT ALLISON, Ph.D. \$1.25.
- XLI. *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1350*. MARY W. SMYTH, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLII. *The Dialogue in English Literature*. ELIZABETH MERRILL, Ph.D. \$1.00.

*Tale Studies in English*

- XLIII. A Study of Tindale's Genesis, compared with the Genesis of Coverdale and of the Authorized Version. ELIZABETH WHITTLESEY CLEAVELAND, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLIV. The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama. MABLE BULAND, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- XLV. Cynthia's Revels, or, The Fountain of Self-Love, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. ALEXANDER CORBIN JUDSON, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLVI. Richard Brome: A Study of his Life and Works. CLARENCE EDWARD ANDREWS, Ph.D. \$1.25.
- XLVII. The Magnetic Lady, or, Humors Reconciled, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HARVEY WHITEFIELD PECK, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLVIII. Genesis A (sometimes attributed to Cædmon). LAWRENCE MASON, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XLIX. The Later Version of the Wycliffite Epistle to the Romans, compared with the Latin Original: A Study of Wycliffite English. EMMA CURTISS TUCKER, Ph.D. \$1.50.

the  
on.  
00.  
na  
by  
nd  
0.  
s  
en  
d  
0  
e  
t:  
s





YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH  
ALBERT S. COOK, Editor

L

# SOME ACCOUNTS OF THE BEWCASTLE CROSS

BETWEEN THE YEARS 1607 AND 1861

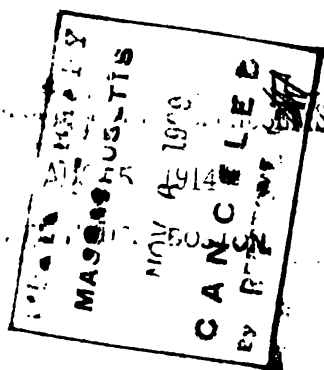
REPRINTED AND ANNOTATED

BY

ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK  
PROFESSOR OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE  
IN YALE UNIVERSITY



NEW YORK  
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY  
1914



HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
DEPOSITED BY  
MASSACHUSETTS STATE LIBRARY

~~TRANSFERRED TO~~  
~~CHILD MEMORIAL LIBRARY~~

YRABU IFA  
TO  
TIBUOAS

WEIMAR: PRINTED BY R. WAGNER SOHN.

## PREFACE

Since opinion concerning the date of the Bewcastle Cross has varied so widely, I have thought that the considerations brought forward in my monograph, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses* (1912), might fitly be supplemented by such a series of descriptions and opinions as would enable the student who might not have ready access to a large library to trace the history of antiquarian thought on this subject. The present selection will be found, I believe, to contain the most important papers and passages relating to this monument between the year 1607, when Nicholas Roscarrock, a guest of Lord William Howard's at Naworth Castle, touched upon it in a letter to Camden, and 1861, when Father Haigh resumed his earlier study in his *Conquest of Britain*.

I shall not undertake here to deduce all the conclusions which might be drawn from a comparison of these accounts. Some of them will be immediately apparent to the attentive reader; others will be pointed out in the notes. Three or four facts, however, are sufficiently curious to be remarked. One is that the first two persons that deal with the cross, Roscarrock and Camden, refer it to the twelfth century. Another is that the chequers on the north side, on which they based their opinion, serve now, though for a different reason, to suggest the same general period. A third is that the two persons who are most responsible for creating the popular impression that the cross was erected in the seventh century, Haigh and Maughan, contradict each other and themselves on the most

essential points. A fourth is that nothing appears to have been more legible upon the monument two centuries and a quarter ago than at present: *Cynnburug*, for example, is as clear in the most recent photograph as it was to Nicolson in 1685.

The engravings, if compared with the photographs in my recent book, will show how fancy rioted in the earlier delineations, and how inexactly the sculpture was rendered throughout the eighteenth century. With greater accuracy in the representation of the facts, and an exacter science in the interpretation of them, it may be hoped that the cross will soon be assigned to its proper historical place, where, instead of being a stumbling-block and cause of bewilderment, it may serve to illustrate the characteristics of the age to which it belongs.

YALE UNIVERSITY,

*July 9, 1913.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Preface . . . . .	III
Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross . . . . .	1
I. Roscarrock's Letter to Camden, 1607 . . . . .	1
II. Camden's Account, 1607 . . . . .	2
III. Nicolson's Letter to Obadiah Walker, 1685 . . . . .	8
IV. Nicolson's Episcopal Visitation of Bewcastle, 1708 . . . . .	9
V. Cox's <i>Magna Britannia</i> , 1720 . . . . .	11
VI. Smith's Letter to the <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> , 1742 . . . . .	12
VII. Armstrong's Plate, 1775 . . . . .	17
VIII. Hutchinson's <i>History of Cumberland</i> , 1794 . . . . .	20
IX. Henry Howard's Account, 1801 . . . . .	24
X. Lysons' <i>Magna Britannia</i> , 1816 . . . . .	27
XI. Maughan's First Account, 1854 . . . . .	29
XII. Haigh's First Account, 1857 . . . . .	36
XIII. Maughan's Second Account, 1857 . . . . .	51
XIV. Haigh's Second Account, 1861 . . . . .	123
XV. Notes . . . . .	125



## SOME ACCOUNTS OF THE BEWCASTLE CROSS

### I. ROSCARROCK'S LETTER TO CAMDEN, 1607.

[The first mention of the Bewcastle Cross that I have found is in the following sentence from a letter by Nicholas Roscarrock, then residing in the family of Lord William Howard ('Belted Will'), written to William Camden from 'Nawarde' (Naworth Castle) Aug. 7, 1607 (see *Camdeni Epistolæ*, pp. 90–92, and *Surtees Soc. Publ.* 68. 506–7). Roscarrock calls Camden's attention to two errors in the latter's fifth edition of the *Britannia*, and evidently hopes that Camden (addressed as Clarenceulx king-of-arms) can utilize his suggestions in the sixth edition, which bears date the same year. On September 7 Camden had a fall from his horse, and during the confinement of nine months which resulted, he put the last hand to the sixth edition (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). Accordingly, Roscarrock's letter must be earlier than Camden's edition of 1607.

For further information concerning Roscarrock, consult *Surtees Soc. Pub.* 68. 505–9, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*]

Understanding (good Mr. Clarenceulx) that your *Britayne* ys at this present in printinge, and redde to come forth, I thought fitt (in a small shewe of our ancient love) to geve you notice of twoe escapes in the last edition.

. . . Yf you have any occasion to speak of the Cross of Buechastell,<sup>1</sup> I assure myselfe the inscription of one syde ys, *Hubert de Vaux*<sup>2</sup>; the rather, for that the checky coate<sup>3</sup> ys above that on the same syde; and on the other<sup>4</sup> the name of the Ermyt that made yt, and I canne in no sorte be brought to thincke it *Eborax*,<sup>5</sup> as I perceave you have been advertised.



## II. CAMDEN'S ACCOUNT, 1607.

[William Camden's (1551-1623) *Britannia* was first published in 1586. As late as the fifth edition, 1600, there was no mention of the Bewcastle Cross, but in the edition of 1607 (p. 644) the following passage appeared. The first translation below is from Gibson's Camden, 1722 (practically identical with that of 1695), and the second from the second edition of Gough's Camden (1806).]

In cœmiterio Crux in viginti plùs minùs pedes ex vno quadrato saxo graphicè excisa surgit, & inscripta, sed literis ita fugientibus vt legi nequaquam possint. Quod autem ipsa Crux ita interstincta sit, vt clypeus gentilitius familiæ de *Vaulx*, eorum opus fuisse existimare licet.

In the Church-yard, is a Cross, of one entire square stone, about twenty foot high, and curiously wrought. There is an Inscription too, but the letters are so dim that they are not legible. But seeing the Cross is of the same kind, as that in the Arms of the *Vaulx*,<sup>1</sup> we may suppose that it has been erected by some of that Family.

In the church-yard is a cross near 20 feet high, of one stone, neatly wrought, and having an inscription, but the letters too much consumed by time to be legible. But the cross itself being chequered like the arms of the family of *Vaulx* makes it probable that it was their work.

### III. NICOLSON'S LETTER TO OBADIAH WALKER, 1685.

[William Nicolson (1655–1727) was, when he wrote the subjoined letter, Archdeacon of Carlisle and Rector of Great Salkeld, Cumberland. In 1702 he became Bishop of Carlisle, and in 1718 Bishop of Derry, in Ireland. In 1678 he had visited Leipzig, 'to learn German and the northern languages of Europe' (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He wrote various historical works and antiquarian papers, among the latter being an account of his visit to Ruthwell Cross in 1703, for which see my paper in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 17. 367–374. The appended letter is from *Philosophical Transactions* 15 (1685). 1287–91.

For Obadiah Walker (1616–1699), Master of University College from 1676 to 1689, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* He was, with others, author of a Latin version (1678) of John Spelman's life of King Alfred. Nicolson has an entry in his diary under date of Oct. 20, 1684, recording the writing of a letter to Walker about the Bridekirk font, in which he promised ere long a fuller account of that and the 'Pedestal at Bewcastle.']

*A Letter from Mr William Nicolson, to the Reverend Mr Walker, Master of University Coll: in Oxford; concerning a Runic Inscription at Beaucastle.*

'Tis now high time to make good my promise of giving you a more perfect Account of our two *Runic* Inscriptions at *Beau-Castle* and *Bridekirk*. The former is fallen into such an untoward part<sup>1</sup> of our Country, and so far out of the common Road, that I could not much sooner have either an opportunity, or the Courage to look after it. I was assur'd by the Curate<sup>2</sup> of the place, (a Person of good sence & Learning in greater matters,) that the Characters were so miserably worn out since the Lord *William Howard's* time, (by whom they were communicated<sup>3</sup> to *Sr H. Spelman*, & mentioned by *Wormius*, *Mon. Dan.* p. 161,) that they were now wholly defaced, and nothing to be met

with worth my while. The former part of this Relation I found to be true: for (tho' it appears that the forementioned Inscription has bin much larger<sup>1</sup> then *Wormius* has given it, yet) 'tis at present so far lost, that, in six or seven lines, none of the Characters are fairly discernable, save only **NTTR**; and these too are incoherent, and at great distance from each other. However, this *Epistilium*<sup>2</sup> *Crucis* (as *Sr H. Spelman*, in his Letter to *Wormius*, has called it,) is to this day a noble Monument; and highly merits the View of a Curious Antiquary. The best account, *Sr*, I am able to give you of it, be pleased to take as follows.

'Tis one entire Free-Stone of about five yards<sup>3</sup> in height, washed over (as the Font at *Bridekirk*.) with a white oyly Cement,<sup>4</sup> to preserve it the better from the injuries [1288] of time and weather. The figure of it inclines to a square Pyramid; each side whereof is near two foot<sup>5</sup> broad at the bottom, but upwards more tapering. On the West side of the Stone, we have three fair Draughts, which evidently enough manifest the Monument to be Christian. The Lowest of these represents the Pourtraicture of a Layman; with an Hawk, or Eagle, perch'd on his Arm. Over his head are the forementioned ruines of the Lord *Howard's* Inscription. Next to these, the Picture of some Apostle, Saint, or other Holy man, in a sacerdotal Habit, with a Glory round his Head. On the top stands the Effigies of the B. V. with the Babe in her Arms; and both their Heads encircled with Glories as before.

On the North we have a great deal of Checquer-work; subscribed with the following Characters,<sup>6</sup> fairly legible.

**|| TA T BDRD X ||**

Upon the first sight of these Letters, I greedily ventured to read them *Rynburu*: and was wonderfully pleased to fancy, that this word thus singly written, must necessarily betoken the final extirpation and *Burial*<sup>1</sup> of the Magical *Runæ* in these parts, reasonably hoped for, upon the Conversion of the *Danes* to the Christian Faith. For, that the *Danes* were antiently, as well as some of the *Laplanders* at present, gross Idolaters and Sorcerers, is beyond Controversy; and I could not but remember, that all our Historians tell us, that they brought their Paganism along with them into this Kingdome. And therefore 'twas not very difficult to imagine that they might for some time practise their *Hocus* tricks here in the North; where they were most numerous and least disturbed. This conceit was the more heightened, by reflecting upon the natural superstition of our Borderers at this day; who are much better acquainted with, and do [1289] more firmly believe, their old Legendary stories of *Fayries* and *Witches*, then the Articles of their Creed. And to convince me yet further that they are not utter strangers to the *Black Arts* of their forefathers, I accidentally met with a Gentleman in the neighbourhood, who shewed me a Book of Spells and Magical Receipts, taken (two or three days before) in the pocket of one of our *Moss-Troopers*: wherein, among many other conjuring Feats, was prescribed a certain Remedy for an Ague, by applying a few barbarous Characters to the Body of the party dis-tempered. These, methought, were very near akin to *Wormius's* RAMRUNER; which, he says, differed wholly in figure and shape from the common *Runæ*. For, though he tells us, that these *Ramruner* were so called, *Eo quod Molestias, dolores, morbosque hisce infligere inimicis soliti sint Magi*; yet his great friend

*Arng: Jonas*, more to our purpose, says *that—His etiam usi sunt ad benefaciendum, juvandum, Medicandum tam animi quam Corporis morbis; atque ad ipsos Caco-dæmones pellendos & fugandos*. I shall not trouble you with a draught of this Spell; because I have not yet had an opportunity of learning, whether it may not be an ordinary one, and to be met with (among others of the same nature) in *Paracelsus* or *Cornelius Agrippa*.

If this conjecture be not allowable; I have, Sr, one more which (it may be) you will think more plausible than the former. For if, instead of making the third and fourth Letters to be two **L. L. U. U.**<sup>1</sup> we should suppose them to be **†. †. E. E.** the word will then be *Ryeeburu*; which I take to signify, in the old *Danish* Language, *Cæmeterium* or *Cadaverum Sepulchrum*. For, tho the true old *Runic* word for *Cadaver* be usually written **✠RA† Hrae**; yet the *H* may, without any violence to the Orthography of that tongue, be omitted at pleasure; and then the difference of spelling the word, here at *Beaucastle*, and on some of the ragged Monuments in *Denmark*, will not [1290] be great. And for the countenancing of this latter Reading, I think the above mentioned *Checquer work* may be very available: since in that we have a notable Emblem of the *Tumuli*, or burying places of the Antients. (Not to mention the early custome of erecting Crosses and Crucifixes in Church-yards: which perhaps, being well weighed, might prove another encouragement to this second Reading.) I know the *Checquer* to be the Arms of the *Vaux's*, or *De Vallibus*, the old Proprietours of this part of the North; but that, I presume, will make nothing for our turn. Because this & the other carved work on the Cross, must of necessity be allow'd, to bear a more antient date<sup>2</sup> than any of

the Remains of that Name and Family ; which cannot be run up higher then the Conquest.

On the East we have nothing but a few Flourishes, Draughts of Birds, Grapes and other Fruits : all which I take to be no more then the Statuary's Fancy.

On the South, Flourishes and conceits, as before, and towards the bottom, the following decay'd Inscription.

||V†. NB : : †RM†: ||

The Defects in this short piece are sufficient to discourage me from attempting to expound it. But (possibly) it may be read thus.

Gag Ubbo Erlat, i. e.

*Latrones Ubbo Vicit.*

I confess this has no Affinity (at least, being thus interpreted) with the foregoing Inscription : but may well enough suit with the manners of both antient and modern Inhabitants of this Town and Country.

Upon your pardon and Correction, S<sup>r</sup>, of the Impertinencies and Mistakes in this, (which I shall humbly hope [1291] for,) I shall trouble you with my further observations on the Font at *Bridekirk* ; and to all your other Commands shall pay that ready obedience which becomes,

S<sup>r</sup>,

*Carlile,*

Nov. 2.

1685.

*Your most obliged and*

*Faithfull Servant*

WILL. NICOLSON.

#### ADDITION OF (1695) 1722.

[This letter is reprinted in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1695 and 1722, omitting the last paragraph, and substituting one

based upon Nicolson's (then and ever since) unpublished *History of Northumberland*, Part 6. This runs, in the edition of 1722 (2. 1031):]

Thus far of that ancient Monument ; besides which, there is a large Inscription on the west ; and on the south side of the Stone, these Letters<sup>1</sup> are fairly discernible,

IRYRHHMHMN.

#### IV. NICOLSON'S EPISCOPAL VISITATION OF BEWCASTLE, 1703.

[As stated above, Nicolson became Bishop of Carlisle in 1702. The next year he visited the various churches of his diocese, and noted in what condition they were. The results of the visitations in 1703 and 1704 are embodied in the *Miscellany Accounts of the Diocese of Carlisle*, published in 1877 by the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archæological Society. The subjoined account of Bewcastle is from pp. 56—7.]

BRAUCASTLE. Jul. 30. The Church<sup>1</sup> is built, Chapplewise, all of a heighth, and no Distinction betwixt the Body and the Chancel; onely there's a small Ascent towards the Communion-Table. No Rails. The Children of the parish are taught here by one *John Morley*; who was brought hither by (the present Rector) M<sup>r</sup> *Tong*,<sup>2</sup> no such Education haveing been formerly known in these parts. The man has not yet any settled Salary; nor is it probable that he will have any in hast. The pulpit and Reading-Desk are in a tolerable Condition; & so are the Seats, being all lately furnished w<sup>th</sup> backs, uniformly clumsie. Nothing else is so. There's very little plaister on the Walls; no Appearance of any such thing as y<sup>e</sup> Queen's Arms or y<sup>e</sup> Ten Commandments. No Bell, to call them in to Divine Service. The Font wants a pedestal, and looks like a Swine's Trough.

The church-yard is pretty well fenced; and a very small Charge will keep it so. M<sup>r</sup> *Benson*<sup>3</sup> and I try'd to recover the Runic Inscription on y<sup>e</sup> West Side of the cross: But, tho' it looked promising at a Distance,<sup>4</sup> we could not assuredly make out even so much as that single line<sup>5</sup> which S<sup>r</sup> *H. Spelman* long since Com-





## V. COX'S MAGNA BRITANNIA, 1720.

[In the *Magna Britannia et Hibernia, Antiqua et Nova*, published anonymously in 1720, but edited by Thomas Cox, there is a description (i. 388—9) based upon Nicolson's letter, as republished by Gibson. In the reproduction of the five runes which Nicolson found in the long inscription, the rune for S (next to the last) is here replaced by N. A novelty is the imaginary representation of the chequered (north) side of the cross, as given below. The inscription at the foot seems to be recut from that in Nicolson's letter. This figure is reproduced in *Gent. Mag.* 12 (1742). 319, opposite one of Smith's plates, and in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* i. 83.]



## VI. SMITH'S LETTER TO THE GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, 1742.

[For the author, see Manghan's *Memoir*, below, p. 57. As we learn from other letters of his (see, for instance, p. 30 of this same volume), he lived at Boothby, a couple of miles northeast of Brampton. The first plate is from p. 318; the second from p. 529; and the third (p. 15) from p. 132. The description is from pp. 368-9.]

*The Explanation of the Runic Obelisk*,<sup>1</sup> (see p. 318)  
by George Smith, Esq;

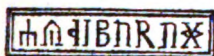
SIR,

That part of *Cumberland* which lies beyond the Banks of the River *Eden*, Northwards, having been often exposed to the Waste of War, and the People ruined by almost continual Depredations; the Barenness of it seems rather to proceed from the Neglect of Culture than the natural Poverty of the Soil. Within the Embraces of the Frontier Mountains of this Tract lies *Beu-Castle* Church, on a Rivulet called *Kirk-beck*, near an old ruined Castle of the Proprietors of that Part of the Country before the Conquest; and both Church and Castle are built on the Remains of a large *Roman* Fort. Opposite to the Church Porch, at a few Yards Distance, stands the Obelisk, of one entire Stone,<sup>2</sup> 15 Foot and a half high, springing through an Octagon Pedestal, whose Sides were alternately equal. 'Tis nearly the Frustum of a Square Pyramid, each Side being 2 Foot broad<sup>3</sup> at Bottom, and one Foot and a half at Top, wherein a [369] Cross<sup>4</sup> was fixed, which has been demolished long ago, by popular Frenzy and Enthusiasm; and probably its Situation in these unfrequented Desarts has preserved the Remainder from their Fury.

In the Bottom and Top Divisions, of the North Side, (see p. 318) are cut Vine-Trees with Clusters of

*The North and West Prospects of the famous Runic Obelisk at Bewcastle in Cumberland. Taken by G. Smith.*

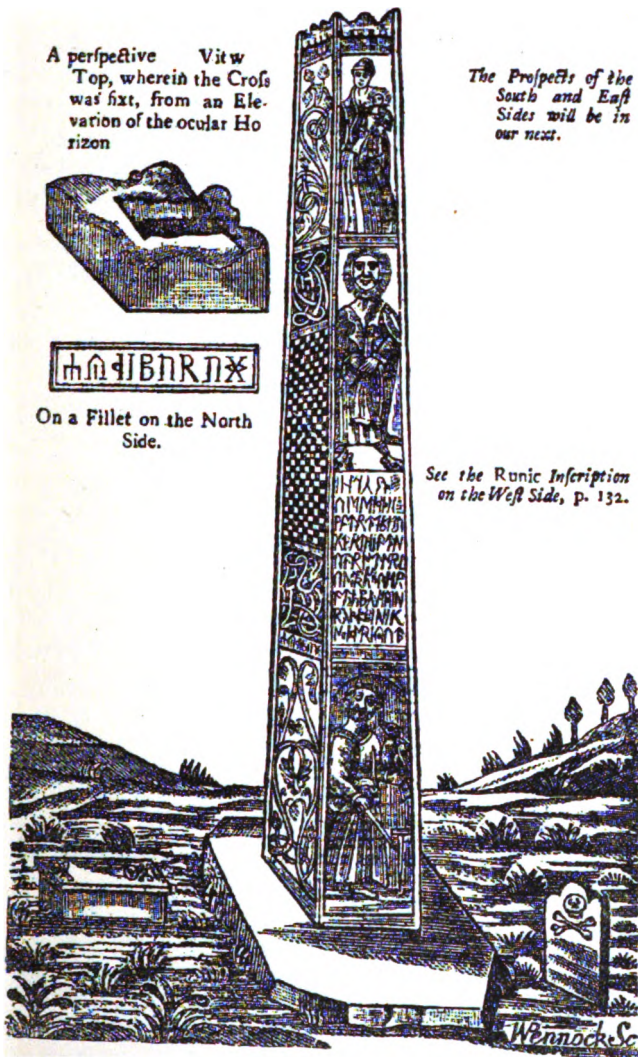
A perspective View  
Top, wherein the Cross  
was fixt, from an Ele-  
vation of the ocular Ho-  
rizon



On a Fillet on the North  
Side.

*The Prospects of the  
South and East  
Sides will be in  
our next.*

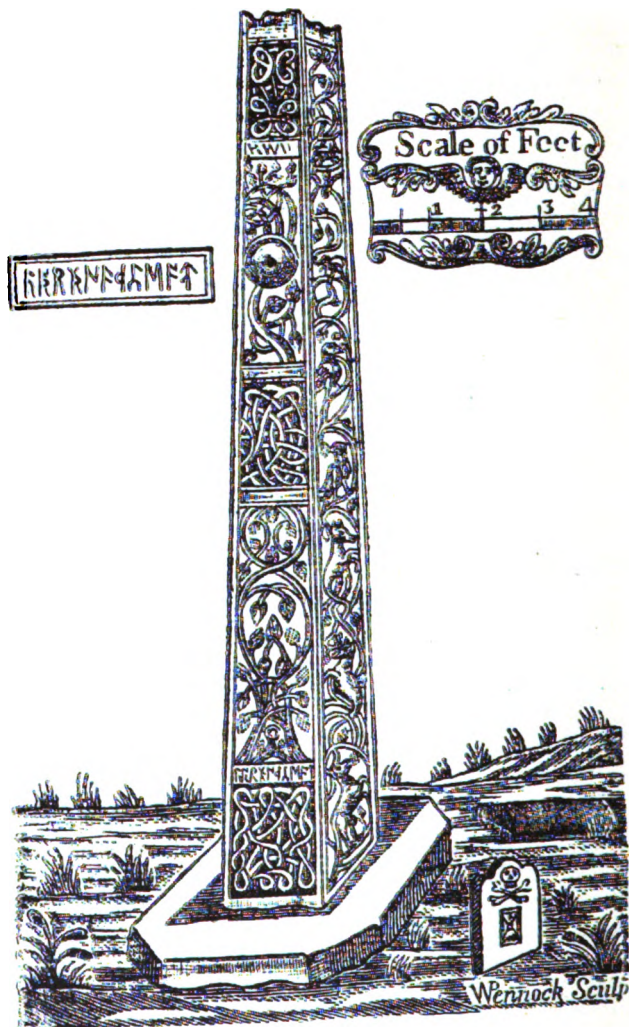
*See the Runic Inscription  
on the West Side, p. 132.*



(Text continued on p. 15.)

*Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross*

*The South and East Prospects of the famous Runic Obelisk at Bew-  
Castle in Cumberland. By C. Smith, 1741.*



Grapes in Demi-relievo, probably the *Danish* Symbol of Fertility, as *Amathea's* Horn was amongst the *Greeks*.

In a Fillet above the under Vine are these Characters fairly legible [see fillet on the north side, p. 13], which the learned Bishop *Nicolson* expounds RYNBURU, and thinks that it intimates the Expulsion of the magical *Runæ*, and their Accession to Christianity. But if I may be allowed to dissent from so great a Name, I had rather believe it to be a Sepulchral Monument of one of the *Danish* Kings slain in Battle, and the Reading I think will support my Conjecture.

For there is no Instance of any Nation using the 1st Character for an R, nor do I remember to have seen it so explained in all the numerous *Runic* Alphabets of *Olaus Wormius*, but the *Danes* about the *Sinus Codanus*,<sup>1</sup> made Use of it for K.<sup>2</sup> Besides the R is *Roman* wherever it occurs, in this and other Inscriptions on this Monument. The 2d is the *Masagetic*<sup>3</sup> U a People about the *Tanais*.<sup>4</sup> The next two Letters are wrong copy'd by the Bishop, the first is a Q, or *Scythian* N, the other an I; the 4 following are BURU plain; and the last is K Final, for the Initial and Final K differing in their Form was common in those Nations, as the Initial and Final M to the *Hebrews*. Upon the whole I read it KUNIBURUK, which in the old *Danish* Language imports *Sepulchrum Regis*. And the checquer Work included

We insert the following INSCRIPTION, not doubting that it will fall into the Hands of some Gentlemen who understands the Language, and will please to give us the Explanation. It is taken from a very curious Obelisk, erected for a Monument in a Church-yard in Cumberland.



betwixt the two magical Knots (the *Scythian* Method of embellishing Funeral Monuments) very much corroborates my Opinion.

However I so far agree with the Bp that it may also seem to have been designed for a standing Monument of Conversion to Christianity, which might have happen'd on the Loss of their King, and each mutually celebrated by it.

For *Buchanan*<sup>1</sup> tells us, that in the Reign of *Donaldus* (the Sixth<sup>2</sup> of that Name) the *Danes* having wasted *Northumberland*, were met and engag'd by the united Troops of *England* and *Scotland*, with such Uncertainty of Victory, that both Sides were equally glad of Peace, by which the *Danes* obliged themselves to embrace Christianity. This, therefore, was a very proper Monument for so great a Change, and the Figure on the West Side greatly contributes to favour this Conjecture, as I shall shew in my next Dissertation<sup>3</sup> on the three other Sides. This Transaction happened about 850 Years ago, and none believe the Obelisk to be older than 900.<sup>4</sup>

That the Monument is *Danish* appears incontestable from the Characters; *Scotish* and *Pictish* Monuments having nothing but Hieroglyphick's, and the *Danish* both; and, excepting *Bride-Kirk*<sup>5</sup> Font, it appears to be the only Monument of that Nation left in *Britain*.

SIR,

Your very humble Servant,

GEO. SMITH.

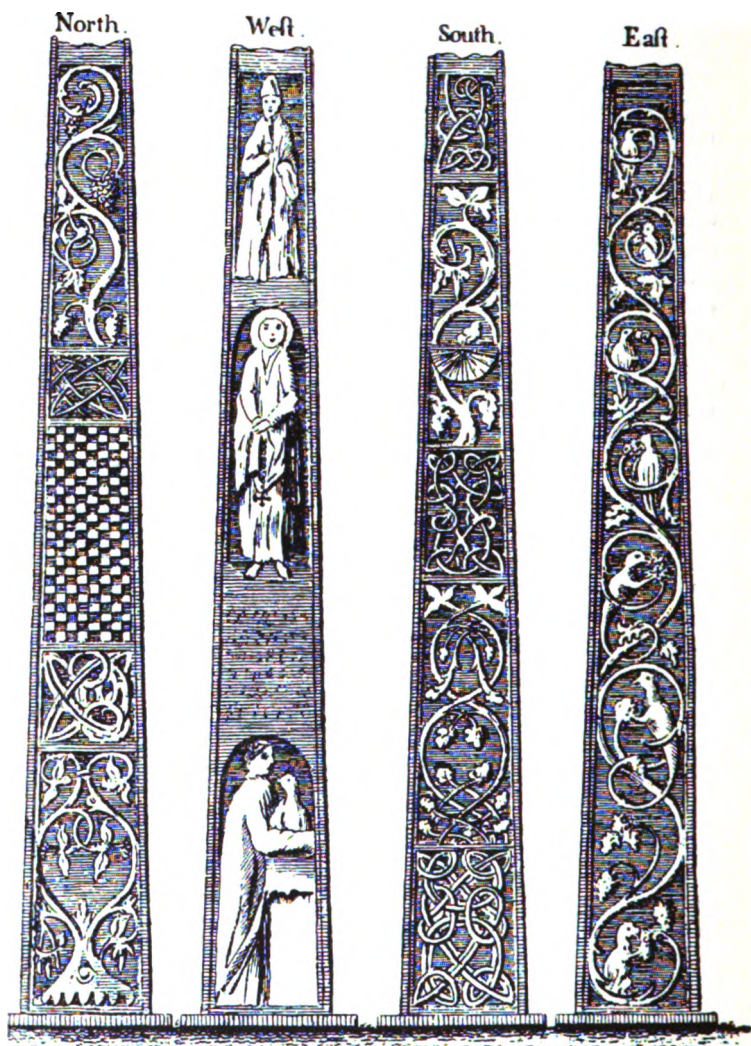
## VII. ARMSTRONG'S PLATE, 1775.

[This plate is found in the *London Magazine* for August, 1775 (44. 388). From references in other places (for example, Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1806, 3. 455, note 1), we learn that the plate was furnished by Captain Armstrong, a native of Bewcastle parish, who had served in the army as private, corporal, sergeant, and finally captain, retiring about 1764 (see Hutchinson's *Hist. County Cumberland*, 1794, 1. 80). Whether the accompanying description is by his hand I have no means of knowing. At the bottom of the plate stands: 'Publish'd by R. Baldwin Sep: 1<sup>st</sup> 1775.']  
*An Account of a curious OBELISK, of one Stone, standing in the Church Yard of Bewcastle, in the North East Part of Cumberland, about 16 Miles from Carlisle.*

(Illustrated with an elegant Engraving.)

What is here represented is 15 feet high<sup>1</sup>; besides there has been on the top a cross,<sup>2</sup> now broken off, part of which may be seen as a grave stone in the same church yard. The faces of the obelisk are not quite similar, but the 1st and 2d, and the 3d and 4th agree. The figures and carving are very fair, but the inscription which has been on the west face, is not legible. At the top of that face is a figure with a mitre; below that, another in priests habit; then was the inscription, and below that, the figure of a man with a bird, said to be St. Peter and the cock. On the 2d or south face has been a dial,<sup>3</sup> and many other ornaments. The north face has much rich carving, and the chequers seem to point out the arms of some person, and probably to the name of Graham, that being part of their arms, and the present Mr. Graham of Netherby is lord of that manor, and the lawful heir of the last Lord Viscount Preston. On the east face is a running stem of a vine, with foxes<sup>4</sup> or monkeys eating the grapes.



*A Curious ORILLISK in Bewcastle Church Yard.*

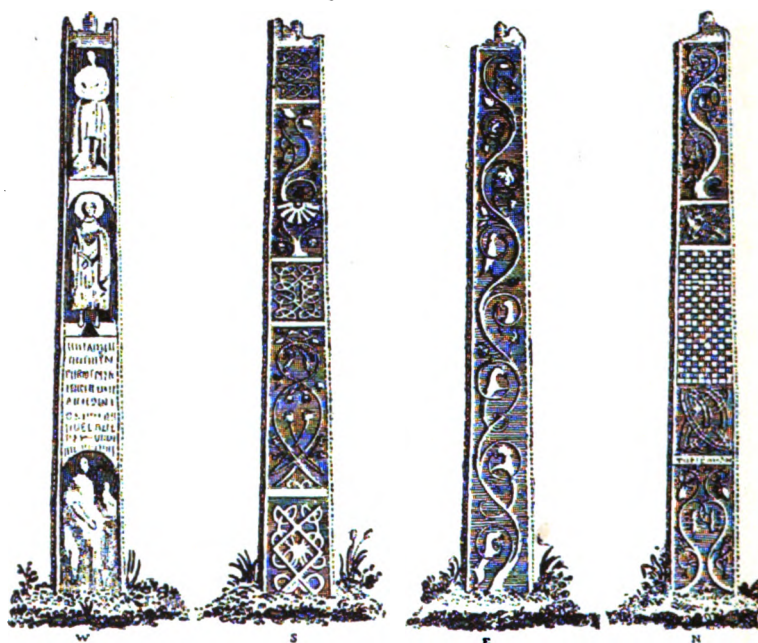
(Text continued on p. 19.)

The whole carving has been done in a masterly manner, and beyond comparison it is the richest ornamented obelisk of one stone now in Britain: but by whom or on what account it was erected, there is not the least to be learned from history.

Cambden, and other historians, mention this stone, though none of them ever saw it. They would gladly have it to be Roman, but the figures and cross plainly speak it to be Christian, and very likely it was erected as a monument near the burial place of the chief man of that place, as the remains of a very large castle are close by it.

## VIII. HUTCHINSON'S *HISTORY OF CUMBERLAND*, 1794.

[The following extract is taken from Hutchinson's *History of the County of Cumberland* i. 85–87. The plate is much reduced from the original opposite p. 80.]



A friend, at our instance, before we had seen this monument, took some pains to gain the inscription on the north side, in a manner we have often practised with success, by oiling the stone and pressing in wax, and then with printer's ink, taking upon paper the character: it was very confused and imperfect, but appeared much in this form,<sup>1</sup> **ETHWIK BHRN** of which, we confess, we are not able to give a

[20]

probable reading. The ornaments of knots, flowers, and grapes, evidently appear to be the effect of the sculptor's fancy<sup>1</sup>; and we think it would be extending a desire of giving extraordinary import to works of antiquity, to suppose they were intended to carry any emblematical meaning: they are similar to the ornaments of the capitals and fillets in Gothic structures of the eleventh century,<sup>2</sup> or near that time, and no one yet presumed to assert they were to be construed as hieroglyphics. Should we not attempt to object to the readings of the inscription on the north fillet, and admit it might imply that the ground was famous for royal sepulture; in our apprehension it doth not advance the antiquity of the monument the least. The inscription itself is uncertain; for the prelate and Mr. Smith took it variously, and the wax impression varied from both, and such, we conceive, would be most accurate; the copies taken by the eye being subject to the effects of light and shade.

Let us examine the work, and perhaps we may draw from thence a more convincing argument. The south front is decorated in the upper compartment with a [86] knot, the next division has something like the figure of a pomegranet,<sup>3</sup> from whence issue branches of fruit and foliage, the third has a knot, the fourth branches of fruit and flowers, beneath which is a fillet with an inscription, copied thus by Mr. Smith, but now appearing irrecoverable by any device: Here is reproduced, but inexactly, the inscription on the left on page 14, above. Beneath this, in the lowest compartment, is a knot. The east front is one entire running branch of foliage flowers and fruit, ornamented with birds and uncouth animals in the old Gothic stile. The crown of the pillar is mortaised to receive the foot of the cross.<sup>4</sup> The north side has, in the

upper compartment, foliage and fruit, in the next a knot, in a large space next succeeds the chequy, then a knot, beneath which, is the fillet with the inscription, treated of by the Prelate and Mr. Smith. The west front is the most ornamented, having the following sculptures: in the lowest compartment, well relieved, is the effigies<sup>1</sup> of a person of some dignity, in a long robe to the feet, but without any dress or ornament on the head: it is greatly similar to the chief figure on the north front of Bridekirk font, as to the fashion of the garment; on a pedestal, against which this figure leans, is a bird, which, we conceive, is the raffen, or raven, the ensignia of the Danish standard. This figure seems designed to represent the personage for whom the monument was erected; and though accompanied with the raffen, bears no other marks of royal dignity. Above this figure is a long inscription, which has consisted of nine lines; Mr. Smith delineates the first three letters thus; I H N. The S, in many old inscriptions, is formed like an inverted Z, and sometimes that letter, in its proper form, is substituted. Late visitors, as well as we, have great doubt whether any such characters were ever legible. Great care was taken to copy the inscription, as it now appears; which may perhaps afford a new construction. Immediately above this inscription is the figure of a religious person, the garments descending to the feet, the head encircled with a nymbus, not now appearing radiated, but merely a circular rise of the stone; the right hand is elevated in a teaching posture, and the other hand holds a roll; a fold of the garment was mistaken by Mr. Armstrong, (who drew the monument, and had it engraved, through regard to the parish where he was born,) for a string of beads. We conceive this figure

[that of Christ] to represent St. Cuthbert, to whom the church, as Nicolson and Burn set forth, is dedicated. The upper figures Mr. Armstrong represented like a mitred ecclesiastic ; but in that he was manifestly mistaken, the effigies being that of the holy virgin with the babe.<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that this was a place of sepulture, for on opening the ground on the east and west sides, above the depth of six feet, human bones were found of a large size, but much broken [87] and disturbed, together with several pieces of rusty iron. The ground had been broken up before, by persons who either searched for treasure, or, like us, laboured with curiosity.

Whether the chequers were designed or not for the arms of the family of Vaux, or de Vallibus, must be a matter of mere conjecture ; we are inclined to think that armorial bearings were not in use at the same time with the Runic characters. . . . The reason given in bishop Nicholson's letter, is applicable to our conjectures on this monument, ' That the Danes were most numerous here, and least disturbed,'<sup>2</sup> which reconciles the mixture of Runic character in an inscription of the eleventh century, as in such desert and little frequented tracks, that the character might remain familiar both to the founder and the sculptor : where the Danes continued longest and least disturbed, their importations would also continue unaffected by other modes, which were gaining acceptance and progress, in more frequented and better peopled situations.

## IX. HENRY HOWARD'S ACCOUNT, 1801.

[The volume of *Archæologia* containing this (Vol. 14) was published in 1803, but the paper, 'Observations on Bridekirk Font and on the Runic Column at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, by Henry Howard, Esq. in a Letter to George Naylor, Esq. York Herald, F. A. S.,' was read May 14, 1801. The paper itself occupies pages 113–118 (our portion pp. 117–118), and the plate (considerably reduced) follows immediately.

Henry Howard (1757–1842), of Corby Castle,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles southeast of Carlisle, spent the most of his life as a country gentleman and antiquary. The monument to the memory of his first wife (d. 1789), in Wetheral church, is the theme of two of Wordsworth's sonnets, Nos. 39 and 40 of the *Itinerary Poems* of 1833.]

*Runic Column at Bewcastle.*—Of this celebrated monument I have seen several engravings, none of them accurate; but I understand that Mr. de Cardonnel has published a faithful delineation; which, however, I have not had an opportunity of seeing. I send you the vestiges of the inscriptions, the result of two days employment on the spot.

The Runic Column, or Obelisk, stands a few feet from the church, within the precincts of an extensive Roman station, guarded by a double vallum. In one angle of this enclosure, a strong oblong building called Bueth Castle was raised at a later period, probably, from the form of the stones, out of the ruins of the Roman fort. The builder availed himself of the ancient foss for two sides of his castle, and cut off the connexion with the remainder by a new foss. There is no account of this castle, which is situated in the wildest part of the borders, having been inhabited since the reign of Henry the second. The Obelisk is from the hand of a better artist than the Font at Bridekirk. It is quadrangular, of one entire grey free stone, inserted in a larger blue stone, which serves

$$1 \cdot R + (1, 1, 1, 1)$$
[illegible]

4418710101





as its base. The greater base<sup>1</sup> is 22 inches, diminishing to 21; the lesser 16 inches, and 12 only at the top: the shaft 14 feet high. To this a cross<sup>2</sup> appears to have been added, the socket of which is observable. It is unfortunate that the side of the Column containing two figures and the principal inscription, faces to the west, from which quarter the wind and rain are most frequent. The lower figure seems to have been mutilated by accident or intent; but the remainder seems to have suffered only by exposure to the weather. Some parts of [118] the inscription [d], probably owing to the stone being there softer, have been more affected than the rest. The third, fourth, and fifth lines, are the most perfect. Towards the lower part scarce anything is to be made out. On the whole, indeed, little more than the vestiges of this inscription remain; the perpendicular parts of the letters are discernible, and have probably been deepened by the rain, but the horizontal and other parts, are nearly obliterated. In taking the inscription I followed the same plan as at Bridekirk, working<sup>3</sup> the paper in with the finger, and afterwards following the finger at the edges of every part of the letters with the pencil, so that, in the paper I send, you have all that can be either seen or felt of this inscription.

The north inscription of one line only [e], being completely sheltered by the church, has suffered very little injury from time; and, I must say, that the difference observable in the engravings given to the public, must have arisen from want of attention and exactness.

On the south side there is a fillet<sup>4</sup> like that to the north [f], but a few letters only can be made out, the rest are chipped off or worn away.

I request you, my dear Sir, to present to the Society the original tracery of these inscriptions taken by me on the spot.

I have the honour to remain,

Your faithful humble servant,

HENRY HOWARD.

*Corby Castle, Carlisle,*

*April 16, 1801.*

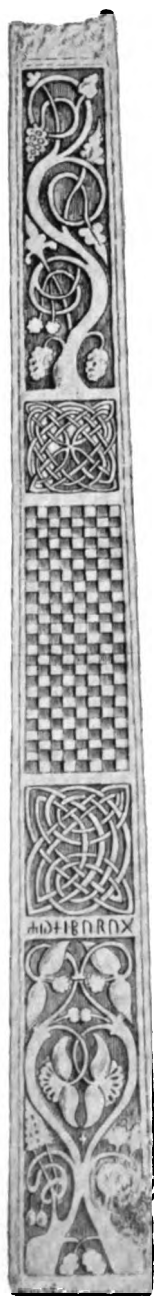
[d] See Pl. XXXIV. fig. 2.    [e] Ibid. fig. 3.    [f] Ibid. fig. 1

## X. LYSONS' MAGNA BRITANNIA, 1816.

[The account of the Lysons (4. cxcix–cc1) reposes largely upon Nicolson. Only a few sentences are here reproduced. The plate occupies two quarto pages, and is accordingly much reduced in our facsimile. The second *N* of the runic CYNNEBURG, on the north side, is imperfect, and resembles a vertical stroke, with a dot at the right.]

Several very inaccurate figures of it have been published. It is of one stone, 14 feet 6 inches high, 20½ inches in width at the bottom, and 14½ inches at the top on the north and south sides; and 22 inches at the bottom, and 16 at the top, on the east and west sides. At the top is a socket 8½ by 7½ inches, in which no doubt a cross has formerly been fixed. . . . [cc] Over this is another figure sculptured in bas-relief, which, from the *nimbus* round the head, has been supposed to represent some saint; but as he holds a roll (the sacred *volumen*) in his left hand, and the right hand is elevated in the act of benediction, we should rather suppose it was intended for our Saviour, who is frequently so represented in ancient works of art. Immediately above this figure are some faint traces of another inscription of two lines; and over this, a third sculpture in bas-relief, which is described by Bishop Nicolson as 'the effigies of the B. V. with the Babe in her arms, and both their heads encircled with glories.' This description, which several succeeding writers appear to have copied, without inspecting the original, is very erroneous. The female figure is so defaced that nothing more than the general outline can be distinguished; what she holds in her left arm is much better preserved,

and is evidently the holy lamb.<sup>1</sup> . . . Imme[cci]diately above the lowest knot on the south side was a Runic inscription<sup>2</sup> of one line, now so nearly obliterated, that except in a very favourable light, hardly a stroke can be distinctly made out.



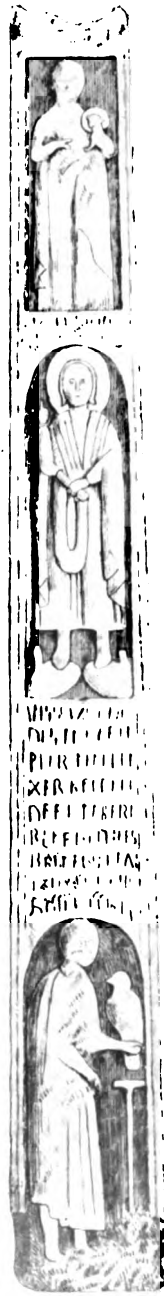
*North Side*



*South Side*



*East Side*



*West Side*



## XI. MAUGHAN'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1854.

[According to my best information (for which I am indebted to Professor W. G. Collingwood ; Chancellor J. E. Prescott, Canon of Carlisle ; Rev. George Yorke, Rector of Bewcastle ; Rev. T. W. Willis, Vicar of Lanercost ; and Mr. John Maughan, of Maryport, Cumberland, nephew of the antiquary), Rev. John Maughan (pronounced *Mawn*, but locally now and then *Maffan*) was born at Lanercost Abbey Farm, April 18, 1806, and baptized at Lanercost Abbey, January 6, 1807. His grandfather, Nicholas Maughan, born in 1733, came to Lanercost from the County of Durham, and became the tenant of the Abbey Farm. He was married to Elizabeth Bowman, of Nether Denton, was churchwarden in 1789, and died May 14, 1798. He had a son John, the father of the antiquary, who was born at Lanercost in 1770, succeeded to the Abbey Farm, married Mary Moses, and died at Lanercost, April 28, 1830. The Rev. John Maughan, one of a family of thirteen children, was born as stated above, took his degree of B. A. at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1830, was ordained by the Bishop of Chester in 1833, and became Curate of Melling, Liverpool, in the same year. He was Rector of Bewcastle from 1836 to 1873, built the present rectory in 1837, and married Mary Twentyman at Carlisle, July 21, 1840. He died without issue November 13, 1873, and was buried in the graveyard at Lanercost Abbey, next to his wife, who had died at Bewcastle Rectory, January 10, 1872, aged sixty-eight years. Besides his papers on the Maiden Way, from the second of which the following paragraphs are extracted, and the *Memoir* given below, he wrote many papers, chiefly on supposed Roman camps in North Cumberland, for the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, between its foundation in 1866 and his death in 1873. Considerable excerpts and adaptations from his *Memoir* were embodied in *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland*, edited by William Whellan, 1860. According to Collingwood, he was 'a qualified medical man, a schoolmaster, magistrate, and farmer.'

Elsewhere Collingwood says, apropos of certain supposed runes near Bewcastle (*Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines, and Monuments in the Present Diocese of Carlisle*, Kendal, 1899, pp. 52-3) : 'Mr. Maughan had been for years the enthusiastic Runologist



of the countryside, eagerly expounding the Bewcastle Cross, circulating among his parishioners the story here retold, talking to all and sundry about his theories on Petriana and place-names. In some other antiquarian matters he is known to have been deceived. It was on his authority that the Maiden Way north of Bewcastle was laid down in the Ordnance-map, with many forts, etc., which recent investigation has shown to be imaginary. (Compare his paper on "the Maiden Way," *Archæological Journal*, no. 41, with *Transactions*, C. & W. A. & A. Soc., vol. XV., part II., p. 344, etc.) There is reason to think that he was the victim, especially in his later years, of a series of practical jokes. Old roads, pavements, ruined forts (cottages) were found for him, by the zeal or roguery of his neighbors; and these runes are their creation. They are not the work of a Runic scholar; they were concocted by a clever Cumbrian who had read the Rector's papers, heard his talk, perhaps used his books, and, like his countrymen, laughed at enthusiasm and loved a joke.'

The following paragraphs are from *Archæological Journal* 11 (1854). 130-4. It is clear that Maughan was at this time inclined to date the cross after the death of Sweyn in 1014.]

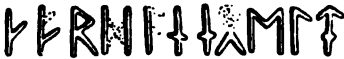
In the churchyard the Monolithic Obelisk, or shaft of an ancient cross, is still standing, but remains unexplained. I have recently cleared the inscribed parts from the moss with which they were thickly coated, but have not been able to decypher the characters in a satisfactory manner. The letters appear to be Anglo-Saxon Runes, and much the same as those on the Ruthwell monument in Dumfriesshire. On a fillet



on the north side the following letters<sup>1</sup> are very legible.

In the year 1685 these characters were somewhat differently read by Bishop Nicholson, and expounded by him to mean, 'Rynburn, the burial of the Runæ,' or 'Ryeburn, Cemeterium, or Cadaverum Sepulchrum.' In the year 1742, an article appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine communicated by Mr. Smith, who read it 'Kuniburuk, Sepulchrum Regis.' As however these interpretations appear to be based on an in-

correct copying of the letters, I would suggest another reading. I suppose the second letter to be a Runic Y; and the penultimate letter to be a compound of OU; and I would propose to read Kyneburoug. The word Cyne or Kin of the Saxons was synonymous with nation or people; and the Anglo-Saxon byrig, byrg, burh, burg, buroug, &c., was the generic term for any place, large or small, which was fortified by walls or mounds. The fortifications of the continental Saxons, before their inroads on the Roman Empire, were mere earthworks, for in their half-nomadic state they had neither means nor motive for constructing any other. But their conquest and colonisation of the greater part of Roman Britain put them in possession of a more solid class of fortifications, such as this at Bewcastle. I would suggest, therefore, that these Runes may signify the burgh or fortified town of the nation or people who occupied this district. It is probable that this was in early times a place of some importance. In the reign [131] of Edward I., 1279, John Swinburne obtained a fair and market to be held here.

On a fillet on the south side appear to be the following characters.<sup>1</sup> What the first three may mean is doubtful, but the subsequent letters appear to  be the word DANEGELT. This term was first applied to a tribute of 30,000, or according to some writers, 36,000 pounds (A. Sax.), raised in the year 1007 during the reign of Ethelred the Unready, to purchase a precarious peace from the Danes. It was also sometimes used to designate taxes imposed on other extraordinary occasions.

On the western side are three figures, which, as Bishop Nicholson says, 'evidently enough manifest the

monument to be Christian.' (3) The highest may be, as the learned prelate suggested, the Blessed Virgin with the Babe in her arms. (4) The next is that of our Saviour with the glory round his head. In a compartment underneath this is the principal inscription, consisting of nine lines; and underneath this is the figure of a man with a bird upon his hand, and in front of him a perch, which, in the absence of a better explanation, may possibly have been intended to represent Odin, or some Danish chieftain, and his dreaded raven: and we may suppose that he was placed at the bottom of the group to typify his conversion and subjection to the Redeemer, who was descended from the Blessed Virgin. The inscription appears to be as follows, so far as I have been able to trace the letters (see woodcut, p. 132). The eighth and ninth lines are quite illegible.

In the first line the three characters at the commencement probably form the monogram I H S, and

(3) 'Camden's Britannia,' ed. by Gibson, vol. ii., p. 1028.

(4) It must be admitted that this supposition is somewhat countenanced by the fact that the Church of Bewcastle is dedicated to the Virgin. The representation, however, of these weather-worn sculptures, given by Lysons in his 'History of Cumberland,' p. cxcix, suggests the notion, that what has been supposed to be the Infant Saviour, may be the Agnus Dei, and it is so described by him. If this be correct, the figure must represent the Baptist,<sup>1</sup> and the two lines of characters, now defaced, under its feet, as shown in Lysons' plate, possibly comprised some mention of St. John. The figure at the base, as some have thought, most probably portrayed some person of note by whom this remarkable Christian monument was erected. The bird which he has taken off its perch, appears to be a hawk,<sup>2</sup> introduced, possibly, to mark his noble rank. In examining Lysons' plate, the best representation of the sculptures, hitherto published, attention is arrested by the introduction of a vertical dial<sup>3</sup> on the south side, resembling those at Kirkdale and Bishopstone, described in this volume of the Journal, p. 60, the only examples of so early a date hitherto noticed.—ED.<sup>4</sup>

being placed [132] immediately under the figure of our Saviour, show that the monument is of a Christian character; the last letter being evidently the Runic S, and not an inverted Z, as supposed by Mr. Smith.<sup>1</sup> The third line begins with the letters PATR: but it appears uncertain whether they are intended for *pater*,



or part of some such word as *patria*, Patrick, &c.; or whether the first letter is not W, in which case the word will probably be WAETRO, the plural of waeter. In the sixth line we find the word SUENO, which, taken in connection with the word Danegelt, on the south side, may indicate the period, as well as the object, of the erection of the monument. In the reign of Ethelred the Unready, a terrible deed was done in England. With a view of providing against the treachery of those numerous Danish families (especially such as had been permitted by Alfred the Great to settle in Northumberland and East Anglia), who upon any threatened invasion, were ready to

join their countrymen against those among whom they were allowed to reside, Ethelred, with a policy incident to weak princes, adopted the resolution of putting them to the sword throughout his dominions. On the 13th of Nov. 1002, in pursuance of secret instructions sent by the king over the country, the inhabitants of every town and city rose, and murdered all the Danes, who were their neighbours, young and old, men, women, and children. Every Dane was killed, even to [133] Gunilda, the sister of the King of Denmark, who had been married to Earl Paling, a nobleman, and had embraced Christianity: she was first obliged to witness the murder of her husband and child, and then was killed herself. When Sueno, or Sweyn, the King of Denmark, sometimes styled the King of the Sea Kings, heard of this deed of blood, he swore he would have a great revenge. He raised an army and a mightier fleet of ships than ever yet sailed to England, and landing on the western coasts, near Exeter, went forward, laying England waste. Whereso[e]ver the invaders came, they made the Saxons prepare for them great feasts; and when they had satisfied their appetite, and had drunk a curse to England, with wild rejoicings, they drew their swords, killed their Saxon entertainers, and continued their march. For several years they carried on this war; burning the crops, farm-houses, barns, mills, granaries, killing the labourers, causing famine and starvation, and leaving heaps of ruin and smoking ashes, where they had found thriving towns, hunting out every corner which had not been previously ransacked. Ethelred overwhelmed with such calamities, at length in the year 1007, agreed to pay the Danegelt to which I have before alluded. In the absence of accurate information, we may not unreasonably suppose

this obelisk to have been raised in commemoration of some of the important events of this period. Sweyn was afterwards welcomed by the English people as their Sovereign, but died suddenly in little more than a month after he was proclaimed King of England. Can this have been his burial-place? (5)

The first letter in the second line is distinctly legible, and undoubtedly U. I sometimes fancy, that by taking the last imperfect letter of the preceding line, we may possibly obtain the word DUNSTANO.<sup>1</sup> Dunstan, however, was dead before the time already mentioned, and though he lived to place the crown upon the head of Ethelred, and may without impropriety be classed among the contemporaries of that period, yet as he died in 988, he cannot have taken any part in the events above mentioned.

[A paragraph here is of the same purport as the second in Note 14, below, p. 52.]

[134] Uncertainty as to the forms of the other letters, prevents me from attempting further explanation of the inscription at present, but I am not without hope that in time I may become better satisfied as to the proper reading.

(5) I may mention that a friend to whom I gave a copy of my reading of the inscription, suggests that in the second line is 'the word *kisls*, one of the cases of *kisil*, gravel.' It is difficult to conceive however, why such an immense stone should be brought from so great a distance and covered with the most elaborate sculpture, for the purpose of making any record about gravel.

## XII. HAIGH'S FIRST ACCOUNT, 1857.

[The first part of Haigh's paper was read to the Newcastle Society March 2, 1856, and the second (concluding), April 2; it is clear that his main conclusions lay before Maughan when the latter composed his *Memoir*. Hence, though Haigh's paper was published in the same year as Maughan's, the former is here given precedence.

Daniel Henry Haigh (pronounced *Haig*) was born August 7, 1819. He inherited a considerable fortune, and eventually became a Roman Catholic priest (April 8, 1848). He lived at Erdington, near Birmingham, from 1848 to 1876, and died at Oscott, May 10, 1879. 'Haigh's varied learning embraced Assyrian and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, numismatics, and Biblical archæology. He was the chief authority in England on runic literature, and was of much assistance to Professor G. Stephens, who dedicated the English section of his work on "Runic Monuments" to him. The bulk of his literary work is preserved in the transactions of societies' (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

The following paragraphs are taken from 'The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle,' in *Archæologia Æliana*, New Series, 1. 149-195. Much of the article is concerned with such subjects as the Ruthwell and other crosses, other dials than that on the Bewcastle Cross, runic inscriptions on other monuments, Old English proper names, etc. The plate of runes is opposite page 192.

In this same volume (p. vii) is the entry, under January, 1856: 'Dr. CHALTON.<sup>1</sup>—On the Bewcastle Cross.'

[151] The monument now stands alone, but once, in all probability, there were two, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave, as in the example which still remains at Penrith.<sup>2</sup> If so, the other has disappeared, yet it may be still in existence, if the conjecture which will be hazarded in the sequel be considered under all the circumstances probable.

The cross, as we have already observed, is gone, but all record of it has not perished. It appears from a note in the handwriting of Mr. Camden<sup>3</sup> in his own copy of his *Britannia* (now in the Bodleian Library), that Lord William Howard sent it to Lord Arundel,

Bowcastle.

2. *Cambric Copy of Inscriptions on the Cross.*

WILFHYRANCTF

4. West Side.

THLHXBMTX  
 NTHMTTFN  
 PFTRMWJN  
 XFRKPFETH  
 NRTTFRBFRF  
 AMBXATIX  
 FTXPRIMFX  
 IXXMXHNMM  
 FLNMLFPNNA

Bowcastle.

North S.  
 THLHXBMTX  
 West S.  
 THLHXBMTX  
 XRIHTTTH  
 South S.  
 XRIHTTTH

North Side.

• FLI FFXWNTIX  
 • MIERIWERHTI &  
 • HNTTBNRNX

*End of p. 36.*

South Side.

• THTHXX  
 • MXXRNHDX  
 • HNTTBNRNX  
 • FLNMLFPNNA

(Text continued on p. 38.)



and he to Mr. Camden. It had an inscription on the transverse limb, which Mr. Camden gives from an impression he had taken (*Fig. 2*), and the reading is clearly *RICES DRIHTNÆ*. Another copy supplies an 's' at the end of the second word. Lord William Howard had previously sent to Olaus Wormius a copy of an inscription on this monument, which the latter published in his *Monumenta Danica*.<sup>1</sup> In this copy the word *RICES* is plain, *DRIHTNÆS* very much blundered, and after these, quite plain, the word *STICÆTH*,<sup>2</sup> of which traces still remain on the top of the western face of the monument.<sup>3</sup> These, taken in connection with the former, give us a meaning which undoubtedly alludes to the cross, *RICES DRIHTNÆS STICÆTH*. 'The Staff of the Mighty Lord.' Beneath, in an oblong compartment, is the effigy of St. John the Baptist, pointing with his right hand to the Holy Lamb, which rests on his left arm. This figure had been supposed to be the Blessed Virgin with the Infant Jesus. Mr. Lysons, however, corrected this error in part, representing as a lamb what had been supposed to be the Holy Child, but the figure [152] which holds it, has in his engraving the appearance of a female. It is, though in flowing robes, decidedly a male figure, and the face is bearded. Below it is an inscription in two lines of Runes (*Fig. 3*)

✠ GESSUS  
CRISTTVS

written above an arched recess in which is a majestic figure of our Blessed Lord, who holds in His left hand a scroll, and gives His blessing with His right, and stands upon the heads of swine. Then follows the long inscription of nine lines of Runes, commemorating the personage to whom this monument was erected. (*Fig. 4*)

✠ THISSIGBEC  
UNSETTÆH  
WÆTREDEOM  
GÆRFLWOLD  
UÆFTÆRBARÆ  
YMBCYNING  
ALCFRIDÆG  
ICEGÆDHE  
OSVMSAWLVM<sup>1</sup>

Lastly, in another arched recess is a fine figure in profile, holding a hawk in his left hand, above a perch. This doubtless represents the king whose name is mentioned in the inscription above it.

The eastern side of this monument presents a continuous scroll with foliage and fruit, amidst which are a lion, two monsters, two birds and two squirrels feeding on the fruit. Above these doubtless there was an inscription, but the stone is too much broken on this side to show the trace of even a single letter.

On the northern side we read distinctly, in Runic letters nearly six inches long (*Fig. 5*), the Holy Name ✠ GESSU. Below this we have a scroll, then an inscription (*Fig. 6*), OSLAAC CYNING; then a knot, another inscription (*Fig. 7*), WILFRID<sup>2</sup> PREASTER; an oblong space filled with chequers, a third inscription, read by the Rev. J. Maughan CYNIWISI or CYNISWID; a second knot, a fourth inscription (*Fig. 8*), CYNIBURUG<sup>3</sup>; and lastly, a double scroll.

On the southern side, at the top, are the remains of the name CRISTUS (*Fig. 9*), corresponding to GESSU on the north. Below this is a knot, an inscription (*Fig. 10*), EANFLÆD CYNGN; a scroll, in the midst of which a dial is introduced, a second inscription (*Fig. 11*), ECGFRID CYNING; another knot, a third inscription (*Fig. 12*), CYNIBURUG CYNGN; another scroll, a fourth

inscription (*Fig. 13*), OSWU CYNINGELT, and a third knot.

Such is the Bewcastle monument; a monument interesting in many [153] respects; as one to which we can assign a certain date, and which, therefore, is a material help to us in ascertaining the age of others of the same class, that at Ruthwell in particular; as an evidence of the state of the art of sculpture in the seventh century, the three figures on the west side being equal to any thing we have until the thirteenth<sup>1</sup>; as a monument of our language almost the earliest we have; as belonging to a class of monuments, the memorials of the kings of England before the Conquest, which have almost entirely disappeared; and as such, especially interesting, because the king to whose memory it was raised, played a most important part in the history of his times.

The inscriptions claim our first attention. They are written in the early Saxon dialect of Northumbria, except the names of our Blessed Lord, which have a Latin form, since it was only from missionaries to whom the Latin language was as their mother tongue that our forefathers learned His name; and down to the latest period of their history they followed the same rule, as the Germans do still of adopting, without alteration, into their language, Latin proper names. The spelling of the name GÆSSUS is particularly interesting, for I believe this is the only monument on which it occurs. Throughout the Durham Ritual and the Northumbrian Gospels, we find instead of it, the word *Hælend* 'Saviour.' The initial *g* has the power of *x*, and the double *s* is probably not a false spelling since it occurs twice.

The long inscription resolves itself into three couplets of alliterative verse; thus,

This sigbecun	This beacon of honour (4)
Settæ Hwætræd	set Hwætræd
Eom gær f[e]lwoldu	in the year of the great pestilence

Æftær baræ	after the ruler
Ymb cyning Alcfridæ	after King Alcfrid
Gicegæd heosum sawlum	pray for their souls

I have supposed the omission of a letter, *e*, between *f* and *l*. *Fel*, as a prefix, has the sense of 'much' or 'many.' *Woldu* I take to be an adjective, derived, as well as *wól*, a pestilence, from the same root as *weallan* 'to burn or boil,' and *wyllan* 'to make to burn or boil,' (just as *fold*, a flat surface, is derived from *feallan* 'to fall,' and *fyllan* to make to fall), and therefore to have the sense of 'pestilential.' It does not, however, occur in the glossaries, having probably fallen into disuse. The termination in *u* would not have occurred at a later period, but the Durham Ritual shows us that the declension of nouns and adjectives, and the conjugation of verbs, in the early Northumbrian dialect, differed in many respects from the later forms of the language on which our modern grammars are founded. This Ritual supplies us with many instances of adjectives ending in *o* (which, as will be seen later, is the equivalent of *u* on these monuments) in the oblique cases; as, for instance, *in ceastre giþalgado*,<sup>1</sup> 'in civitate sanctificatâ,' *in eco wuldur* 'in æternâ gloriâ.' That there may, however, have been a noun *woldu*,<sup>(5)</sup> and that this may have been the ancient form of *wól* is not impossible, since from the verb *swelan* 'to burn' we have not

<sup>4</sup> *Sig* implies triumph. In composition it seems to imply special honour. *Beg* is a bracelet, which any one might bear, but *Sigbeg* is a crown.

<sup>5</sup> Still I feel inclined to regard it as originally a participle, even if it did become a noun, just as *fold* and *bold* and other similar words, now nouns, seem to have been past participles.

only *swol* but also *swoluth* and *swoleth*, heat, fever, or pestilence, and from *stælan*, to place, we have *steald* as well as *steal*, a station, place or abode. If it were so, I should read, without any alteration of the sense, 'in the year of the great pestilence.' I have read the letters L and W as they are in the rubbing with which I was furnished by the Rev. J. Maughan. If I could suppose that marks had been obliterated which would change these letters into æ(6) and ʁ, I should propose another reading, *com gærƿæ boldu* 'also carved this building,' supposing *gærƿæ* the ancient form of *cearƿ*, from *ceorƿan* to carve, and *boldu*, a building, the ancient form of *bold*. Verbs of the strong or complex order, to which *ceorƿan* belongs, did not in later times add a syllable in the third person singular of the past tense, but the Durham Ritual gives us an example in the word *ahofe*<sup>1</sup> 'erexit' which shows that in early times they did; and we have other examples of nouns ending in *u*, which dropped this syllable in later times. The rules of alliteration rendered necessary the use of *gicegæd* (a word which under a slightly different form, *gicegath*,<sup>2</sup> occurs in the Durham Ritual) instead of the more usual *gibiddæd*. *Heosum* is another obsolete word,<sup>3</sup> the dative plural regularly formed from the possessive pronoun 'heora,' their. I can find no trace of this word elsewhere, the indeclinable *hiora*<sup>4</sup> invariably occurring in the Durham Ritual; but as in modern German the possessive pronouns of the third person are declinable, equally with those of the first and second, I think it not improbable that the same might be the case with the early Saxon language, and that the disuse of the oblique cases might be the effect of Latin influence. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Howard's representation of this letter in the *Archæologia* (Vol. XIV) seems to give this letter æ.

[162] It is most probable that he [Alcfrid] died in the [163] year 664 ; and in the pestilence of that year, to which so many persons of historical celebrity fell victims, we have the possible cause of his death. This monument marks the place of his burial, and its epitaph confirms the conclusion I had arrived at before I had an opportunity of reading it, and tells us the year of his death. Whilst yet this inscription remained a mystery, the tradition of the country declared that a king was buried at Bewcastle, and the confirmation of this tradition by the inscription (now, it is hoped, correctly read), is a proof, in addition to the many we have from other sources, that the traditions of the people, in remote districts where, without thought of change, the same families continue to occupy the homesteads their fathers did before them, are founded in truth. Alcfrid is the king of whose burial this tradition has preserved the recollection, and he died in the year of the great pestilence, A. D. 664. . . .

CYNIBURUG.—This name occurs upon the north and south sides ; and in the latter instance with the addition of some letters which we have read CYNON ; but, as the character which stands for *no* is very like that for *oe*, it is possible that these letters may express CUOEN or CWOEN 'queen.' If, however, they be really as we have read them, we must suppose them an abbreviation of CYNINGIN,<sup>1</sup> i. e. *cyning* with the usual female termination *in*, equivalent to the modern German word *Königin*. The signification is the same. This illustrious lady, the wife of Alcfrid, has been already mentioned. She was one of the daughters of King Penda, and was united to Alcfrid before the year 653, yet soon after her marriage persuaded him to live in continence with her, as a brother with a sister, being filled with the desire of devoting herself

exclusively to a religious life. Whilst her husband lived, her court more resembled a monastery than a palace, for she had collected around her many young females of noble as well as of plebeian rank, who regarded her as their spiritual mother. In the year 664 she and her younger sister Cyniswid appear as witnesses to the foundation charter of Peterborough Minster, along with St. Wilfrid, then on his journey to France for consecration: so that it is probable her husband was already dead. Soon after this she obtained from her brother Wulfhere a grant of land at the place which is now called Caistor, and there she founded a monastery of which she was the first abbess, and her sisters Cyniswid and Cynithryth her successors. The year of her death is not recorded, but the youngest of her sisters, Cynithryth, was abbess in the year of St. Wilfrid's death, A. D. 709. Her character is thus briefly summed up by her biographer: 'She was compassionate to the poor, a tender mother to the afflicted, [164] and was constantly exciting to works of mercy the Kings her brothers,' (*i. e.* Peada, Wulfhere, and Ethelred). I am informed that the Rev. J. Maughan has traced letters on the third slip of the north side, which he thinks may express the name of *Cyniwisi* or *Cyniswid*.<sup>1</sup> I certainly did not observe any letters myself in the place, though I examined it carefully; but if there be really any traces of such an inscription there, I should think the latter name the more probable reading. . . .

[166] The long inscription, that of two lines above it. the single line on the south side, and another on the north, were all that had hitherto been noticed. A suspicion crossed my mind, whilst engaged in deciphering these, that there must be some letters in the space above the head of St. John the Baptist,

and further, that the reason why the northern and southern sides are broken up into compartments, instead of being filled with a continuous ornament as the eastern side is, must be, that spaces might be left for inscriptions. On this account, and because I felt the great need of scrupulous accuracy in publishing a reading of so important a monument of our language as the long inscription is, I took advantage of an opportunity which a journey into the north afforded me, and extended it to Bewcastle, and the discovery of these inscriptions was the result—a result far exceeding anything I had anticipated.

Thus, as in a Saxon charter after the act of donation we have the names of the witnesses thereto in the order of their rank, so here in the funeral monument of king Alcfrid, after his epitaph, we have the names of those who we may believe assisted at his obsequies, his father Oswiu, his mother-in-law Eanflød, his widow Cyniburug, and her sister Cyniswid, his uncle Oslaac, his brother Ecgfrid, and his chaplain Wilfrid, bishop elect of York<sup>1</sup>; and above them all the holy name of Jesus. . . .

[173] Fortunately, the history of the period enables us, almost with certainty, to determine the author of this poem [*The Dream of the Rood*], for there was but one person then living to whom it can be ascribed. For reasons which will appear in the sequel, I believe this monument, and that at Bewcastle, to be of the same age, and the work of the same hand, and the latter must have been erected A. D. 664 or 5. Now this was precisely the period at which Cædmon, first of all the English nation, began to compose religious poems, in the monastery of the Abbess Hilda. . . . As then what is related of his inspiration (20) must have

<sup>20</sup> Bede's Eccl. Hist., book iv., cap. 24.



taken place about this time, for the monastery of St. Hilda was founded in the year 655, are we not justified in regarding the lines upon the Ruthwell cross as fragments of a lost poem of his,<sup>1</sup> a poem, however, which a later poet in the tenth century undertook to modernize and adapt to the taste of his own times, as Dryden did with some of the poems of Chaucer? I submit to the judgment of others this conjecture, based upon these grounds, viz. that on this monument, erected about A. D. 665, we have fragments of a religious poem of very high character, and that there was but one man living in England at the time worthy to be named as a religious poet, and that was Cædmon.

In proceeding to notice the sculptured decorations of these two monuments, our attention is first arrested by the mutilated delineation of the crucifixion on that at Ruthwell, and this because M. Didron and others are of opinion that representations of this subject do not, or very rarely, occur before the tenth century.<sup>2</sup> Here, however, we find it on a monument to which we can certainly assign an earlier date, (the seventh century), and there are several other examples on monuments which we have good reason to suppose belong to the seventh or eighth centuries. In the walls of the church of Kirkdale, in Yorkshire, built out of the ruins of St. Gregory's monastery (which I conceive to have been that of Læstingæu) are three crosses, one of which is entirely filled by a very rude crucifixion. On another found at Rothbury, and now in the Museum of the Society, the image of Our Saviour crucified fills the head of the cross, as on the ruder example at Kirkdale. The curious fragments of the cross at Alnwick, (from Woden's Church, Alnmouth), deserve special notice here, because they

and the Ruthwell cross mutually illustrate each other. The position of the crucifixion on the cross [174] at Ruthwell shews what was probably the relation of the fragments at Alnwick to the cross of which they formed a part; and the carving on the latter, being in better preservation than that on the former, shews what was its general design; viz. Our Saviour extended on the cross, (not depending), the sun and moon above, below apparently the two thieves, and lower still two executioners. Very similar in design to these is the crucifixion represented on one of the crosses at Aycliffe, (of which by the kindness of W. H. D. Longstaffe, Esq., I am enabled to give a representation), where we have the two executioners only, without the thieves. Not to mention other examples on crosses, the west front of the little church of Headbourne Worthy, near Winchester, is nearly filled by a very large crucifix. . . . [175] At Romsey . . . there still remains, quite perfect, a similar crucifix on the external wall of the south transept. . . .

The three figures on the cross at Bewcastle are very superior in dignity and grace to any thing I have ever observed, even of Norman art, and the same may be said of those on the Ruthwell monument.<sup>1</sup> Two of them, St. John the Baptist holding the Holy Lamb, and Our Blessed Saviour trampling on the heads of demons personified by swine, are nearly the same on each monument, the differences of treatment being very slight. . . .

[176] The scroll-work on the eastern side of the Bewcastle monument, and on the two sides of that at Ruthwell, is identical in design, and differs very much from that which is found on other Saxon crosses. In fact I know of nothing like it except small portions on a fragment of a cross in the York Museum, on

another fragment preserved in Jarrow church, and on a cross at Hexham. This resemblance, and that already noticed, in the style of the carving of the imagery, convince me that the two crosses are the work of the same artist or artists, (if we suppose that then, as is the case now-a-days, one who was competent to execute statuary left the carving of flowers and mere ornaments to less skilful hands), and, therefore, that the date of the one cannot be much later than that of the other ; nay, I feel inclined to go farther than this, and to hazard the conjecture that the two once formed the same monument, one at the head and the other at the foot<sup>1</sup> of the grave. Believing, as I do, that all these ancient crosses are sepulchral monuments, the absence of an epitaph at Ruthwell, on the lower stone at least, convinces me that something is wanting to make the monument complete. The inscriptions on its fronts are Latin antiphons, allusive to the subjects portrayed thereon, and those on its sides English verses descriptive of the Passion. In such a company a memorial inscription would have seemed incongruous. Something seems wanting to the completeness of the monument, and that is supplied by the cross at Bewcastle, where we find an inscription to the memory of king Alcfrid, and the names of other persons of his family. The verification of the Bewcastle traditions disposes me the more readily to credit that which tells us that the Ruthwell cross came thither by sea, and was cast on the shore by shipwreck. If this be really true, whence did it come? Most probably from Cumberland<sup>2</sup>; carried off, perhaps, on account of its beauty, by an army of Danes or Scots, and cast upon the shore of the Solway by a sudden storm.

Before I thought of the connection between these

two crosses, it occurred to me that the reason why St. John the Baptist was introduced upon that at Bewcastle might be, that he was the patron saint of King [177] Alcfrid, and this seemed to clear up a difficulty which I had felt for some years on another point of antiquarian research. At Barnack, in Northamptonshire, three miles from Stamford, there is a church the tower of which, presenting on three sides scrolls with birds, and windows filled with tracery of interlacing knotwork, is certainly a work of the seventh century, and one which I always regarded as a relic of the monastery built by St. Wilfrid in this neighborhood on land granted to him by Alcfrid. But we know that St. Wilfrid's monasteries were all dedicated to St. Peter and St. Andrew(22); and how was the supposition that Barnack is St. Wilfrid's work to be reconciled with its dedication to St. John the Baptist? Very easily, if St. John the Baptist were indeed the patron of Alcfrid. And if this were so, then his appearance on the Ruthwell cross adds to the probability that it belonged to the monument erected in his honour at Bewcastle: and that monument, we may suppose, consisted of two crosses, one at the head, the other at the foot of the grave, both presenting the image of our Blessed Lord, and of Alcfrid's patron saint; one devoted to sacred imagery and inscriptions calculated for the edification of the beholder, the other presenting his portraiture and an inscription to his memory. It is even possible that the inscription upon the upper stone at Ruthwell may have contained his name. The letters which remain are *IN Æ GISCE*.

<sup>22</sup> Eddi, chap. liv., records a vision (A. D. 705), in which St. Wilfrid is reproached for having done this, and having neglected to build one in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and four years of life are granted him to supply this omission.

Of these *GISCÆ* is evidently the beginning of a word such as *gesceapan*, to form or shape, *gesceadan*, to divide or separate, or *gescea*, sobbing, and the rest may be the ending of the word *Alcfridæ*. If any other letters could be traced confirming this conjecture, I should regard this inscription as a sort of postscript to that on the other cross. Nor would such a supposition militate against what I have said above of the incongruity of a memorial inscription with such as the rest of those upon this monument: for the lower stone on which they occur is evidently complete in itself, and as evidently the addition of the upper stone was an afterthought, for which the wish to add such an inscription as this might easily account, and which I cannot but think detracts from the beauty of the monument by destroying its unity.

### XIII. MAUGHAN'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1857.

[This is taken from the rare pamphlet entitled, *A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle. with an Appendix on the Roman Inscription on Caeme Craig, and the Runic Inscription in Carlisle Cathedral*, London, Carlisle, Brampton, and Newcastle, 1857. The first of these papers occupies pages 3-9; the first paper in the Appendix, 39-42; the second, referring to the so-called Dolfin runes, 43-44. The essay with which we are concerned falls into two parts—'Runic Cross in Bewcastle Churchyard' and 'Mr. Haigh's Version'—occupying pages 10-30 and 31-38 respectively. As the footnotes are numbered consecutively throughout the pamphlet, the first one in our part is No. 14.]

#### RUNIC CROSS IN BEWCASTLE CHURCHYARD.

STONES in the form of a cross, both plain and sculptured, have been reared by our forefathers at different remote periods, and for a variety of purposes,<sup>1</sup> and hence the history of such crosses becomes a subject of investigation replete with the deepest interest. Some of these crosses were simply wayside crosses, being frequently only a small rude square or oblong stone with a small cross cut on the face of it. These, besides being a great resort for beggars, were places where the corpse was allowed to stand for a short period when passing to its last place of rest, in order that a brief prayer might be offered for the soul of the departed. The pious of former days seldom passed these crosses without bowing or kneeling, and offering up their short and devout ejaculations. Crosses were also generally erected wherever a market was held, under the impression, perhaps, as some suppose, that the visible emblem of our re-

demption might influence the minds of the traders towards honesty and fair dealing, and hence we frequently find the remains of a cross near ancient religious establishments, as for instance at Lanercost, because at such places a market<sup>1</sup> was almost invariably held, often even immediately after the celebration of divine service on the Sabbath. Some of these stones or crosses were erected near the shores, and served as beacons or landmarks ;—others were placed as sentinels or guardians of public springs and wells ; others denoted the place where great battles had been fought and won, and where other important events had occurred, such as the celebrated Percy and Neville crosses ; others denoted a place of sanctuary, where criminals, however guilty, might crave and obtain the protection of the Church ; while others were placed in churchyards to impress the feelings, and increase the ardour of public devotion. The most interesting of this class are those which have been erected to denote the burial-place of some important personage, and of these the cross in the churchyard at Bewcastle may be justly considered as one of the most remarkable specimens.(14)

(14) This pillar, which may be properly classed among the most celebrated of archæological monuments, is nearly the frustum of a square pyramid, measuring 22 inches by 21 at the base, and tapering to 14 inches by 13 at the top of the shaft, being  $14\frac{1}{2}$  feet high above its pedestal. The pillar has been fixed with lead in a shallow cavity which has been cut on the crown of a nearly cubical block of stone 4 feet square, and 3 ft. 9 in. high ; which stone is now sunk about 3 feet into the ground, and has been tooled off at the upper corners so as to assume the appearance of an unequal-sided octagon. On the top of the pillar was formerly placed a small cross, which has been lost for a considerable period, and hence the pillar is now merely an obelisk.<sup>2</sup>

The traditions of the district say that a king was buried here, and also point out the locality where the shaft of the pillar was

Drawings of the north and west sides of this monument appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' in 1742, p. 317.<sup>1</sup> Captain Armstrong, a surveyor of land, who was born at Lowgrange, about a mile from the monument, is said to [11] have published an engraving<sup>2</sup> of it, out of regard to his native place. A facsimile of the chief inscription<sup>3</sup> was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1801 by the late and very learned Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, (see *Archæologia*, vol. 14, p. 118,) and Cardonnell is said procured; and the traditions are probably correct in both respects. On an extensive, and still unenclosed waste, called White Lyne Common, about five miles from Bewcastle Church, is a long ridge of rocks called the Langbar. About the centre of this ridge a stone is now lying on the surface of the ground, which is nearly fifteen feet in length, and which is the very counterpart of the Bewcastle obelisk in its rude and undressed state. It is evidently the relic of a stone which has been split at some distant period into two equal parts, the marks of the wedges used in the operation being still distinctly traceable, and the side, which, from its present position, may be called the western, apparently much fresher than the other sides, and not covered with so thick a coat of grey moss; as if it had been exposed to the effects of the weather for a shorter period of time. The obelisk is a peculiar species of rock; a very hard, gritty, and durable white freestone, with rather a yellow tinge, thickly covered with spots of a grey hue; precisely such as is found at the Langbar, and the adjacent rocks on the south side of the White Lyne river. A careful comparison of some fragments of the obelisk with other fragments from the Langbar stone, shows them to be unquestionably twins from one and the same parent.

To this supposed and traditional origin of the obelisk it may possibly be objected, that it would be almost impossible to convey such an immense block of stone from such a hilly and now roadless district. This objection, however, is much diminished, if we bear in mind that the old Roman road called the Maiden Way passed near both its present and its supposed original site, which road would probably be in good order at the period when the stone was brought; and that there was an easy and gradual incline across the moor from the Langbar to the Maiden Way; affording facilities for its conveyance to this road.



by Mr. Howard to have published a good representation of the cross.<sup>1</sup> I have not been able to procure a sight of this representation, but, through the kindness of P. H. Howard, Esq., I have seen a drawing in water-colours, representing the four sides of the monument, by Miss Ann Cardonnell, which was sent to Mr. Howard by her father, and which is far from accurate. In each of the *Histories of Cumberland* published by Hutchinson<sup>2</sup> and Lysons<sup>3</sup>, drawings are also given of this stone; those in Hutchinson bearing some resemblance to those of Miss Cardonnell. The best representation which I have seen is that in Lysons, but in this the figures and some of the so-called magical knots are not quite correctly delineated, and the tracings of certain parts of the vines are too thick to convey a faithful impression of the gracefulness of the original sculpture. I made a drawing of this monument some time since, accurate and correct as possible in all its details, which I presented to Mr. Le Keux, and he proposed to devote two plates to this drawing in his valuable work on the *Illustration of Ancient Crosses*.

We have no authentic copy or record of the inscriptions on this remarkable monument; or of the period when they first became illegible; but of this we may rest assured, that they have not been distinct for more than two centuries. Camden, who died in 1623, devoted his attention to them, but failed in deciphering them. In Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia*, 1695, this monument is thus described<sup>4</sup>:—  
'In the churchyard is a cross of one entire square stone, about twenty foot high, and curiously cut; there is an inscription, too, but the letters are so dim that they are not legible. But seeing the cross is of the same kind as that in the arms of the family of

Vaux, one may conjecture that it has been made by some of that family.' If Camden's measurement be correct, it must comprehend the pedestal, shaft, and the cross on its summit, which cross must consequently have been 21 inches high.<sup>1</sup> From Camden's observations we may naturally infer that the inscription must have been lost long before his day.

Lord William Howard (commonly called Belted Will), who died in the same year as Camden, also attempted to recover the inscription, but without success. In the *History of Cumberland*, published by Nicholson and Burn,<sup>2</sup> in 1777, we read as follows:— 'The Lord William Howard of Naworth (a lover of antiquities) caused the inscriptions thereon to be carefully copied, and sent them to Sir Henry Spelman to interpret. The task being too hard for Sir Henry, he transmitted the copy to Olaus Wormius, History Professor at Copenhagen, who was then about to publish his *Monumenta Danica*.'<sup>3</sup>

Sir H. Spelman reads one part of the inscriptions (which is said to have been 'in<sup>4</sup> epistyllo crucis,' and which I take to be the bottom line<sup>5</sup> on the south side,) thus<sup>6</sup>:—



*i. e.*, RICES DRYHTNESS<sup>7</sup>: which may be translated, 'of the kingdom of our Lord,' or (the monument) 'of a powerful Lord.'<sup>8</sup> Wanleius, in his *Catalogue*, p. 248, with a slight variation of the letters, reads this line, 'RYNAS DRYHTNESS,'<sup>9</sup> *i. e.*, 'mysteria Domini,'—'the Runes or mysterious characters of our Lord.'<sup>10</sup> Wanleius took this from the *Cottonian Codex* in the *British Museum*. The learned antiquary, Olaus Wormius, in his *Monumenta Danica*, pp. 162, 168, notices

the inscription sent by Spelman, and prints it exactly as it was sent to him, but owns at the same time that he did not know what to make of it. One part of it, which he<sup>1</sup> says was in<sup>2</sup> *epistyllo crucis* (the bottom line of the south side), supposing the characters to be Scandinavian Runes, and dividing the line into eighteen letters,—



he reads thus<sup>3</sup>: *i. e.*, RINO SATU RUNA STINOTH,<sup>4</sup>—‘RINO made these Runic stones.’ Hickes, in his *Thesaurus, Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica*, makes some slight deviations from the reading of Spelman, and gives the line thus,—[12] ‘RODEN DRYHTNESS,’<sup>5</sup>—‘the cross of our Lord.’ Bishop Nicholson<sup>6</sup> (formerly Bishop of Carlisle, who devoted much of his attention to the recovery of these inscriptions,) says in the year 1685, ‘on the south side, flourishes and conceits as before, and towards the bottom, the following decayed inscription’<sup>7</sup>:—



The defects in this short piece are sufficient to discourage me from attempting to expound it; but possibly it may be read thus:—‘GAG UBBO ERLET’<sup>8</sup>: ‘Ubbo conquered the robbers.’ I may observe that the Bishop’s copy<sup>9</sup> of these letters is very inaccurate, and embraces portions of the sculpture, which he has mistaken for letters.

The late Mr. Kemble, in his memoir,<sup>10</sup> (*Archæologia*, vol. xxviii., part 16,) read this line nearly the same as Spelman—‘RICÆS DRYHTNÆS’—‘Domini potentis,’ which he said may be part of an inscription—the first word or words being lost—or the pillar itself may be taken as part of the sentence, thus, ‘Signum

Domini potentis'<sup>1</sup>; which means—'the monument of a powerful lord.' Kemble said<sup>2</sup>—'Whether this inscription (referring to the one read by Grimm) and the stone on which it was cut, stood alone, or whether they formed part of some larger monument, I do not know.'<sup>(15)</sup>

In the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1742, p. 368, is a paper from the pen of Mr. George Smith, who, according to the 'Biographia Cumb.,'<sup>3</sup> was a native of Scotland; a man of genius and learning; who lived for some time near Brampton, and was a great contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Mr. Smith gives a description of the north side of the monument, but never favoured the public with his promised dissertation on its remaining sides.<sup>(16)</sup>

(15) Speaking of the present monument, Kemble said—'I beg to refer the reader<sup>4</sup> to the careful copy of this (the inscription) furnished by Mr. Howard of Corby Castle. This plate contains three several portions of the inscription. Of fig. 1 but one letter, an R, is now legible. Fig. 2, which contains indistinct traces of nine lines of Runes, and of which the loss may be said to be irreparable, offers here and there a legible letter or two, but no more. Fig. 3, on the contrary, is still in perfect preservation: unfortunately it supplies us with only one word, and that a proper name—CYNIBURUG or CYNIBURUH, which contains unquestionable evidence of great antiquity. Who this lady was it would be absurd to attempt to guess; but I think that the fifth line of the inscription in fig. 2 may also possibly have contained her name; while the second line of the same, commencing with letters which apparently formed the word CRIST, render it likely that this, as well as the Ruthwell pillar, was a Christian work. The most important deduction from the name I have read is, that the inscription was an Anglo-Saxon, not a Norse one.' (Kemble on Anglo-Saxon Runes. *Archæologia*, vol. 28, p. 346—7.)

(16) In Mr. Smith's paper on the north side it is stated, p. 319, on the authority of the 'Magna Britannia Antiqua et Nova,' that the cross was washed over with a white oily cement.<sup>5</sup> I have noticed several remains of this cement. The letters appear to have been

The late Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1801 (see *Archæologia*, vol. 14, p. 118) says that he spent two days<sup>1</sup> in an attempt to recover the inscription on this cross.(17)

Although Mr. Howard probably did not actually succeed in deciphering any part of it, yet, so far as I know, he was the first person to whose learned researches we are indebted for the very ingenious suggestion of filling it level with the surface of the stone. It is white, covered with a thin coat of green, and then with a covering of grey rust of the exact colour of the stone itself; so that for a long time it escaped my observation when embedded in the letters. It is so hard and tenacious that it is almost impossible to eradicate it; the point of a knife making no impression. I mention this circumstance because I have been censured by a Mr. Robert White,<sup>2</sup> of Newcastle, and some other fastidious antiquarians, for painting the inscribed portions of the cross—men who had neither the perseverance nor the ability to recover the lost inscriptions themselves, and who could only snarl at the attempts and the success of others. I consider, however, that I was justified in resorting to every expedient that offered a probability of assistance in tracing the very dubious and worn-out marks, provided I did no injury to the stone, and I defy the whole body of these gentlemen to prove that I have injured the cross in the slightest degree by painting a few portions of it. I can assure them that I venerate the cross at Bewcastle as much as if it had been made from my own bones.

(17) His mode of operation, according to his own account, seems to have been as follows:—He cut slips of paper of the breadth of the lines, and took the impression, a few letters at a time, by rubbing the paper placed thereon with a piece of ivory, working the paper in as much as possible with the finger, and afterwards following the finger at the edges of every part of the letters with the pencil. He speaks thus of the inscription—'The third, fourth, and fifth lines are the most perfect. Towards the lower part scarce anything is to be made out. On the whole, indeed, little more than the vestiges of the inscription remain; the perpendicular parts of the letters are discernible, and have probably been deepened by the rain, but the horizontal and other parts are nearly obliterated.' He offers no interpretation of the inscription.

gestion<sup>1</sup> as to Bewcastle being the tomb of King Alfrid. *Although Mr. Howard failed in his attempt to open the lock, yet he was probably the first person to point out the right key.*

[13] In the History of Cumberland published by Hutchinson in 1794 is a long article on this monument, with a copy of the inscription<sup>2</sup> published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' which I suspect to have been made first by Lord William Howard, and sent by him to Sir H. Spelman, and afterwards published in the 'Monumenta Danica' of Wormius.<sup>3</sup> The Lysons, in their History of Cumberland, have also favoured this cross with a passing notice. Many antiquarians have visited it at different periods, but I am not aware that any one has published any account or explanation of it, besides the parties already mentioned. I shall now venture to offer a detailed account of it.

#### THE CROSS.

On the crown of the pillar is a cavity  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches deep and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches square, designed to hold the foot of the small cross which formerly surmounted the shaft; the loss of which is much to be regretted. Mr. Smith, in his dissertation already mentioned, says that it was demolished long ago by popular frenzy and enthusiasm. The tradition of the district says that it was broken off by an ill-aimed cannon ball when Cromwell destroyed the castle. But both of these statements are probably incorrect. From Gough's edition of Camden we find that a slip of paper had been found in *Camden's own copy* of his 'Britannia' (Ed. 1607, in the Bodleian Library), accompanied by the following note<sup>4</sup>—'I received this morning a ston from my Lord of Arundel, sent him from my Lord William. It was the head of a cross at Bucastle.'

Now Camden died in 1623, and as Cromwell did not visit these parts till about 20 years afterwards (if he ever visited them at all), it is very evident from this fact, and from this statement of Camden, that the disappearance of this cross may be more justly attributed to the antiquarian propensities of Belted Will, than to any of the errant balls of Cromwell's artillery.

*East Side.*

A vine springing from the bottom of the pillar, and highly relieved, is represented as gracefully winding up the East side in serpentine undulations, with numerous branches starting from it, covered with foliage and bunches of grapes. This side of the monument bears a considerable resemblance to two sides of the Runic monument at Ruthwell, near Dumfries, which is said to be the only stone<sup>1</sup> hitherto discovered in Scotland with a Runic inscription : no Runes having yet been found even in the Orkney or Shetland Isles, where they might have been expected in abundance.

In each of the regular and flowing curves of the vine an animal, or a bird, is artfully sculptured (in alto relievo) in what is considered by some people as the old Gothic style, and is in the act of feeding on the fruit. In the lowest curve is a quadruped somewhat resembling a fox-hound. In each of the next two curves is the representation of an imaginary biped, having the head and shoulders of an animal, while the body tapers away into a long, flexible, and curled tail, with an enlarged point, curiously entwined round the stem and branches, the lower biped bearing some resemblance to one on the cross at Ruthwell. In the curve above this is a bird like a hawk or an eagle ; and in the next curve is a bird like a raven ; these two birds being nearly the same in

figure, but considerably larger than two similar birds at Ruthwell. In each of the two succeeding curves is a sculptured squirrel, the Ruthwell Cross differing from this at Bewcastle in having more birds, and only one squirrel. The vine, gradually growing more slender, winds again into two elegant curves, and appears to terminate with clusters of grapes.

The sculpture on this side of the cross has suffered very little damage from the corroding effects of the weather. The buds, blossoms, and fruit have been so carefully and exquisitely delineated by the chisel of the workman, and are still so faithfully preserved, that they seem as if they were things only just starting into life.<sup>(18)</sup> There [14] is no inscription now on the east side. It is probable however that there have been some letters near the top of the shaft on a part which has been broken off.

#### *West Side.*

The west side is the most important on account of its ornaments, and also its inscriptions. On a plain surface (about nine inches deep, near the top of the cross) which appears to have surmounted the dec-

(18) Bishop Nicholson looks upon these flourishes and conceits as nothing more 'than the statuary's fancy'; and Mr. Hutchinson thinks 'it would be extending a desire of giving extraordinary import to works of antiquity to suppose they were intended to carry any emblematical meaning: they are similar to the ornaments of the capitals and fillets in Gothic structures of the eleventh century, or near about that time, and no one ever yet presumed to assert they were to be construed as hieroglyphics.' According to Boece,<sup>1</sup> the hieroglyphic figures on ancient crosses were borrowed from the Egyptians, and were used by the natives in place of letters; and both he and subsequent historians have assigned a Danish origin to many of them—an idea which is quite repudiated by the present race of Danish antiquarians.



orated parts on each of the four sides, are the following remains of Runic letters.



They are apparently fragments of the letters K, S, and S, in the word KRISTUS, which occurs again a little lower down on this side: the lower part of the letter K, the middle and lower part of the first S, and the termination of the last S, being all that now remains of the word. It will appear from the succeeding pages of this Treatise why I suppose these fragments to be constituent parts of the word KRISTTUS.

Bishop Nicholson says—‘On the west side of the stone we have three fair draughts, which evidently enough manifest the monument to be Christian. . . . On the top stands the effigies of the B. V. with the Babe in her arms and both their heads encircled with glories.’ Mr. Hutchinson coincides with the prelate as to this figure, and Mr. Armstrong represents it like a mitred ecclesiastic. The Lysons say of this sculpture—‘The female figure is so defaced that nothing more than a general outline can be distinguished; what she holds in her left arm is much better preserved, and is the holy lamb.’ On carefully removing the moss from the stone I ascertained that the Lysons were correct as to the ‘Agnus Dei,’ but not as to the figure of a female, for the beard itself, if there were no other marks, affords sufficient proof that it must be the representation of St. John the Baptist, and not of the Blessed Virgin. The head of the ‘Agnus Dei’ has been encircled with a small, nimbus’ or ‘glory,’ but there is no trace of one

surrounding the head of the Apostle. There is a similar figure on the Ruthwell Cross, although it has evidently not been sculptured from the same design. Dr. Duncan, in his illustrations of the Ruthwell monument, describes this image as representing 'the Father standing on two globes or worlds (indicating probably the world which now is and that which is to come) with the Agnus Dei in his bosom.'

Immediately below this figure are two lines of Runic letters to which my attention was at first drawn by the very imperfect representation of them in the plates in Lysons. On divesting these letters of their mossy covering, and obtaining a mould in plaster of Paris from this part of the stone, I found that although extremely dim, the letters were still perfect and legible. This short inscription is in the Latin language, while the other inscriptions on the monument are in the Anglo-Saxon, thus rendering the monument one of the bi-lingual order. The inscription, when rendered into the English language, is simply 'Jesus Christ'; and undoubtedly refers to the figure of our Saviour immediately below it, thus limiting the period of the erection of the monument to the Christian era. It may be read thus<sup>1</sup> in Runic and Roman characters:—



+ GESSUS  
• KRISTTUS.

Mr. Smith says—'That the monument is Danish appears incontestible from the characters: Scottish and Pictish monuments having nothing but hieroglyphics, and the Danish both.' Mr. Hutchinson

thinks that 'his assertion was hasty of the Scottish and Pictish monuments'—but he also appears to consider the monument Danish. These letters, however, are undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon Runes, and they, as well as the others found on this cross, generally agree with those found [15] in the *Codex Exoniensis* published by Hickes, thus proving the monument to be of Anglo-Saxon construction; and hence arises one of the most important subjects of inquiry connected with this memorial, to which I now beg to draw the reader's special notice for a few moments.

It has been a question much debated amongst our learned Antiquarians whether the Anglo-Saxons had any system of writing peculiar to themselves, or whether they used entirely the Roman characters of Augustine. This stone, however, seems to set the matter quite at rest,<sup>1</sup> and a doubt can no longer be entertained on this point. Hence it becomes a monument of the greatest historical interest and importance, and goes far to prove that *the earliest Anglo-Saxon colonists* were acquainted with the use of letters; for assuredly if they were first taught to read and write by St. Augustine in the Roman characters, we cannot believe that Runic characters would be introduced at any subsequent period. The Roman characters would be much more easily learned and used; and hence their general adoption in preference to the rude forms of the Anglo-Saxon letters, which in all probability were little known by the mass of the people.

It ought, however, to be carefully borne in mind that before the coming of Augustine into this country, in the year 597, we have scarcely a single trustworthy record of any one event in the history of our country. When Augustine and his companions introduced their system of Christian observances into this island, there

can be little doubt but that they introduced at the same time a *system of writing and the keeping of annals*; and hence the few documents of this early period bear the marks of their Roman as well as ecclesiastical origin. It is very remarkable that the Charters, and other important documents of that early period, are all in the Latin language. Although in the early ages of the Christian Church many prelates as well as princes were unable to write even their own names, yet it is probable that the order of the clergy, as a body, occupied a much better position, so far as this goes, than the laity; and hence the clergy became at that early period the *tabelliones*, *i. e.*, the draughtsmen and engrossers of these instruments, and remained such for many succeeding centuries. Hence also arose the prevalence of the Latin language. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that some of the Anglo Saxons, especially those of the ecclesiastical order, were acquainted with a system of writing different from the Roman, although we cannot believe that there was any wide dispersion of such a power of recording the events of the time.(19)

(19) The letters of the alphabet have always been called 'Runes,' *i. e.*, secret letters ('run' signifying a secret or mystery), probably because known only to very few persons; and hence the letters on this cross may be properly designated Anglo-Saxon Runes. Such Runes were only fitted for short inscriptions, and consequently we generally find them on stones or blocks of wood, and probably they might, as has been generally supposed, be used for little else than auguries, divinations, and witchcraft. They were not at all adapted for continuous writing, and there is perhaps little probability of their having ever been put to any such use. Modern researches have gone far to prove that the Runic alphabet and characters of the Germans, Anglo-Saxons, and Dano-Saxons, were not a corruption of a more perfect alphabet, but that they possessed an undeniably primitive stamp, which bears a certain degree of resemblance to the alphabets of almost all the early inhabitants of Europe—such as the

We may now return from our digression and proceed with the further examination of the inscription. The first thing that arrests our attention is the mark of the Cross which precedes this inscription, and also some of the other inscriptions on this monument. This use of the holy emblem as a prefix is full of interest.<sup>(20)</sup> The mode of [16] spelling the names of our Redeemer is also interesting, as it shows the

Etruscans, the Turditanians, the Celtiberians, &c., but more especially a decided affinity to the Ionic, *i. e.*, the most ancient of the Greek alphabets; which circumstance is considered by some as pointing to the east as the source of Runic civilization. Bosworth, in his *Saxon Grammar*, page 27, says—'Fortunatus, indeed, in the sixth century, mentions the rude Runes of the Gothic hordes of Italy. But Hickes cannot produce a single instance of Runic alphabetical writing older than the eleventh century, when Runes, which were only Talismanic figures, were first applied to alphabetical use, by expressing sounds instead of representing things.' Several Anglo-Saxon Runic inscriptions have, however, been discovered and deciphered, which are undoubtedly connected with a period long anterior to the eleventh century; and the Bewcastle pillar is, I believe, at present the earliest known specimen of Anglo-Saxon Runic writing.

(20) Professor Wilson, in his *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, elucidates the Runic inscriptions on the crosses in the Isle of Man, and infers from the mark of the cross which occurs on one of them, that such a mark was used to show that the inscription was the work of an Ecclesiastic. We must not, however, draw any such general inference from the use of this mark on this cross. It is not necessary to suppose that the occurrence of the mark of the cross generally denotes anything of the kind: and more especially so on this Bewcastle monument. Mosheim tells us (even as early as the third century) that the cross was supposed to administer a victorious power over all sorts of trials and calamities, and that no Christian undertook anything of moment without arming himself with the influence of this triumphant sign. The use of the cross as a symbol appears to have been very prevalent among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. On nearly every one of their coins the legends, or inscriptions, have the cross prefixed. Again, if we look into Anglo-Saxon Charters of an early period, and other documents, we find these marks of the crosses by dozens, as prefixes to the signatures of each of the parties.

method in use among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in the 7th century.<sup>1</sup> We may presume that the Italian mode of spelling the word 'Gessus' with a G was in use from an early period ; and it appears to be still continued in that language, for in a legal document in Italian, dated at Leghorn in Tuscany in the last century, I find the word 'Gessus' commencing

In short, the universality of the sign of the cross is recognized in the earliest Italian as well as Anglo-Saxon documents. It seems also to have been prevalent as a prefix to the Roman inscriptions after a certain period. In a thick Italian quarto volume, '*Roma Sotteranea*,' published at Rome in 1650 by Antonius Bossius, an Ecclesiastical antiquarian, which contains a copious history of those wonderful burial-places at Rome called the Catacombs, we find facsimiles of a large number of the inscriptions which are to be met with there, and we also find the cross attached to a very considerable part of these inscriptions. In fact, the cross appears to have been the almost universally adopted symbol of our redemption by every nation which embraced Christianity. Besides the numerous instances of its appearance on the gravestones of the primitive Christians in the Catacombs we know that the earliest Christians gloried in its use. The banners of the Emperor Constantine were, by directions from heaven, as has been stated, blazoned with this representation of Christ crucified, '*in hoc signo vinces*.' Among Christians in the east, even to this day, it is the usual sign of recognition ; and in the Greek Churches this emblem is everywhere to be found. Long before material crosses were in use, Tertullian tells us that 'upon every motion, at their going out or coming in, at dressing, at their going to the bath, or at meals, or to bed, or whatever their employments or occasions called them to, the primitive Christians were wont to mark their foreheads with the sign of the cross,' adding that 'this was a practice which tradition had introduced, custom had confirmed, and which the present generation received upon the credit of that which went before them.' It is probable, however, that the cross was only an adopted symbol, and that it was by no means confined to Christians, and to Christian monuments. The Egyptians regarded it as the emblem of reproduction and resurrection. It is more than probable that a heathen feeling lurked under this symbol, and that it was held binding, even before the introduction of Christianity. The hammer of the heathen god Thunor (Thor) was at one

with the letter G. I have carefully examined the inscriptions given in the 'Roma Sotteranea,' but have found no trace of these names so spelt there. In fact the word 'Jesus' scarcely ever occurs in the very long list of inscriptions given by Bossius. I find the expressions 'domino Zesu,' and 'pie Zesus'; and these are the nearest approaches to the orthography of the Bewcastle Monument.

The letter K and the double letter T in the word 'Kristtus' also merit a passing notice. The letter K for C is sometimes found in Roman inscriptions. Horsley mentions an altar found at Stanwix, near Carlisle, afterwards placed at Drawdykes Castle, in which K is used for C; thus, 'conjux Karissima' instead of 'conjux carissima.' The letter K for C also appears in other inscriptions of an older date than any in Britain. The doubling of the letter T is said by some Saxon grammarians to be characteristic of Dano-Saxon usage, but its appearance on the Bewcastle Monument shows it to have been so used long before the Danes visited this country. A character similar to the second letter in the first line is given

time the symbol in all contracts, and that hammer was literally and really the representation of a cross. In the 'Runographia Scandica' of Olaus Verellus<sup>1</sup> twelve illustrations of stones with Scandinavian Runic inscriptions are given in which the cross is conspicuous. This emblem on these stones cannot be supposed to have any connection with Christianity, for Odin was the god to whom the Scandinavians paid their homage. In the first of these illustrations on which the cross appears, the inscription is as follows:—'Jubern Ukvi has inscribed this stone to the memory of his father Irbern, and has dedicated these sepulchral Runes to the god Odin.' It is also worth observing that this mark or sign seems to have been appropriated from the very beginning to some great mystery, for we read in the Book of Exodus that the Israelites could overcome the Amalekites no longer than Moses, by stretching out his arms, continued in the form of a cross.

as the letter O in the Exeter manuscript published by Hickes ; and the use of the diphthong Œ instead of the vowel E is by no means contrary to Saxon usage. In the Moeso-Gothic language the word 'Jesus' was written with the diphthong AI—thus, IAISUS. Hence I was for a long time in doubt whether these two lines ought to be read 'Iæssus Kristtus,' or 'Gessus Kristtus' with a cross prefixed. Having, however, obtained a very good rubbing of the lines, and having found the cross prefixed in so many other parts of the monument, I am now of opinion that the latter reading is probably the correct one.

I believe I am right in asserting that [17] these two lines form the *first portion of the inscriptions of the Bewcastle monument which have been correctly deciphered by any one*. After considerable trouble and research I succeeded in recovering them in the summer of 1854, and I made a communication to that effect soon afterwards to Mr. Way, one of the Secretaries of the Archæological Institute. I also mentioned my reading of these two lines to several other persons who saw the monument, and pointed out to them the variety in the reading.

Below the two lines of Runes above-mentioned is a figure which Bishop Nicholson conjectures to be 'the picture of some Apostle, Saint, or other holy man, in a sacerdotal habit, with a glory round his head.' Mr. Hutchinson describes it as 'the figure of a religious person, the garments descending to his feet, the head encircled with a nimbus, not now appearing radiated, but merely a circular rise of the stone ; the right hand is elevated in a teaching posture, and the other hand holds a roll : a fold of the garment was mistaken by Mr. Armstrong for a string of beads. We conceive this figure to represent St. Cuthbert,



to whom the Church, as set forth by Nicholson and Burn, is dedicated.' The Lysons say—'As he holds a roll (the sacred volumen) in his left hand, and the right hand is elevated in the act of benediction, we should rather suppose it was intended for our Saviour, who is frequently so represented in ancient works of art.' The two Runic lines above the figure now show that the Lysons were correct in their conjectures. The figure appears to be nearly an accurate fac-simile of the representation of our Saviour on the Ruthwell Cross. On the Bewcastle pillar each of the feet of our Saviour is represented as placed upon a pedestal which is no longer distinct. On the Ruthwell Cross each of these pedestals is more perfect, and represents the head of a pig,<sup>1</sup> and they are undoubtedly intended for the same objects on the Bewcastle monument, probably having an allusion to the miracle of the devils cast into the herd of swine.

Under this figure of our Redeemer we find the remains of an inscription of nine lines, of which Camden said, 'the letters are so dim that they are not legible,' and which were considered so decayed in the time of Bishop Nicholson that he described them as 'the forementioned ruins of Lord Howard's inscription'; and declined even attempting to make out any part of it.(21)

(21) During the last few years my attention has been specially directed from time to time to the recovery of this long-lost inscription. I covered the inscribed parts first of all with soft mud and sods for a few months, which process entirely removed the thick coat of moss and lichens with which the letters were so thickly covered, without doing any injury to the stone. I then tried to obtain dry rubbings with lead, and grass, but from the defaced state of the letters, these rubbings were very imperfect and unsatisfactory. I next obtained a mould and cast of the inscribed part in plaster of Paris, but without any great result. I then gave these parts a coat of paint which ren-

The following wood-cut shows the inscription in its Runic characters,<sup>1</sup> and beneath is the inscription in Roman letters, the letters in brackets denoting compound Runes. The Roman letters, of course, are not on the stone.

RUNIC.



ROMAN.

+ [TH]ISSIGB[EA]CN  
 [THU]NSETT[ON]H  
 W[AET]REDW[AETH]  
 GARALWFWOL  
 [THU]AFTALCFRI  
 [THU]EAN KYNI[ING]  
 EAC OSWIU[ING]  
 + GEBID HE  
 OSINNASAW[HU]LA.<sup>2</sup>

dered the letters more distinct than the cast. I afterwards tried some rubbings after the following method which was partly recommend-

[18] I read the inscription thus—




+ THISSIG BEACN THUN SETTON HWAETRED  
WAETHGAR ALWFWOLTHU AFT ALCFRITHU  
EAN KYNING EAC OSWIUNG. + GEBID HEO  
SINNA SAWHULA—

and it may be thus translated : + *Hwætred*, *Wæthgar*,  
and *Alwfwold* (the names of three persons)—setton—  
*set up*—thissig thun beacn—*this slender pillar*—aft  
Alcfrithu—*in memory of Alcfrid*—ean Kynning—*ane*  
*King*—eac Oswiung—*and son of Oswy*. + Gebid—  
*pray thou*—heo—*for them*—sinna—*their sins*—sawhula  
—*their souls*.

In this inscription the first character or mark is, I now believe, that of a cross, although it is not very distinct. I was for a long time<sup>1</sup> inclined to adopt the idea of Bishop Nicholson<sup>2</sup> that the inscription commenced with the monogram IHS for 'Jesus hominum Salvator,' *i. e.*, Jesus the Saviour of men. Good rubbings, however, and repeated examinations of the stone, and the frequent occurrence of this emblem on other parts of the cross, lead me to the conclusion

ed by Mr. Way in March, 1854, and which was more successful than the other processes : I cut slips of white paper, such as is generally used by printers, rather broader than the length of the letters ; a separate slip for each line. I fastened these slips, one at a time, to the stone with strings to prevent them from slipping, having previously pricked them well with a pin to allow the air to escape through them. With a large sponge I then saturated them well with water, and pressed them to the stone till they adhered closely to it. After allowing them time to dry, and while still sticking to the stone, I gave them a careful rubbing with a black-lead rubber. By this process I succeeded in getting some good rubbings ; and from these rubbings, combined with the previous processes, and a repeated dwelling of the eye upon the letters, and countless tracings of the depressions and marks with the point of the finger, I have succeeded in gaining such knowledge of the almost worn-out characters, that I now venture to offer a version of this interesting inscription.

that it has commenced with a cross. The word 'thissig' is not an unusual form of the pronoun 'this,' such a termination being often<sup>1</sup> affixed to adjectives and pronouns. The word 'beacn' is variously written 'beacen, beacn, bocn, bycn, becen, and becn,' and denotes 'a beacon, sign, or token.'(22)

The word 'thun'<sup>2</sup> means thin or slender, and has probably some reference to the size and shape of the monument. The first letter in the word 'thun' is a Trirunor, or compound Rune, being composed of the letters 'TH'——and the letter U——and hence by combination we have the Trirunor THU— (23)

The word 'setton' is the third person plural of the perfect tense of the verb 'settan'—*to set or place*, and agrees with the three nominative cases Hwætred, Wæthgar, and Alfwolthu.(24)

(22) These two words may possibly be read thus: 'this sigbeacn'—sigbeacn being a compound word derived from 'sige'—*victory, triumph*: and hence the word 'sigbeacn' means *a token of triumph or victory*. But as we have no record of any triumph or victory gained by Alcfrid for which the monument was reared, this part of the inscription may perhaps be more correctly rendered thus, 'thissig beacn.'

(23) The cross-bars in this letter were for a long time a complete puzzle to me, having been noticed by me from the first. At last it was suggested that it might possibly be the compound Runic character 'THU,' and from that time I experienced no further insurmountable difficulty in reading the inscription. From Mr. Howard's plate of the inscription it is evident that he had noticed these cross-bars. The same character appears in the words Alfwolthu, Alcfrithu, and Ecgfrithu.

(24) An old schoolfellow, the Rev. Thos. Calvert, of Norwich, visited Bewcastle for the purpose of inspecting the Monument, but had not an opportunity of seeing the inscription, as it was at that time covered with sods. He very shrewdly suggested that I might probably find the words 'beacon' and 'setta' upon it, as, in

'Aft' is the preposition, *after or in memory of*, and governs the word [19] Alcfrithu, to whom the monument was erected. The word 'ean'<sup>1</sup>—*one*—is very similar to our provincial word 'ane,' which is still in use in this district.(25)

The word 'Gebid'<sup>2</sup> stands for 'bid,' and is the second person singular of the imperative mood of the verb 'biddan'—*to pray, to bid, or require*.<sup>3</sup> The syllable 'ge' is simply an expletive or augment, such an expletive being in common use.(26)

The word 'heo' is not an unusual form of the pronoun. 'Sinna' is the plural form of 'sin' or addition to the host of ingenious speculations already advanced as to the object of its erection, he thought it might have been a beacon or boundary cross set up to mark the extent of the fifteen miles around Carlisle granted by King Egfrid to the religious establishments at that city. After the monument was cleaned I sent him a copy of the inscribed part so far as I was then able to trace it. In letters which I afterwards received from him he favoured me with the following acute observations. 'If the second word could be read *sigbeahn* it might mean *a sign of victory*'—'Can the first part of the second line be '*upsetta*,' i. e., set up." He also suggested that 'Hwætred' might be an appellative, 'brave in council'; and stated that it occurred in the Codex Exoniensis; and that it might also be a Saxon proper name; that 'thun' might be for 'thegn or then,' *a thane*; that the first word might be 'thissig,' an old form of 'this,' analogous to 'ænig,' *one*; and that it might perhaps be read thus: 'thissig bealtun<sup>4</sup> setta,' *set up this funeral monument*. This latter suggestion, however, (although a very ingenious one) would destroy the alliteration of the verse, and does not occupy all the traces on the stone.

(25) In Scott's 'Border Exploits' we find a plate of a gravestone with the following inscription—'HIE LYES ANE WORTHIE PERSON CALIT WILLIAM ARMSTRONG OF SARK WHO DIED THE 10 DAY OF JUNE 1658 ETATIS SUE 56.'

(26) Bosworth, in his Anglo Saxon Dictionary, on the word 'ge' says—'In verbs it seems sometimes to be a mere augment . . . it often changes the signification from literal to figurative; as . . . biddan *to bid, require*; gebiddan *to pray*.'

'syn,' and signifies *sins*. 'Sawhula' is the plural formation of the word 'sawl,' also written 'sawol' and 'sawul,' the letter 'h' being also introduced according to a very common Anglo-Saxon usage.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription seems to consist of a few couplets of the alliterative versification of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Hence it becomes very important, and takes us far in advance of many of the preconceived opinions respecting our Anglo-Saxon forefathers.(27)

It may be read in four couplets,<sup>2</sup> thus—

1. + Thissig beacn  
Thun setton
2. Hwætred Wæthgar Alfwolthu  
Aft Alcfrithu
3. Ean Kyniing  
Eac Oswiuing
4. + Gebid heo sinna  
Sawhula.

In the first couplet we have the compound letters TH as the alliterating letters : in the second couplet the letters A : in the third the letters E : and in the

(27) Olaus Wormius, in the appendix to his *Treatise de Literatura Runica*, has given a particular account of the Gothic poetry, commonly called Runic. He informs us that there were no fewer than 136 different kinds of measure or verse used in the *Vyses*. He says that the Runic harmony did not depend either upon rhyme, or upon metrical feet, or quantity of syllables, but chiefly upon the number of syllables, and the *disposition of the letters*. In each distich, or couple of lines, it was requisite that three words should begin with the same letter : two of the corresponding words being placed in the first line of the distich, and the third in the second line, frequent inversions and transpositions being permitted in this poetry. The curious in this subject may consult likewise Dr. Hickes's *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium* ; particularly the 23rd chapter of his *Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica et Mæso-Gothica*. It appears that the Anglo-Saxons admired, and, in some measure, followed the northern *Scaldi or Runa* in forming the structure of their verse by a period-

fourth the letters S. It is remarkable that these couplets rhyme with each other, and thus establish a probability (or perhaps something more) that both alliteration and rhyme have been made use of by the Anglo-Saxons from a very early period. Although we cannot actually produce any Anglo-Saxon poem in rhyme of that era, yet the Anglo-Saxon poets Aldhelm, A.D. 709—Boniface, A.D. 754—the Venerable Bede, A.D. 735—Alcuin, and others—have left behind them Latin Poems in rhyme, which pre-supposes that this species of versification was anterior to, and commonly known in their time.

A very interesting question arises, whether this Bewcastle specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry is not the oldest on record, being nearly 1200 years old. My own impression is that no earlier example has been discovered. This circumstance considerably enhances the value and importance of this ancient cross. The only specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry which can be supposed to compete with this is a fragment of a song

ical repetition of similar letters, or by alliteration, *and disregarded a fixed and determinate number* of syllables. Rask, in his *Anglo-Saxon Grammar*, page 108, gives more specific rules for alliteration. Mr. Rask says—'The Saxon alliteration is thus constructed: in two adjacent and connected lines of verse there must be three words which begin with one and the same letter, so that the third or last alliterative word stands the first word in the second line, and the first two words are both introduced in the first line. The initial letters in these three words are called alliterative. The alliterative letter in the second line is called the *chief letter*, and the other two are called *assistant letters*. . . . If the chief letter be a vowel, the assistants must be vowels, but they need not be the same. *In short verses only one assistant letter is occasionally found.* In Anglo-Saxon poetry the words followed each other in continued succession, as in prose, and were not written in lines and verses as in our modern poetry. The division into verses was made by the regular succession of the alliterating letters.

which was written by Cædmon, a monk who accustomed himself late in life to write religious poetry ; and who died A.D. 680. His song was inserted by King Alfred in his Translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. In this brief fragment two of the couplets appear as rhyming with each other. This inscription also appears to upset some of the statements and theories of our best Anglo-Saxon grammarians with respect to what are called Dano-Saxon idioms and dialects, [20] throwing all their conjectures as to peculiarities introduced by the Danes topsy-turvy, and proving these supposed peculiarities to have belonged from the first to the Anglo-Saxon language.

No doubt much ignorance prevails generally regarding the habits of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, for both public and private documents are only few and scanty which give us any insight into the general polity and social history of these our forefathers ; and yet there are certain salient points in them which may be interesting to a majority of readers. In this memoir I shall, therefore, endeavour to give a brief philological examination of the words, as well as a biographical sketch (so far as history supplies us with the necessary data) of the persons whose names occur on this monument ; from which the reader will be able to draw his own inferences as to the state and grade of morals and civilization twelve hundred years ago, when the institutions of the Britons were probably in a progress of perishing through their own corruption, and received fresh life and vigour re-infused into them through the sanctity of the more lofty morality of the Christian dispensation.

*Oswy.*

I shall commence my biographical sketch with Oswy, (as being the head of the family) whom I find de-



scribed in the 'Britannia Sancta' as a religious prince who omitted no opportunity of exhorting his friends to embrace the true way of salvation, and inducing them to submit to the sweet yoke of the faith and law of Christ. I find the name occurring as 'Oswiu,' which is simply an abbreviation<sup>1</sup> of the Latin termination 'Oswius.' I also find the word written 'Osuui,' and Nennius calls him 'Osguid.' The termination 'ing' after a proper name, according to Anglo-Saxon usage, denoted 'the son of such a person'; hence the word 'Oswiuing' means 'the son of Oswy.'

By the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northumbria we generally understand all the counties in England north of the river Humber, and the southern counties of Scotland nearly as far as Edinburgh. In the year 633, or, according to some historians, 644, after the death of King Edwin, it was divided into two parts, namely, the Kingdom of Deira under Osric, which comprehended (nearly) the counties of York, Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland; and the Kingdom of Bernicia under Eanfrid, which contained the county of Northumberland and the southern counties of Scotland. Higden (*Lib. i, De Regnis Regnorum-que Limitibus*) says that the Tyne divided the Kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia.(28)

These two kings, Osric and Eanfrid, being soon afterwards slain by Cadwalla, King of the Britons,

(28) The following extract is from Sir F. Palgrave's interesting little book, *History of the Anglo-Saxons* :—'The British kingdoms of Defyr and Bryneich—Latinised into Deira and Bernicia'—extending from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, were divided from each other by a forest, occupying a tract between the Tyne and the Tees; and which, unreclaimed by man, was abandoned to wild deer. Properly speaking, this border land does not seem to have originally belonged to either kingdom; but, in subsequent times, the boundary between Deira and Bernicia was usually fixed at the Tyne.'

the Kingdom of Northhumbria came to Oswald, who is said to have held it nine years. In the year 642, Oswy, son of Ethelfrid, succeeded to the Kingdom of Northhumbria, on the death of Oswald, who was slain by Penda, King of the Mercians. Oswy reigned 28 years, and Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 2.) tells us that he subdued a great part of the nations of the Picts and Scots, and made them tributary. He also enjoyed the title of Bretwalda, which gave him an authority over all the other Anglo-Saxon kings.

Oswy, during the early part of his reign, had a partner in the royal dignity called Oswin, of the race of King Edwin, a man of wonderful piety and devotion, who governed the province of the Deiri seven years in very great prosperity, and was himself beloved by all men. But Oswy could not live at peace with him. Oswin, perceiving that he could not maintain a war against one who had more auxiliaries than himself, took refuge in the house of Earl Hunwald, in Yorkshire, where he was betrayed by him, and slain in a cruel and detestable manner by the orders of Oswy, in the year 650. After the death of Oswin the kingdom of Deira probably devolved upon Alcfred, the son of Oswy; his father retaining the northern portion of the kingdom of Northhumbria. Notwithstanding this outrage, Oswy appears to have been a man zealous in the maintenance of the Christian faith, for when [21] Prince Peada, son of Penda, King of Mercia, came to Oswy in the year 653 requesting to have his daughter Elfreda given to him in marriage, he could not obtain Oswy's sanction unless he would first embrace the faith of Christ, and be baptized, with the nation which he governed.

Oswy continued firm to the religious professions of his youth, probably influenced by the persuasions of

his Queen Eanfleda, the daughter of Eadwin, King of Deira, who had been driven from her native Northumbria in her infancy, and, after an education among her maternal relatives in Kent, returned into Northumbria as the wife of Oswy, inheriting (it is said) all the religious constancy of her mother and her grandmother.(29)

*Alfrid or Alcfrid.*

The peculiar way in which the word 'Alcfrithu' is spelt may seem somewhat objectionable,<sup>1</sup> but we ought to bear in mind that orthography has been very capricious, and at all periods has assumed the features of a constant tendency to change. In fact, it would now be quite impossible to settle the orthography which was prevalent at any given former period, or to reduce the various modes of spelling names, which we find in ancient charters and other documents, to any consistent form. The Latin termination of proper names in 'thus' (and its abbreviation 'thu') instead of 'dus,' appears to have been quite common. As a proof of the numerous and irregular modes of spelling names among the Anglo-Saxons we may adduce the following instances. We find Ethelbirthum, Egelbriktum, and Egelbrightum (the h before the t) for Ethelbert : Oidilvaldo for Ethelwald : Edbrithum, Egbrithro, Egbirtho, Egberthus, Edbriht, Edbrit, and Edbrichtus for Egbert : and many others. In a charter of Coenulf, or Cynulf, King of the Saxons (A.D. 808, Ms. C. C., Cantab., cxi. f., 77) we find the signature 'Alhfrithi.'<sup>2</sup> In the Anglo-Saxon charters we also find the signatures Egfrido, Ecgfrith,

(29) In Gale's Appendix 1 to our old British historian Nennius we read that Osguid (Oswy) had two wives—the one called Nemmedt the daughter of Roith the son of Rum, and the other called Eanfled. His first wife Nemmedt was also called Ricmmelth<sup>3</sup> in Nennius.

Egfrid, Ecgfrithi, Ecgfridus, Ecgferth, for Egfrid, the brother of the Alcfrid whose name is recorded on this monument; and we also find the signatures Wilfridus, Wilfrith, Wilfrid, Wilfrithus, for Wilfrid, a bishop, and friend of Alcfrid. Numerous other instances might be easily adduced.

Cases, however, do sometimes occur where the variation of a single letter in the mode of spelling what is apparently the same name makes a very wide and important difference. We may take the word 'Alfrid,' as an example. Oswy had two sons, each of them a king, but at different periods, who in our English translations of Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History are generally called 'Alfrid.' On referring, however, to Stephenson's<sup>1</sup> Latin edition of Bede,<sup>2</sup> we find a small but an essential distinction. The name of the first 'Alfrid,' who is the person to whom this pillar was erected, is in that edition written thus, 'Alchfrido.' (Bk. 3, ch. 14.) And a note upon this place says:—'*Ealhfrith, Saxon version. This individual has frequently been confounded with Aldfrid, a natural son of Oswy, who succeeded his father in 685. Upon this subject a note in Lappenberg, Gesch. v., England 1, 180, may be consulted with advantage.*'(30) Bede in other passages calls the first Alcfrid, and the second

(30) Bede, in his Life of St. Cuthbert, ch. 24, states that Aldfrid was the illegitimate brother of Egfrid; and that he subjected himself to voluntary exile in Ireland, during which he devoted himself to the study of the scriptures. It appears (from the Britannia Sancta) to have been customary for many of the English to leave their native country and retire into Ireland, either for the sake of improving themselves in divine learning, or to embrace there a more holy and continent life; the Irish most willingly receiving them, and furnishing them with their daily sustenance, and supplying them with books, and teaching them gratis. In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is preserved an ancient Ritual which is said to have belonged to Aldfrid.<sup>3</sup> Asser, in his Annals (anno 705), describes him

Aldfrid. In the Ang. Sax. Chron. the latter is styled 'Aldfrith,' and 'Ealdferth.' This Aldfrid succeeded his brother Egfrid in the kingdom of Northumbria in the year 685, and died in 705. In Stephenson's edition of Bede we find the words Alchfrido, [22] Alchfridi, and Alchfrid, for the first king; and Aldfridi, Aldfrido, Aldfrid, and Alfrid, for the second king. In the Life of Wilfrid by Eddie, who flourished about 50 years after the erection of the monument, we find the name of the first Alfrid mentioned eight times, and it is remarkable that it is spelt in six different ways, none of them agreeing with the orthography of Bede; thus, Aluchfrido, Ealfridus, Alucfridus, Alfridus, Ahlfridus, Alhfridum. In the same work we also find the second Alfrid mentioned, and spelt thus—Alfridum, Alfredo, Aldfridum (with a note Aldfrithum).

We may now pass on to a biographical sketch of the Alfrid, or Alcfrid, for whom this cross was erected.<sup>1</sup> History gives us very little intimation of the various rulers who within their petty territories assumed the names of kings, and exercised the regal power; and just about as little of the extent and the nature of the authority and powers often claimed and exercised by the sons and brothers of the ruling sovereigns. Perhaps in the early periods of Anglo-Saxon history the very name of king 'Kyniing,' may have been

as a monk when he died. He is also mentioned in Fordun, bk. 3, ch. 43. Alcwin, who, according to Gale, flourished about the year 780, calls him 'Altfrido'—(*De Pontificibus*, line 843)—and says that he was devoted to sacred studies from his early youth. In another passage (line 1080) he calls him 'Aldfridum.' According to Camden he was buried at Driffeld, in Yorkshire. In the Saxon version of Bede he is called 'Ealdfrith.' This Aldfrid is also mentioned in the Chronicle of Holyrood, as succeeding to the kingdom A. D. 685, and dying A. D. 705.

assumed by the sons of sovereigns whether they exercised the sovereign rights or not. The word 'kyniing' or 'cyniing' was derived from 'kyn' or 'cyn,' which signified 'a nation or people,' and sometimes 'the head of the nation or people'; the termination 'ing' at the end of proper nouns denoted 'the son of such a person,' and hence the word 'Kyniing' would mean simply 'the son of the head of the nation.' It is somewhat strange that scarcely any charters belonging to the kingdom of Northumbria have survived to the present day, and hence from such documents we can form no idea whatever of the style adopted by the kings of that country. It is very probable, however, that they carefully maintained the distinction between Deira and Bernicia, which has been overlooked by many historians of Anglo-Saxon England. Hence in the case of Alfrid we have every reason to suppose that he was really and virtually king over Deira, and exercised all the rights and jurisdictions, and had all the appanages of an independent sovereign.

According to the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede, from whom, of course, I derive the chief part of this biography, Alfrid was one of the sons of Oswy, and, according to Eddie, reigned along with his father.(31)

Of the early life of Alfrid little is recorded, except that 'he was instructed in Christianity by Wilfrid, a most learned man, who had first gone to Rome to learn the ecclesia[s]tical doctrine.' Eddie informs us that he entreated Wilfrid to reside with him, and

(31) He could not be the son of Eanfleda, for we find him mentioned in the year 642,<sup>1</sup> nine years before the marriage of Oswy and Eanfleda, and yet he appears to have been warmly attached to his mother-in-law, and influenced by her Christian principles.

preach the Word of God to him and his people, and that Wilfrid complied with his affectionate request, and that they became attached to each other, even as the souls of David and Jonathan. Hence Alcf rid became attached to the customs of Rome, and thought that Wilfrid's doctrine ought to be preferred before all the traditions of the Scottish or native priests. Alcf rid probably became King of Deira about the year 650,<sup>1</sup> when his father Oswy slew Oswin, who was at that time king of that province. Of such a fact, however, we have no record, nor is there any record of the time and place of his death. So far as can be ascertained he disappears from history about the year 665,<sup>2</sup> *i. e.*, nearly 1,200 years from this time. In the year 642 we find Alcf rid in rebellion<sup>3</sup> against his father. Oswy, having succeeded to the kingdom of Northhumbria, was (as Bede informs us, Lib. 3, ch. 14) harassed by Penda the Pagan King of Mercia, and by the Pagan nation of the Mercians, that had slain his brother, as also by his son Alcf rid, and by Ethelwald, the son of his brother who resigned<sup>4</sup> before him.(32)

Alcf rid appears to have been firmly attached to Wilfrid, an able Englishman of the Roman party, whose attainments had been matured in southern Europe. He gave him a monastery of forty families at a place called Rhypum (Ripon) according to Bede (Lib. 3, ch. 25); which place he had not long before

(32) Geoffrey of Monmouth (book 2, ch. 11) calls this Alfrid the brother of Oswy. As Geoffrey, however, did not write before the twelfth century (a few hundred years after Bede and the events narrated) we may presume that the statement of Bede is the more correct. From the narrative of Geoffrey we learn that this insurrection was commenced in consequence of Oswy making large presents of gold and silver to Cadwalla, who was at that time possessed of the government of all Britain, and because Oswy had made peace with, and submission to him.

given to those that followed the [23] system of the Scots for a monastery ; but forasmuch as they afterwards, being left to their choice, prepared to quit the place rather than alter their religious opinions, he gave the place to Wilfrid.(33) From Bede's History of the Abbots of Weremouth we learn that Alchfrid was desirous to make a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles at Rome, and had engaged Biscop to accompany him on his journey, who had just returned from that place ; but the King (Oswy) prevented his son's journey. At the request of Alcfrid, Agilbert (bishop of the West Saxons, who was on a visit to Oswy and Alcfrid in the province of the Northumbrians) made Wilfrid a priest in his monastery at Dorchester, near Oxford. So says Bede, but Eddie<sup>1</sup> informs us that he ordained him priest at Ripon according to the King's command. Among the Bernicians was the episcopal seat of Hagustaldum, or

(33) In reference to this monastery we find the following statement in Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert (sect. 12)—' And when some years after it pleased King Alcfrid, for the redemption of his soul, to give to the Abbot Eata a certain dominion in his kingdom called ' In Hrypum,' there to construct a monastery, the same Abbot taking some of the brethren along with him, amongst whom Cudberct was one, he founded the required monastery, and in it he instituted the same monastic discipline which he had previously established at Melrose.' Bede, in his history of the Abbots of Weremouth also says—' Alchfrid gave Rippon to Eata, Abbot of Melross, to build a monastery there ; he afterwards gave this monastery to Wilfrid, and Eata with his monks returned to Mailros.' These statements are partly confirmed by Eddie in his Life of Wilfrid, who says—(ch. 8,) that ' Alcfrid's love for Wilfrid increased from day to day, and that he gave him the land of ten tributary families at Eastanford, and a short time afterwards the monastery In HRypis, with the land of 30 families, for the safety of his soul, and appointed him Abbot, and that all the people (noble and ignoble) looked upon him as a prophet of God.'



Hexham, which was bestowed by King Alcfrid<sup>1</sup> upon St. Cuthbert, which Malmesbury (somewhat mistaken in the scale of miles) placed but 50 miles from Yorke, and commendeth for 'beauty of structure before any building on this side the Alps.' In this church sat nine bishops, among whom the learned John of Beverley was advanced to that dignity by King Alcfrid,<sup>2</sup> and then swayed the pastoral staff, till he was translated to Yorke. About the year 652 (according to some authorities 644) we find Alcfrid and Oswy jointly presiding over a religious controversy<sup>3</sup> respecting the observance of Easter.(34)

(34) Bede, in his account of this controversy, is considered by some to have been a zealous adversary of the Scottish and ancient British observance of Easter, and to have shewn at all points a leaning towards the church of Rome. Oswy, who had been instructed and baptized by the Scots or native priests, and was very perfectly skilled in their language, thought nothing better than what they taught, and kept the Easter festival according to the primitive British customs. His wife Eanfleda, however, who had been brought up in the Court of Kent, which had been converted to Christianity by missionaries from Rome, would not abandon the Kentish usages for those of Northumbria, being in this probably supported by Alcfrid and his partizans. Hence Easter was celebrated at the Court of Oswy on different days; one party enjoying its festivities, while the other placed in strong contrast with them the austerities of Lent. At length Oswy consented to purchase domestic peace by hearing a solemn argument in the monastery which he had recently founded at Whitby. The cause was conducted on the part of the British by Colman, then bishop of Northumbria or Lindisfarne, assisted by Chad, bishop of Essex. On the part of Rome, or the Kentish usages, Agilbert was the principal, but he devolved the advocacy of his cause upon Wilfrid, on account of his own imperfect acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon language. The British, or national divines, insisted chiefly upon a tradition, originating, as alleged, in St. John, our Lord's beloved disciple. The foreign party traced the Roman tradition to St. Peter, who was, as they said, intrusted by Christ with the keys of Heaven. 'Were they really intrusted to him?' asked Oswy. 'Undoubtedly so,' he was answered. 'And can

Bede informs us that the Middle Angles were converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of Alcfrid. Peada, their king, came to Oswy, requesting his daughter for a wife. Oswy refused to comply unless he [24] would embrace the faith of Christ. When he heard the preaching of truth, the promise of the heavenly kingdom, and the hope of resurrec-

you allege the grant of any such privilege to an authority of yours ? ' Oswy then demanded. ' We cannot,' Colman replied. ' I must leave your party then,' said Oswy, ' for I should not choose to disoblige him who keeps the keys of Heaven. It might be found impossible to get the door open when I seek admittance.' Thus Oswy decided in favour of the Roman party in a way which reminds us of the language of one of Cooper's braves of the wigwam, and his decision was generally applauded. The result of this controversy was that the ancient usages of Britain were formally renounced as to the time of observing Easter. Colman and many of his adherents were disgusted, and retired to their brethren in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Eddie gives a brief account of this Paschal controversy in the 10th chapter. It may be observed, however, that this triumph of the Roman party involved little or no change in articles of belief. We have no evidence that any papal peculiarities of doctrine were then established. Mosheim (century 7, ch. 3) says :—' In Britain warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons and the new converts to Christianity which Augustine had made among the Anglo-Saxons. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity were not at all affected by these controversies, which, on that account, were more innocent and less important than they otherwise would have been. Besides, they were entirely terminated in the 8th century, in favour of the Anglo-Saxons, by the Benedictine Monks. It should also be noted that although Wilfrid appealed to the authority of the Roman See, as deserving respectful attention, yet he did not claim for it any right of deciding the controversy. In the opin[i]on of some the Roman party might have prevailed before had it not been for the uncommon merits of Aidan and Finian, and that its prevalence on this occasion arose from Colman being not equal to his predecessors. A principal reason, however, may have been the influence which Eanfleda exercised over the compliant mind of her husband Oswy.'

tion and future immortality, he declared that he would willingly become a Christian, even though he should be refused the virgin ; being chiefly prevailed on to receive the faith by King Oswy's son Alcfrid, who was his relation and friend, and had married his sister Cyneburga, the daughter of King Penda. Accordingly he was baptized with all his earls and soldiers.

In the year 665 Alcfrid sent Wilfrid with a great multitude of men and much money to the King of France, to be consecrated bishop over him (Alcfrid) and his people. In Wilfrid, however, real excellencies appear to have been alloyed by levity and ostentation. He did not hasten to return after his consecration, but thoughtlessly displayed his new dignity amidst the tempting hospitalities of Gaul. Alcfrid,<sup>1</sup> his royal patron, became disgusted by this delay, and conferred the Northumbrian bishopric upon another.<sup>2</sup>(35)

From Bede, and others of our old British Chroniclers, we find Alcfrid, in the year 655, fighting on the side of his father Oswy against his father-in-law Penda, the King of Mercia.

Although the Pagans had three times the number of men, yet King Oswy, and his son Alcfrid, met them with a very small army, confiding, it is said, in the conduct of Christ, Oswy having previously vowed that, if he should come off victorious, he would dedicate his daughter to our Lord in holy virginity, and give twelve farms to build monasteries. The engagement beginning, the Pagans were defeated, the thirty commanders, and those who had come to the assistance of Penda, were put to flight, and almost all of them slain. The battle was fought near the river Vinwed (Winwidfield), near Leeds, which then, with

(35) Bede, Lib. 3, ch. 28.—Soames, p. 66.—William of Malmesbury, Lib. 3.—Henry of Huntingdon, Lib. 3.

the great rains, had not only filled its channel, but overflowed its banks, so that many more were drowned in flight than destroyed by the sword.(36)

Such is the history of Alcfrid as it has been handed down to us by our British historians. We may now take a passing glance at his supposed death. Bede (Lib. 3, ch. 27,) tells us that in the year 644<sup>1</sup> a sudden pestilence (called by some the yellow plague) depopulated the southern coasts of Britain, and, extending into the province of the Northhumbrians, ravaged the country far and near, and destroyed a great multitude of men. The pestilence did no less harm in Ireland. This plague is also mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *under the same date* ; in one of the manuscripts of Nennius ; and in Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3). It has been presumed that Alcfrid fell a victim to this plague. If so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he breathed his last in his Saxon city of Bewcastle, and that he was buried here. Against this supposed cause of his death, however, we must bear in mind that, in the year 665,<sup>2</sup> *i. e.*, the year after the plague, Bede informs us that Alcfrid sent Wilfrid to France for consecration, and a similar statement had been previously made by Eddie.(37)

(36) Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3), speaking of this battle, says that ' the Almighty God was present with His people, and dissolved the fortitude of King Penda, and took away from his arms the usual strength of his nerves, and ordered his brave heart to pine with grief, so that he neither recognized himself in his blows, nor was he impenetrable to the arms of his enemies : and he was amazed that his enemies were such as he used to be to his enemies, while on the other hand he was such as they used to be. He, who therefore had always shed the blood of others, now experienced what he himself had done, while he tinged the earth with his own blood, and covered it with his brains.'

(37) Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3), and Bede, both relate that Tuda, *the Bishop of Northumbria*, fell a victim to its ravages, but

[25] *Hwætred.*

The preceding sketch embraces every thing which I can find recorded in history respecting Alcfrid. Besides the names of Oswy and Alcfrid, the words *Hwætred*, *Wæthgar*, and *Alwfwolthu* seem to require a slight notice, as they resemble Anglo-Saxon names which we find recorded in history.

The word *Hwætred* is compounded of 'hwæt, wit, with, or wiht'—'quick or sharp;'—and of 'red, rede, rad, or rod,' (differing only in dialect), signifying 'counsel.' Hence *Hwætred* means 'quick in counsel.' The word '*Hwætred*' occurs in the *Codex Exoniensis*, 477, 5, in a poem called 'The Ruin.' Thorpe translates it as an adjective. Ethmüller,<sup>1</sup> in his Dictionary, gives the word as a proper name. A person named *Withred*, or *Wihtréd*, is mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 4), and by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as King of Kent in the year 692. Higden mentions him as King in the year 686, and neither of them state that such was the death of *King Alcfrid*; a strong presumption that the king did not perish in this plague. St. Chad is also said to have been taken with the contagion while on a visit to his beloved solitude of *Lestingau*, which put an end to his mortal life. Bede, in his life of St. Cuthbert, tells us that 'this great pestilence, which made such havoc in Britain and Ireland, visited also the monastery of *Mailros*, where St. Cuthbert was seized with it. All the brethren passed the night in prayer for him, as looking upon the life of so holy a man most necessary for the edification of their community. In the morning they told him what they had been doing: at which, rising up, he called for his shoes and his staff, saying—'Why do I lie here any longer; God will certainly hear the prayers of so many holy men.' And so it was; for he quickly recovered.' It is also said that *Boisil* had foretold this plague three years before, and that he himself should die of it, which came to pass. (Ibid.) It seems strange, therefore, that so many deaths should be detailed, and yet that there should be no record of the death of *King Alcfrid*, if he perished in this plague.

calls him 'Whitred,' the legitimate son of Egbert. This person may possibly be the party whose name is here recorded. At all events he appears to have entertained religious views and aspirations similar to those of Alcfrid. Queen Eanfleda had been brought up at the Court of Kent, and was sent for by Oswy in the year 651,<sup>1</sup> and became his wife. This Witred, who might at that time be one of the young princes<sup>2</sup> at that Court, may have attended her on her marriage journey to Northumbria, or may have visited the Northumbrian Court at some subsequent period, and thus have formed an attachment to Alcfrid, and afterwards erected this Cross to his memory.

*Wæthgar.*

This word is derived from 'with,'—'quick or sharp'—and 'gar or gær'—'a spear': hence it signifies 'quick or expert in the use of the spear.' It may be also a proper name. A person named 'Wihtgar' (the h before the t) is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, anno 514, as Lord of the Isle of Wight. He was the first to establish an Anglo-Saxon colony there. He also was the founder of Carisbrooke Castle. Camden (p. 130,) says that it was called 'Whitgaraburgh,' from him, and now by contraction 'Caresbrook.' Of course he cannot be the person whose name is recorded on this monument, but we may draw an inference that such a name was in use among the Anglo-Saxons.

*Alfwold.*

'Aelf,' which, according to various dialects, as Camden says, is pronounced 'ulf, wolph, hulph, hilp, helfe, or helpe,' implies 'assistance.' 'Wold or wald' means 'a ruler or governor.' Hence the word

Alfwold means 'an auxiliary governor.' But it may also be a proper noun, occurring under a variety of modes of spelling.(38) William of Malmesbury mentions a King of the East Angles named 'Elwold' soon after the time of Alcfrid, who might possibly be the person mentioned here.<sup>1</sup> Bede says that Sigebert, the King of the East Angles, often visited the Court of Northumbria, and was converted to the Christian faith in A.D. 653, through the persuasion of Oswy. This Elwold may have attended Sigebert on some of these occasions, and thus have become acquainted with, and attached to Alcfrid, and hence from motives of friendship and regard he may have aided in erecting this pillar to his memory.

We may now return to a further examination of the Cross. Below the chief inscription is a figure, which, as Bishop Nicholson says, 'represents the portraiture of a layman with a hawk or eagle perched

(38) In Ingram's Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A. D. 778, we find 'Alfwold' mentioned as a King of Northumbria, and a note upon this passage says '*Alfold. Cot.*' Again in A. D. 780, we find him called 'Alwold,' and a note says, '*Aelfwold Lands.*' In 789 he died and was buried at Hexham. Higden says that he was slain by his own people. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also mentions a person of the name of 'Alfwold' as bishop of Dorset, who died in A. D. 978. Henry of Huntingdon mentions one 'Owlfold' about A. D. 910. A King of the East Angles is mentioned by Roger de Hoveden as dying A. D. 749, whom he calls 'Elfwald.' He also uses the word 'Elwald,' 'Alfwald,' and 'Elfwald.' In the Anglo-Saxon Charters we find this name with the Latin terminations 'dus' and 'thus,' and their several inflections. Hence we have Alfwolthu as an Anglo-Saxon corruption of Alfwolthus or Alfwolthum. We often find the Latin termination dropped entirely, and the word ending in 'wald or wold.' The first syllable occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Charters under various modes of spelling. We find 'Alf, Elf, Olf, Ælf;' and in a charter<sup>2</sup> of Eadwig (A. D. 956. Ms. Lands. 417, fol. 11, b.) we have the name 'Alwlf,' which has a great resemblance to the orthography of the Bewcastle Cross.

on his arm.' [26] Hutchinson describes it as 'the effigies of a person of some dignity, in a long robe to the feet, but without any dress or ornament on the head: on a pedestal against which this figure leans is a bird, which, we conceive, is a raffen, or raven, the insignia of the Danish standard. This figure seems designed to represent the personage for whom the monument was erected, and though accompanied with the raven, bears no other marks of royal dignity.' In Lysons it is thus spoken of: 'At the bottom on the west side is sculptured, in bas-relief, the figure of a man bareheaded, habited in a gown which reaches to the middle of his legs, holding a bird (most probably a hawk) on his hand, just above its perch.' To these nearly correct observations of the Lysons I would only add that the figure is not bare headed, but appears to be covered with something resembling a close hood.

*South Side.*

The sculpture on the south side is divided into five compartments. In the bottom, central, and top divisions are magical knots. In the second are two vines intersecting each other, and in the fourth is another vine, in one of the curves of which a vertical sundial has been placed, somewhat resembling the dial placed over the Saxon porch on the south side of Bishopstone Church, in Sussex, and also resembling the Saxon dial placed over the south porch of Kirkdale Church, in the North Riding of Yorkshire: a short description of each of which may be found at page 60 of the eleventh volume of the *Archæological Journal*. In the Bewcastle Dial the principal divisions are marked by crosses, as on the fore-mentioned dials, which are considered examples of a very early date,



the Kirkdale Dials having been made, as it is supposed, between the years 1056 and 1065.

On the plain surface near the top of the Cross we have the following characters :—



L I C E

The word 'lic' or 'lice' is very distinct, but of the remaining letters we have only the lower part. On the east side of the Cross, where the sentence has probably been continued and completed, this plain surface is totally gone so as to leave no traces whatever, so that this part of the inscription may be considered as irreparably lost. The word 'lic,' or 'lice,' may perhaps be intended to express something respecting 'a dead body.' In the *Dream of the Holy Rood* (*Archæologia*, vol. 30, p. 31,) the word 'lices' occurs, and signifies the corpse of our Saviour. The word 'lice' may also be part of the word 'liceman'<sup>1</sup>—a body.

Between the highest and the next compartment are traces of letters which I read thus :—



E C G F R I [THU]

*i. e.,* of Ecgfrid.' Ecgfrid was the son of Oswy, and brother of Alchfrid, and succeeded his father in the kingdom of Northumbria in the year 670, according to the *Ang. Sax. Chronicle*. Eddie (ch. 20) speaks of him as king of both Deira and Bernicia. In the year 660 he married Etheldrida, the daughter of Anna,

king of the East Angles, who lived with him 12 years, and at last retired as a nun into the monastery of the Abbess Edda (the aunt of Ecgfrid) at Coludi (Coldingham), Berwickshire. Egfrid afterwards married Ermenburga. Eddie says that while Etheldrida lived with him he was triumphant everywhere, but after the separation he ceased to be victorious.

Egfrid appears to have been instrumental in founding the monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow. (39)

In 685 Egfrid rashly led his army to ravage the province of the Picts, much [27] against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert, who had lately been appointed Bishop of Hexham by him. The enemy made show as if they fled, and the king was drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains and slain, with the greatest part of his forces. Egfrid is said to have carried his conquests to the western ocean, and held Cumberland as a tributary province of his kingdom.

Between the second and third divisions (from the top) of the decorated parts of the Cross we find traces of Runes, which I venture to read thus :—



R I C E S [T H] Æ S :

(39) Bede, in his history of the Abbots of Weremouth, says that he bestowed on Biscop, of his own possessions, as much land as might maintain 70 families, ordering him to build thereon a monastery, which was accordingly performed. This monastery was built at the mouth of the river Were (thence called Weremouth) in the year 674. The king was so well pleased with the zeal and industry of Biscop, and with the fruits which began plentifully to spring from this pious foundation, that he afterwards added to his former donation a second gift of lands, on which Biscop built another monastery on the opposite side of the same river. This was the monastery of Jarrow. These monasteries were destroyed by the Danes, but a small priory was afterwards established at Jarrow.

*i. e.*, 'of this kingdom,'—the kingdom of Northhumbria.

Between the third and fourth divisions we also find traces of characters :



thus—KYNINGES,<sup>1</sup> *i. e.*, 'King.'

Between the lowest and second compartment is another line of Runes which has been noticed by Spelman and others as previously described. I would suggest that the line may be read thus :—



+ F R U [MA] N G E A R,<sup>2</sup>

*i. e.*, 'in the first year.' The four lines on this side of the Cross are evidently connected with each other, and are to be read thus :—'fruman gear Ecgfrithu kyninges rices thæs,'—*in the first year (of the reign) of Egfrid, king of this kingdom of Northhumbria,*<sup>3</sup> *i. e.*, A.D. 670, in which year we may conclude that this monument was erected.

The form of date used on this monument may be considered rather peculiar. Some are of opinion (perhaps without sound grounds) that the era of the Incarnation was not introduced into England till the time of Bede, *i. e.*, about a century after the erection of this pillar. It is a remarkable fact that we have only two original charters of the seventh century, and that the date of the Incarnation does not appear in either of these documents. We cannot infer, however, from this fact that such a mode of dating was then unknown. This would be pushing an argument to an unjust conclusion. Such an inference would

be an abuse of the rules of logic. It may be remarked, however, that the mode of dating by the regnal years of the kings was frequently adopted, as must be well known to every one conversant in Anglo-Saxon diplomacy ; and I think there can be little question but such a mode has been adopted on this monument.

*North Side.*

On the north side are also five compartments occupied by sculpture. In the highest and lowest divisions we find vines with foliage and fruit. Mr. Smith considers them 'as probably the Danish symbols of fertility, as Amalthea's horn was among the Greeks.' In the second and fourth divisions are two curiously devised, and intricately twisted knots, often called 'magical knots,' and by some considered the 'knot-work of Scottish and Irish sculptors.' The third division is filled with a quantity of chequerwork.(40)

(40) This chequerwork is pronounced by Mr. Smith to be 'a Scythian method of embellishing funeral ornaments'; and is regarded by Bishop Nicholson 'as a notable emblem of the tumuli or burying places of the Ancients.' Camden says—'Seeing the cross is chequered like the arms of Vaux, we may suppose that it has been erected by some of them.' Hutchinson<sup>1</sup> thinks that 'the cross must of necessity be allowed to bear a more ancient date than any of the remains of that name; which cannot be run up higher than the Conquest.' He also thinks that 'armorial bearings were not in use at the same time as the Runic characters.' It is probable, however, that this chequerwork had no reference to the family of Vaux or De Vallibus, as they were not really and legally possessed of the Lordship of Bewcastle until the reign of Henry the Second, or about the middle of the 12th century, which is too late a period for the decoration of this monument. The late ingenious Mr. Howard suggested that 'very possibly the family of De Vallibus took their arms from this column, being one of the most remarkable things in the barony.' The cheque appears to have been a device used by the Gauls and Britons long before the erection of this cross. The Gaulic manufactory of woollen cloth spoken of by Diodorus (Lib. 5),

[28] Immediately above the lowest compartment is one line of Runic characters of which Bishop Nicholson in his letter to Mr. Walker says, 'Upon first sight of these letters I greedily ventured to read them 'Rynburn'<sup>1</sup>; and I was wonderfully pleased to fancy that this word thus singly written must necessarily betoken the final extirpation, and burial of the magical Runæ, in these parts, reasonably hoped on the conversion of the Danes to the Christian faith.' The learned prelate also conjectured that the word might be 'Ryeeburn,'<sup>1</sup> which he takes in the old Danish language to signify 'a burial place of the dead.' The representation of these Runes given by the Bishop is inaccurate, and he has evidently comprehended in it some of the flutings of the pillar. It is difficult to imagine how the Bishop could fall into such an error, for the letters on this side of the monument are still perfect and legible, having been fortunately preserved

and in Pliny's Natural History (Lib. 8, ch. 48), was woven chequer-wise, of which our Scottish plaids are perfect remains. Bishop Anselm's<sup>2</sup> Book concerning 'Virginity,' written about the year 680—the era of the cross nearly—when the art of weaving in this country was probably in a comparatively rude state, contains a distinct indication that chequered robes were then in fashion; and many of the figures in Rossellini's Egyptian work are dressed in chequered cloths. The cheques are still retained in common use to this day among the inhabitants of Wales, the descendants of the ancient Britons: and so great is their veneration for their ancient emblem that whenever a Welchman leaves his native mountains to reside in an English town, he is sure to carry this symbol along with him. Shops with the sign of the chequers were common even among the Romans, as is evident from the views of Pompeii presented by Sir W. Hamilton to the Antiquarian Society. A human figure in a chequered robe is sculptured on the side of an altar which was found in digging a cellar for the Grapes Inn, on the site of the Roman Station at Carlisle, thus establishing the probability that the cheque was used among the Romans in Britain. We read also of nets of chequer-work in the days of King Solomon, 1 Kings, vii., 17.

from the effects of the weather by their proximity to the Church, which has afforded them its friendly shelter;<sup>1</sup> and in the manuscript journal which the Bishop kept of his visitation in 1703 the Runes are more correctly traced by him.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Smith dissents from the reading of the Bishop, and rather thinks it to be a sepulchral monument of the Danish kings. He reads it 'Kuniburuk,' which, he says, in the old Danish language, imports 'the burial place of a king.' Mr. Smith, however, agrees with the Bishop that it may also have been designed for a standing monument of conversion to Christianity which might have happened on the loss of their king, and each be mutually celebrated by it. But from the inscription on the west side it does not appear to have been intended for anything more than a memorial cross.

Mr. Kemble, with Mr. Howard's plate as a guide,<sup>3</sup> who traced it thus,



pronounced the word to be 'CYNIBURUG' or 'CYNIBURUK,'<sup>4</sup> the proper name of a lady; and he attached some value to it as proving the inscription Anglo-Saxon—not Norse.<sup>5</sup>

After repeated and careful examinations the letters appear to me to be—



KYNNBUR(THU)G,

the name of the wife of Alchfrid. Eddie, who wrote about fifty years after the erection of the cross, does not mention the name of Alchfrid's queen; but in Stephenson's edition of Bede<sup>6</sup> (who probably wrote his

history about 100 years<sup>1</sup> after the erection of the monument) we read of a lady whom he calls 'Cyneburga,' the daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, and the wife of Alcfred. This is undoubtedly the same person, the name having somewhat changed in a century. In Ingram's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the year 656, we read of 'Kyneburg' and 'Kynesuith,' the daughters of King Penda, and the sisters of Wulfhere who in that year is said to have succeeded his brother Peada in the kingdom of the Mercians. These ladies appear to have counselled their brother Wulfhere to endow and dignify the monastery at Medehamstede,(41) which in the year 963 was named Peterborough, and in that year we read in the above-named chronicle that Elfsy, who was then Abbot, took up the bodies of St. Kyneburh and St. Kyneswith, who lay at Castor, and brought them to Peterborough.(42)

(41) It may appear strange that Wulfhere should have adopted the counsel of his sisters, but it must be borne in mind that the ladies were very important personages in the days of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Gurdon, in his *Antiquities of Parliament*, says—'The ladies of birth and quality sat in council with the Saxon Witas.' The abbess Hilda, says Bede, presided in an ecclesiastical Synod. In Wighfred's great council at Becconceld, A. D. 694, the abbesses sat and deliberated; and five of them signed decrees of the council.

(42) William of Malmesbury (Lib. 1, ch. 4) tells us that Cyneberg retired to the monastery which her brothers Wulfhere and Ethelred had built, and that she and her sister Kyneswith were superior to others of their sex for the piety and chastity of their lives. Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3) calls this lady Chineburgam, and her sister Cinewissem. Ingulph of Croyland calls her Kynenburgam, and says that she and her sister were 'ambas sanctæ continentiæ præcellentes.' Kyneburg appears to have made large presents to the monastery at Medehamstede, for when it was destroyed by the Danes, A. D. 870, Ingulph says that 'the precious gifts' of the holy virgins Kineburgæ and Kinespitæ were trodden under foot; and in another passage he calls these gifts 'sacredrelics,' and says that the Abbot took them

[29] In the 'Britannia Sancta' Cyneburg is spoken of as a devout and fervent Christian, whose heart was much more set on the kingdom of heaven than on her earthly diadem : insomuch that she had an impatient desire to quit the world and all its vanities, and to consecrate herself, body and soul, to Jesus Christ. By her means, in a short time, King Alchfrid's Court was converted in a manner into a monastery, or school of regular discipline and Christian perfection. After her release from the matrimonial bond by the death of her husband she returned into her native country of Mercia, and there chose for the place of her retreat a town then called Dormundcaster, afterwards from her Kyneburgcastor—now Castor or Caistor. Here she built, or (as others say) found already built by her brother Wulfhere, a monastery for sacred virgins, over whom she became mother and abbess. To this monastery, as we learn from the author of her life in Capgrave, many virgins of all ranks and degrees resorted, to be instructed by her in rules and exercises of a religious life ; and whilst the daughters of princes revered her as a mistress, the poor were admitted to regard her as a companion : and both the one and the other honoured her as a parent. She was, says this author, a mirror of all sanctity. She had a wonderful compassion and charity for the poor, exhorting kings and princes to almsgiving and works of mercy. Henschenius is positive that she died before the year 680, but Higden says that she was appointed over the Monastery of Glovernia in 681.

away with him in his flight. Ranulph Higden (*Lib. 5, Anno 681*) says that Osric, King of the Mercians, built a monastery de Glovernia,<sup>1</sup> over which he appointed his sister Kineburgam.



*Kyneswitha.*

Between the second and third compartments (from the bottom) is another very indistinct line of Runes which I venture to read thus—



KYNESWI[TH]A<sup>1</sup>

This was the name of the mother as well as a sister<sup>2</sup> of Cyneburg. Of the mother, nothing of note is recorded. From the two sisters being so frequently mentioned together, and from the similarity of their religious views and feelings, we may presume that they were strongly attached to each other, and that the sister's name is recorded here. William of Malmesbury (Lib. 4) says that she was dedicated to God from her infancy, and that she kept her glorious resolution to her old age. Not content with saving herself alone, she prevailed also with King Offa, to whom she had (against her will) been promised in marriage, to devote himself to a single life. She afterwards retired to the Monastery of Dormundcaster, where she died, 'after having lived a pattern of all virtues for many years.'

*Wulfhere.*

Between the third and fourth compartments is another line of Runes which, though indistinct, appears to be—



MYRCNA KYNG,<sup>3</sup>

i. e., King of the Mercians.

The above line of Runes appears to be connected with another line between the fourth and fifth divisions, which may be read thus—



WULFHERE,<sup>1</sup>

who was a son of Penda, brother of Cyneburg, and King of the Mercians. He succeeded his brother Peada in the year 657, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.(43)

[30] Eddie calls him Wlfarius, and says that he frequently invited Wilfrid (while Abbot at Ripon) to go into Mercia, and exercise the office of bishop there, and that he made many grants of lands, for the salvation of his soul, where he presently appointed monasteries. In the year 661 we find him instrumental in converting the people of the Isle of Wight: and in the year 665 he was a means of the reconversion of the East Saxons, who had begun to restore the temples that had been abandoned, and to adore idols,

(43) He is respresented by Malmesbury as a man of great strength of mind and body, and although a zealous Christian yet his reputation was sullied by an act of simony, being the first of the kings of the Angles who sold the bishopric of London. In the year 657 we find him engaged in the foundation and endowment of the monastery of Medehamstede. He is said to have granted large tracts of lands and fens to this monastery. From the Life of his Queen Ermenilda in Capgrave, we learn that he was induced, through her influence, to root out of his dominions, the worship of idols, and all heathenish superstitions; and to stock his kingdom with priests and churches for the worship of the true and living God. He is also said to have contributed liberally towards the foundation of a monastery for religious virgins at Wenlock in Shropshire. He also by his bounty enabled Bishop Chadd to found a monastery at a place called Barrow, in the province of Lindsey.

as if they might by those means be protected against the mortality, *i. e.*, the yellow plague. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the year 675, Wulfhere and Escwin fought at Beadanhead ; and the same year Wulfhere died.

On the plain surface near the top of the Cross are the following characters :



The three Crosses may be emblematical of the crucifixion, the central one appearing rather higher than the others. The word 'GESSUS' is very plain, all the letters being quite distinct except the G, and the part where the U and the S approach each other, which appears to have experienced some injury.(44)

The word 'Gessus' is evidently connected with the fragments of the word 'Kristtus' on the west side ; and has probably formed part of a sentence which has been completed on the two other sides, but of which only a small portion now remains.

Having made this minute and, I fear, tedious attempt to explain the inscriptions on this cross, I may now leave the subject in the hands of those who are more versed in such recondite researches, hoping that if there be another and a better solution of the enigma, it may be found.

(44) The letter S has a little peculiarity in its form, the last stroke being carried up nearly to the same height as the top of the other letters. The letter S in the word 'Oswiung' appears to have the same form ; as also some others on this monument ; and there is one somewhat similar to it on the Ruthwell pillar. There is also an S of a similar form in the Runic inscription in Carlisle Cathedral.

## [31] MR. HAIGH'S VERSION.

It is now my painful duty to make a few observations on a different version of these inscriptions, which has been offered by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, of Erdington, near Birmingham, read before the Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and since published in their transactions. I feel extreme reluctance in entering upon this course, but I also feel that I have been driven into it through the officiousness of certain parties, the patrons of Mr. Haigh's version. Mr. Robert White,<sup>1</sup> to whom I have already alluded, in a letter to the *Gateshead Observer*, dated Oct. 29, 1856, after acknowledging his own ignorance of Runes, throws out an insinuation that I am equally ignorant of the language and its characters. In a paper on Runes, read at the January meeting, 1856, of the Antiquarian Society, at Newcastle, Dr. Charlton introduced Mr. Haigh's version, and then alluded to one which had been suggested by myself, and although Dr. Charlton had never seen the Bewcastle pillar, and consequently could have had no opportunity of comparing either version with the original, yet he expressed an opinion that the version of Mr. Haigh was 'the more probable of the two, and nearer the truth.'<sup>2</sup> Other insinuations have been made against my version by parties who know nothing of the Runic language. I feel, therefore, called upon to enter into a minute detail, and to adopt a course which I should not have thought of adopting under other circumstances.

My first acquaintance with Mr. Haigh arose from a letter which I received from him, in which he requested me to send him a rubbing of the chief inscription. In this letter, amongst other things, he stated that he had a 'suspicion that the long inscription, and one of the others, present us with the name of a king of

Northumberland,' *without however mentioning his name.* In my reply, promising him a rubbing, I asked him whether Alfrid was the Northumberland king to whom he alluded ; my attention having from an early period been directed to Alfrid, from the suggestion made by Mr. Howard<sup>1</sup> to the Antiquarian Society, and from a communication I received from another party in 1852 respecting Cyneburg, and also from Kemble's observations on this name.

In reply, he stated that he expected to find the name of Alcfrid, and also the name of Sighard, or Sigfrid, in the chief inscription. In another letter he said that he also expected to find the name of Alfrid in the bottom line on the south side, but before he came to the end of this letter he stated that a *new suspicion had come across his mind, that the bottom line of the south<sup>a</sup> was more probably 'Oswiu Kyningk.'* He had not then seen any rubbing of this line, and consequently his reading was merely guessing.

I made a rubbing of the chief inscription, partly according to the process already described, except that (according to his instruction) *it was made with two sheets of brown paper, placed one above the other,* instead of one of thin white. The paper was thus too thick for such shallow letters and marks, and the rubbing was very confused, unintelligible, and illegible even by myself when standing by it, and making it, and having a tolerable idea of the letters beforehand. Having a lurking suspicion that his intentions were not altogether of a pure and disinterested character, I took special care that the rubbing should not be perfect and satisfactory in those parts where I had not decided as to the correct reading.


In acknowledging the receipt of this rubbing of the chief inscription, he said—*'all traces of impressions*

*are effaced.* He felt satisfied however 'that perfect impressions would enable him to read every letter'—'that he should have no difficulty in reading the whole if he could once get good impressions.' But then here was the principal difficulty which every person has hitherto experienced who has made the slightest attempt to decipher these inscriptions.

Mr. Haigh stated in direct terms that '*all traces of impressions were effaced.*' After such a plain statement few persons would suppose that he would ever [32] attempt to impose a version of this inscription (from such a rubbing) either upon the Society of Antiquarians at Newcastle, or at any other place. Few persons, however, it would seem have any idea how sanguine some antiquarians become, and what confidence they assume in their own powers of success. *In a few days he did actually give, and without the least hesitation, a version of this long-lost inscription.*

Within a fortnight after he had stated that *all impressions were effaced*, I received a letter from him saying that he could read the whole of them; that he felt quite sure of most of them, and that the name of Roetbert was most interesting, because the monumental inscription to his memory had been found at Falstone, not far from Bawcastle. This, however, of course proved nothing. There might have been fifty stones found with the name of Roetbert inscribed upon them, and yet it would not follow that the fifty-first would necessarily have the same name upon it. In his letter, he gave me a part of his version, which commenced with the words 'thæs sigbecun.' I wrote to him by return of post stating that I had sometimes thought that the inscription might commence with 'a cross' and the word 'this,' and stated some reasons both for and against it. I also stated some objections to the latter

part of his word 'sigbecun'; more especially the letter C, inasmuch as I could not find that his traces of this letter corresponded with the marks now remaining on the stone. A reading somewhat similar had been proposed long before I knew of the existence of such a person as Mr. Haigh.

In a few days I received another letter from him, which I thought to be of a somewhat snappish character. He said 'the last letter of the first line is *certainly*  i. e., C or K<sup>1</sup>.' This word 'certainly' shows at least great confidence in his own power of reading the rubbings, especially when we recollect that he had so shortly before stated that 'all traces of impressions were effaced.' He said the letter C or K, of the form given by him, was found also on the Ruthwell pillar, which, however, I do not look upon as any proof that this form of the letter should occur on the Bewcastle pillar also. *I have since very carefully examined the Ruthwell pillar, and I can find no letter upon it of the form given by him.* There is no such letter given in the accurate drawings of the Ruthwell pillar by Dr. Duncan, and I have no hesitation in stating that when Mr. Haigh said that the letter C or K, of the form given by him, was found on the Ruthwell pillar, *he was speaking without due caution. I now assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that no such letter occurs either on the Ruthwell, or the Bewcastle pillar.*

He also sent me in another letter his reading of another rubbing which I had sent him. The bottom line of the south side, which I read + FRU(MA)NGEAR is read by him OSWU CYN(ING) ELT, i. e., Oswy King the elder—'elt' perhaps for 'aelter,' the elder or head of the family.



He says that he was puzzled with this line at first, *the rubbing was so black, but when he looked at the back of the rubbing he could read the impression of the letters distinctly.* He had in fact (as appeared from one of his former letters) formed his own convictions as to this reading by anticipation, *i. e.*, before he had seen the rubbing of it; and rather than acknowledge himself either beaten or in error, *he professes to read it by the back of the paper where there never was any rubbing at all.* It is evident that by such a mode any person would be capable of reading anything, or everything, just as his fancy might suggest. The first two letters of this line (the F and the R) are perfect; as well marked as any letters on the stone. They are letters about which I never experienced any doubt or difficulty, being distinctly visible at a considerable distance as soon as the moss was removed. He converts the letter  $\Psi$ —F—into an  $\mathcal{H}$ —S—thus rejecting marks which are quite plain, and substituting marks where none are visible: and by rejecting the tail of the letter  $\mathcal{R}$ —R—he contrives to convert it into the letter  $\mathcal{P}$ —W. Some of the other letters in this line are not so plain and distinctly legible.

[33] The following was his version of the long inscription. I shall place mine by its side. The latter part of the woodcut represents his improved reading.



## MAUGHAN'S.



+ [TH]ISSIG: B[EA]CN:  
 [THU]N: SETTON: H  
 W[ÆT]RED: W[ÆTH]  
 GAR: ALWFWOL  
 [THU]: AFT: ALCFRI  
 [THU]: EAN: CYN[ING]:  
 EAC: OSWIU[ING]:  
 + GEBID: HE  
 O: SINNA: SAW[HU]LA.

## HAIGH'S.









+ [TH]IS: SIGBEC  
 UN: SETTÆ: H  
 WÆTRED: WIT  
 GÆR: FLWOLD  
 U: ROETB[ER]T:  
 UMÆ: CYN[ING]:  
 ALCFRI[TH]Æ: G  
 EGIDÆD:  
 HISSUM: SAULE.<sup>1</sup>

He says—'If we find two false spellings in this inscription—Flwold for Felwold, and Gegidæd, for Gebidæd, I can only say that from my experience of other inscriptions I only wonder there are not more. We have even in this monument three other inscriptions, and every line of them is blundered.' Thus it appears every thing must succumb to his conceptions of right and wrong. He even professes to know better how things should have been 1200 years ago than the person who wrote the inscriptions, who, according to the general opinion as to the origin of


such Runic inscriptions, would be one of the learned ecclesiastics of that day. His version thus comprehends *two false spellings and three other blundered inscriptions*, while my version requires nothing of the kind. His reading was as follows:— + This sigbecun settæ Hwætred Witgær Flwoldu Roetbert umæ Cyning Alcfrithæ. Gegidæd hissum saule, *i. e.*, 'Hwætred, Witgær, Felwold, and Roetbert set up this beacon of victory in memory of Alcfrid. Pray for his soul.'

Soon after he sent me his reading, [34] he wrote to me again, requesting me to enter upon all the trouble of making another set of rubbings for him at the inclement season of the new year—rubbings not only of the same parts which I had done before for him—but of some other parts—with fresh instructions as to the mode of proceeding, stating at the same time that his reading would be found to be correct. Before he could receive any answer from me, he arrived at Bewcastle. He *immediately commenced* making rubbings for himself, but after attempting in two or three places he gave it up—on what grounds he did not state. He then began to examine the stone with his eye and his finger. I shall now present the reader with a short review of his readings, *and his own exposition of them*, taken from a memorandum made as soon as he left.


As to the word 'sigbecun' he said that the letter C was made thus——, and showed me where the tracings of the letter had been, of which, however, I could not see the least relic now, and which did not at all correspond with the traces which were actually to be seen on the stone. The lower side—mark of my compound letter —EA—before my letter C, which is one of the best and deepest marks

on the stone, which has evidently a connection with the letter E before it, but no visible connection with the letter C following it—this mark he said was the angular loop of his letter C. Being anxious to hear his opinions and explanations of the other parts of the stone, I did not venture to make any observations of an opposing nature, judging it most prudent to allow him to proceed when he was in a communicative humour. I merely observed, however, as it were casually, that there was a good trace of the side stroke of the letter —C—rather different from what he read it. He said peremptorily—‘*it was a blot.*’ He thus rejects the two perpendicular strokes of my letters C and N, which are very perfectly defined, and which have no break in the middle, as his letter C would require, and adopts a letter of which I cannot see full and satisfactory traces. He stated that my letter —C—was not in use at the time when this Cross was erected, but that the character as given by him was always used for a C. Where he gets this information from I know not—neither can I conceive how he can speak with authority on such a matter, when it has been hitherto a very doubtful and disputed point whether there were any Anglo-Saxon Runes at all at that period. Besides this word ‘*beacn*’ I find the letter —for a C—in the words ‘*Alcfrithu, eac, myrcna, lice, Ecgfrithu, and rices.*’ In the words ‘*Kynnburthug, Kyneswitha,—Kyng, Kristtus, Kyniing, and Kyninges.*’ I find a character rather similar to the form of the C as given by Mr. Haigh, but not exactly like it. In every instance where this character —K—occurs on this monument, the lower part of it has always a

flat top, no appearance of side-loops, and merely two dots above the side strokes. It certainly is not used as he shapes it. If it occurred in his word 'sigbecun' as he shapes it, then the two upright strokes of my letters C and N would want about a third of their form in the middle of each of them, but no such want can be seen on the stone. The strokes are perfect and visible enough from top to bottom.

I then directed his attention to the appearance of marks across the letter  at the commencement of the second line, which, I thought, formed the trirunor, or compound Rune—THU—several instances of compound Runes appearing on the stone. He said '*they were merely accidental marks, and of no consequence at all.*'


The two following words, 'settæ' and 'Hwætred' are the only words in which our versions approach to the character of being 'identical.' I deciphered this part of the inscriptions a long time before Mr. Haigh made any attempt to do so.

Mr. Haigh next turned his attention to my word 'Wæthgar,' which he said *was or ought to be Witgær.* I pointed out the marks of the angle on the side of the last perpendicular stroke, which made it the compound letter TH, thus  (ÆTH.) He said '*they were faults, and ought not to have been there.* Although he spoke so positively [35] at that time as to the word 'Witgær,' yet he has since changed it into the words 'eom gær.'

As to the word 'Flwoldu,' he assured me he was quite correct about it. He showed me his tracings of the word, evidently adopting the slightest weather mark or injury to the stone where it suited him, and

pronouncing the deepest and best-defined cuttings to be *blots, faults, or accidents*, when they did not suit him. *This he did throughout all the inscriptions.* Although he was so positive as to the word Flwoldu being the name of a person, he has since converted it into a common substantive, signifying 'pestilence.'

He now came to the word 'Roetbert,' which made him stare at first, but he soon saw his way through it, rejecting several of the existing marks, and placing marks where there were none.

On my observing that one of the letters had a very good upright stroke, and a good side stroke, diverging so as to resemble the letter —C—he again told me that such a letter was not then in use, and that it was introduced into the Runic alphabet at a subsequent period. But he reads this letter C as a B, *and in order to effect this, he gives it a side-loop at the top, of which there is no decisive trace, and he carries the bottom of the under side-loop down through the half-inch space between the lines of the inscription into the space between the letters Y and N of the line below.* He said that such faults were quite common, but how he contrives to make them quite common I know not, for the Bewcastle inscription is probably the only one of that early period, and this will be the only instance on this monument where the letter B is so formed—if it is formed thus.....Although he stated so dogmatically that Roetbert was the name of one of the parties who erected this monument, he has since changed his mind on this point, and now asserts that the monument was erected to him jointly with Alcfrid.

In the 6th line he found the word 'umæ,' which he translated 'in memory of.' I know of no Anglo-Saxon Dictionary or even Glossary where such a word

occurs. He has since changed his word 'umæ' into 'ymb.'

In the 7th line he gets his word 'Alcfrithæ.' To the first upright stroke he attaches an under side-mark, so as to form the letter A. Of this mark I can see no visible trace—no depression, such as might have been expected, if ever a mark had been cut here, and a part of the stone cut away. He reads the second upright stroke as the letter L. At the third letter C he requires too much space. Between the F and the R there is also rather too much space. His next two letters are so close together that the letter I is actually placed upon the side marks of his preceding letter R. An objection may also be raised against his word 'Alcfrithæ,' as applied to a person of the male sex. Proper names ending in 'tha' generally denote a female. In Anglo-Saxon charters it is invariably so. We find *Kynigitha* and *Kynigithe*, Queen of Kent, mentioned in the same charter of her husband in 694. We also find *Mildrythæ*, Abbess of the Monastery in Thanet; *Frithogitha*, Queen of the West-Saxons; *Kyneswitha*, Queen of Offa, King of Mercia; also *Ælfrythæ*, another Queen of Mercia. We also find the names *Kynedritha*, *Etheldritha*, *Ælswytha*, and many others, but in no instance do we find a man's name ending in 'tha' or 'thæ.' Higden (p. 251) mentions one Alfritha, the Queen of Kenulphus. Camden, speaking of Stonehenge, tells us that Alfritha, wife of King Edgar, built and endowed a stately nunnery that she might expiate her crime in killing her son-in-law, King Edward, by penance and good works. This is another instance of the word being applied to a female. Hence we have fair grounds for rejecting this word as the name of King Alcfrid.

In the word 'Gegidæd,' the letter **M**—E has only one upright stroke visible on the stone, and how he forms the remainder of this word I can scarcely comprehend. He altered his words 'hissum saule' into 'heosum<sup>1</sup> saulum'; *passing through the space between the ines again to get the top of the first letter U in 'heosum,' rejecting the cross bar of the H altogether in 'sawhula,'* and attaching a side-mark to the top of one of its uprights so as to get his letter L.

Such are the two versions of this inscription. With the exception of a few friendly suggestions, I am only indebted for my version to my own time, my own labour, my own perseverance, and most especially to my own residence on the [36] spot, which has enabled me to examine and re-examine, to correct and re-correct, not only my own frequent errors, but also the errors of others.

In another paper read before the Society of Antiquaries at Newcastle Mr. Haigh has made some alterations of which I have only seen a translation in Roman letters; but not a copy of the Runic characters. In this paper he reads the chief inscription thus—'This sigbecun sættæ Hwætred eom gaer fiwoldu Roetbert ymb Alcfridæ. Gicegæd heosum saulum.'—'This memorial set Hwætred in the great pestilence year to Roetbert to King Alcfride. Pray for their souls.' On these alterations I shall now make a few remarks.

His first alteration occurs in his word 'Witgær,' which he changes into the two words 'eom gaer.' The word 'eom' appears to be open to a few objections. The letters in this word require five perpendicular or full upright strokes, while on the stone there are only three. Besides, in the Anglo-Saxon language, the word 'eom' is either a pronoun, mean-

ing 'to them'—'eom' for 'heom,' and that for the dative plural 'him': or else it is the indicative mood of the defective verb 'wesan'—'to be,' and signifies, in plain English, 'I am.' I know of no instance where 'eom' occurs for the preposition 'in.'

An objection may also be raised against the word 'gaer.' In Anglo-Saxon we have the word 'gear,' signifying 'a year,' but not the word 'gaer.' The Runic characters on the stone may be read 'gar' or 'gaer,' but not 'gear'; and hence, probably, he takes the liberty of transposing the vowels E and A, but we may question whether the liberty is not an unwarrantable one. I find a trace of every mark necessary for the word 'Wæthgar'; but I feel bound to say that 'eom gaer' appears a very doubtful reading. It also appears very doubtful whether Alfrid did die in the great pestilence year, for, according to Bede, he was alive in the following year.

In the first reading he introduced Roetbert as one of the party who erected the monument to Alfrid, but in his second reading he supposes the monument to be raised *to him and King Alfrid*. Of this Roetbert history leaves us no record, which appears rather strange if he was so eminent a personage as to be considered worthy of sharing the monument with King Alfride. From what I have previously said on this word, however, a doubt may be fairly entertained whether the word 'Roetbert' ever was placed on the monument.

He alters the word 'umæ' into 'ymb,' which signifies 'about,'—'around,' *i. e.*, something winding about or compassing. It is very evident, however, that a stone pillar (although it is fifteen feet in length) would be a very unsuitable winding-sheet for the corpse of King Alfrid. Its use on this monument,



signifying 'in memory of,' seems rather a forced one. Besides, its proper position should have been *before* both the words 'Roetbert' and 'Alcfrid,' *and not between them*, as it has reference to both words.

The word 'gicegæd' appears to have some remarkable transformations rendering it what may be termed a 'far fetched' word. I presume that it is originally derived from the verb 'biddan'—'to pray,' which, in the imperative mood, plural number, is thus formed 'biddath'—'pray ye.' In the first transformation, then, we have the word 'biddath' changed into 'biddæd.' In the second transformation we have 'biddæd' changed into 'bigæd.' In the third we have 'bigæd' changed into 'cegæd.' In the fourth we have the expletive 'ge' changed into 'gi.' Besides these transformations, which appear very forced and unwarrantable, very grave doubts may be entertained whether such Runic characters can be really traced on the stone. I have not seen Mr. Haigh's second readings of the other parts of the stone.

After examining the chief inscription Mr. Haigh inquired if there were any traces of letters on any other part of the Cross. I directed his attention to the flat space near the top on the north side, where I had observed some traces. He mounted a ladder, and soon found the letters to which I had directed him. After a little examination with his finger—scratching among the moss with the point of his knife—and then taking a rubbing, he made out the word 'Gessu,' as he supposed, and satisfied himself that there was nothing besides. I afterwards cleared the stone from its thick coat of lichens and moss, took careful rubbings, and painted the stone, [37] and I ascertained that the inscription consisted of three crosses and the word 'Gessus,' as I have previously stated.

He then set the ladder against the west side, and examined the plain surface near the top, but soon pronounced it barren, and that the inscription on this side (if ever there was one) was totally broken off. By careful examination I found remains of the word 'Kristtus.' In a letter which I have since received from him, he stated that he had found the letter A on the west side, when he examined it (of which, however, I heard nothing said at the time), and that he suspected it was the first letter of the word 'Alpha,' and that the word 'Omega' would have been on the east side, which is now totally gone. He read the inscriptions on these plain surfaces thus : 'Gessu' on the north side ; 'Kriste' on the south side ; 'Alpha' on the west side ; and 'Omega' on the east side ; making the sentence 'Jesu Christ, the beginning and the ending.' This certainly is a very ingenious reading, but it is not confirmed by the existing traces of the letters.

He then examined the south side, and soon found what he had anticipated, namely, the word, or at least a part of the word, 'Kristte,' to correspond, as he said at the time, with the two lines on the west side, which I had discovered long before. After partly clearing away the moss with the point of his knife, and taking a rubbing, he was convinced that he had found the characters—



C R I S

very distinct, forming part of the word CRISTE. On a more careful examination, however, I found the letters

to be LICE. These letters are now, when cleaned, very perfect, will receive the end of the finger very easily, and are quite visible to the eye. There fortunately cannot now be two opinions about them.

He next proceeded to inspect the other single lines on the south side of the pillar. *He examined the top line, and concluded that there had been nothing there.* He then came down to the next one, and after rubbing it a while with his finger, he fancied there *might be letters.* After a little further examination, he said he could find the words 'Ecgfrid Cyng,' 'King Egfrid.'



He then scraped the moss with the point of his knife in the places where he fancied the letters were lurking, and afterwards took a rubbing on strong dry paper (rubbing both ways across the stone, and then up and down) which rubbing, as a matter of course, gave him a faint trace—at least of the letter or marks which he had scratched in the lichen—if of nothing else. He was not long till he satisfied himself perfectly on this point, *i. e.* as to the words 'Ecgfrid Cyng' having once occupied a place there. This is the line which I read 'Rices thæs'—'of this kingdom.'

His next step was to the line below, where, after a process something similar to the one already described, he found the word 'Cyniburug,' the name of Alcfrid's queen.




This word I read 'kyninges,'—'king.' In one of his earliest letters to me he stated that he expected

to find the word 'Cyneburg' on one of the single lines on the south side to correspond with the same name on the north side.

In the bottom line he readily found the words 'Oswu Cyning elt,'—'Oswy King the elder, as he had previously given them. These words I read thus—'+fruman gear'—'in the first year.'

He then said that there was one name which he should have liked better to have seen than any of them, and that was the name of Queen Eanfleda. I suggested that it might perhaps be found on the top line if it were more strictly examined. He remounted the ladder, and after a few rubs with his finger across the stone he said—'I do believe here is a letter.' After a few more rubs with his finger he again said—'I do believe the name is here.' He then applied the knife awhile, and [38] took a rubbing as before, and found the word 'Eanflad,' in



the first part of the line, and pronounced the remainder of the line blank. He was quite delighted with this discovery, and more especially with the particular form of the letter  (EA). In fact, so overjoyed was he with the discovery of this interesting family tree (which he had possibly found in his own imagination before he left home) that he quite forgot to look at the lines on the north side of the monument. With more careful tests I have been induced to read this line—'Ecg-frithu,' 'of Ecgfrid.'

Thus clouded is the origin of the version with which Mr. Haigh has ventured to honour the members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquarians. He did not give

his version to the Society with a hood over his eyes, for he no sooner informed me of his intentions than I informed him of the true character of the rubbings which I had sent him. He however persisted in the correctness and accuracy of his version, *stating that he had not only inspected the monument, but made rubbings of it, and traced the letters with his finger, and thus assured himself of its accuracy.* I have also examined the monument and fingered the Runes many scores of times, and scores of times I have come to the conclusion that the decipherings were not correct on which on a former inspection I had not the least doubt or scruple. It is only by very slow steps, and by carefully examining and re-examining, that I have arrived at the conclusion that my version accords with the original. Mr. Haigh's inspection of the several parts of the monument, tracing the letters with his finger, scratching marks in the moss, and taking rubbings of them, was limited to about two hours; my examinations of the Cross have extended over twice the number of years.

I have thought it necessary to enter into these minute details, and thus to put my readers in possession of every fact and circumstance connected with this version, in order that they may have sufficient data on which to form their own judgment as to the merits of the respective readings of the inscriptions on this important Memorial.

#### XIV. HAIGH'S SECOND ACCOUNT, 1861.

[This is taken from Haigh's *Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, pp. 37, 39-41. The runes at the end are from Plate II, at the beginning of the volume.]

[37] Two of them are of particular interest, as being of greater length than others, and presenting us with specimens of the Anglian dialect, as spoken in Northumbria in the seventh century. The first, on the western face of the cross at Bewcastle in Cumberland, is simply a memorial of Alcfrid, who was associated by his father Oswiu with himself in the kingdom of Northumbria, and died probably in A. D. 664.<sup>1</sup> It gives us (Pl. I. fig. 2) three couplets<sup>2</sup> of alliterative verse, thus<sup>3</sup>:—

✠ THIS SIGBECUN	This memorial
SETTÆ HWÆTRED	Hwætred set
EM GÆRFÆ BOLDU	and carved this monument
ÆFTÆR BARÆ	after the prince,
YMB CYNING ALCFRIDÆ	after the King Alcfrid,
GICEGÆD HEOSUM SAWLUM	pray for their souls.

Other inscriptions on the same monument present merely names of some of Alcfrid's kindred, in which, however, some additional characters occur.

The second inscription, on two sides of a similar cross at Ruthwell, in Annandale, which may possibly have been brought from Bewcastle, and once have stood at the other end of Alcfrid's grave,<sup>4</sup> consists, etc. . . .

[39] The poem of which these are fragments was probably one of those which Cædmon, who was living at the time when these monuments were erected, composed.<sup>5</sup> That they belong to the seventh century cannot be doubted; they contain forms of the language which are evidently earlier even than those which occur in the contemporary version of Bæda's verses in

a MS. at S. Gallen, and the copy of Cædmon's first song at the end of the MS. of the 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' which was completed two years after its author's death. Thus *hiſun* (ana[40]logous to the Gothic *sibun* for *seofen*) is certainly an earlier form than *hefaen* and *heben*, which we find in the latter of these little poems. *Em* in the Bewcastle inscription is *efen* contracted. *Boldu*,<sup>1</sup> *galgu*, and *dalgu*, present a form of nouns which later would be monosyllabic. *Heosum*,<sup>1</sup> the dative plural of the possessive pronoun of the third person, regularly formed, like *usum*, from the genitive of the personal, (*hire*, *úre*), occurs only in the Bewcastle inscription; *ungcet*, the dual of the first personal pronoun, only in that at Ruthwell. *Gærtæ*<sup>1</sup> is a strange instance of a strong verb [41] taking an additional syllable in the præterite; but it seems to be warranted by *scopa* in Cædmon's song, and even by *ahofe* in the Durham ritual; and the analogy of the Sanscrit præterite (*tutópa*, *tutópa*), and the Greek (*τέτυφα*, *τέτυφε*), shows that such forms as these, not only for the third person, but for the first also, are more ancient than *cearf*, *scóp*, and *ahóf*.



# NOTES





## NOTES

[The references are to page and note. *Date* signifies *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses* (Trans. Conn. Acad. Arts and Sciences 17. 213–361), which may be consulted for photographs of the crosses, as well as the discussion of details.]

11. *Buechastell*. For the derivation and various spellings of this name, see *Date*, pp. 96–8; and compare instances below.

12. Hubert de Vaux received the barony of Gil(le)sland from Henry II in 1158 (*Date*, p. 100). His son, Robert de Vaux, founded the priory of Lanercost in 1169 (*Date*, p. 98). The inscription must have been that now read as *Cynnburug* (*Date*, p. 26).

13. The 'checky coate' in the panel of chequers (*Date*, p. 26), thought of as a coat of arms.

14. Does 'other' here mean the *south* face?

15. B and R are much alike in Runic and Roman. By beginning at the B of CYNBURUG (as commonly read), taking the first U as a somewhat angular O (see *Date*, Fig. 26), and the second U as a battered A, one might possibly, considering the defaced condition of the final letter, arrive at BORAX; the E would occasion more difficulty, and one would have to disregard the previous letters. As for VAUX, one might take the first U for Roman V, regard the R as A, deal boldly with the second U, and again take the final letter as X; HUBERT DE would require more conjuring. (A convenient table of 'commoner Anglian runes' may be found in Wyatt's *Old English Riddles*, opposite p. xxviii.)

21. *Vaulx*. It seems as though Camden had adopted Roscarrock's suggestion (see p. 1). See note on p. 148.

31. *unioward part*. Cf. pp. 12, 23, and *Date*, pp. 147–8. If we may believe Hutchinson (*Hist. Cumb.* 1. 78), Bewcastle was not always a tiny hamlet: 'Bewcastle seems to have



*Rino lapides hos runicos posuit*, he proceeds to express the wish that Spelman would have the inscription more accurately copied by some one not wholly ignorant of the literature, in which case he would do what he could with it.

The explanation of Worm's extraordinary answer is to be found, as Wilhelm Grimm long afterwards saw (*Ueber Deutsche Runen*, Göttingen, 1821, pp. 165–6) in the fact that the Scandinavian runes differ in some respects from the Old English ones, and that Worm was unfamiliar with the latter (for instance, he reads as N the Old English rune for c). Accordingly, he made various arbitrary changes, provided a plural verb for a singular nominative, and used the plural, 'stones,' where evidently only one stone is in question.

According to an entry in the British Museum Cottonian MS. Domitian A. 18, fol. 37, the inscription was on a cross-head (Spelman's *epistylum crucis*) found at Bewcastle in 1615. The entry, which I suspect to be in the hand of Sir Robert Cotton, follows:

RILF4HRAHT4FH.

*This inscription was on the head of a cross found  
at Bewcastle in 1615.*

*{ The length of the stone. seen the head of the Cross—16. inches  
The breadth at the upper end—12. inches  
The thickness—4. inches }*

Cotton MS. Julius F. 6 has a similar entry on fol. 313 (formerly 297), *recto*, which looks like a rough draft, on a torn and mended sheet, of that in the Domitian MS. The runes (at the left) are of the same form, but larger. The English (at the right) is in a ruder hand; it omits the first two lines, and reads 'bringe', 'a crosse', '....deth', and '.....nes'. In a print-hand, at right angles to the foregoing: 'Bucastle inscription | For Mr. Clarenceaulx'.

But the runes are again recorded on a slip of paper between pages 643 and 644 of Bodleian MS. Smith I, Camden's copy of his *Britannia*. There is no doubt, according to Sir George Frederic Warner, that the entry which follows is in Cotton's own hand:



recaued this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William to me the head of a Cross at Bewcastle. All the lettres legable ar thes in on[e] line. And I have sett to them such as I can gather out of my Alphabetts that lyk an A. I can find in non. But wether thes be only lettres or words I somwhatt dout. I had sen you before thes ston but that I am not able to write I am so in with the fumesight. I have a care of your health for with you the best of your understanding is lyke to perishe. I have yett some I saw you many things amongst them I have an Edelweiss they are fine and ancient.

For convenience, I print the part of the entry which concerns us, supplying punctuation:

'I receaued this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William; it was the head of a Cross at Bewcastell. All the lettres legable ar thes in on[e] line. And I have sett to them such as I can gather out of my Alphabetts: that lyk an A I can find in non. But wether thes be only lettres or words I somwhatt dout.'

The purport I take to be this: Lord William Howard, who in 1618 had shown the cross-head to Camden and Spelman (see above), sent it, at some time between this and 1623 (when Camden died) to Thomas Howard (1586–1646), second Earl of Arundel, the collector of the Arundel marbles and other works of art, who (promptly?) turned it over to Cotton. Some of the letters were legible, others not; such as were legible were in a single line. Cotton searched in his runic alphabets to find how these letters should be transliterated. R he seems at first sight to have mistaken for V, but his small r's much resemble v's, so possibly it is R. C (K) he misreads as N, as did Worm. About D he is uncertain whether it may not be an M—pardonable enough. Y he gives up. T he reads as F. The other letters he interprets correctly.

Cotton, immediately upon receipt of the stone, sends a note from his house at Westminster, on the site of the present House of Lords, to his former teacher and constant friend, Camden, then probably residing at Chislehurst, eleven miles southeast of London; and afterwards sees to it that the particulars concerning the inscription shall be preserved, by inserting them in one of his manuscripts.

Thus, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, there were (and are still) extant four copies of the same inscription—that printed in Worm's book, and three in manuscript. Of the three, two are now in Cotton manuscripts of the British Museum, and another in the Bodleian library. These all agree, save that those in Worm and the Bodleian slip have *Y* as the 8th letter, while the two of the British Museum read *U*, as the result of omitting an interior stroke.

In 1703 Hickes (*Thesaurus*, Præf., p. XII) and Wanley (*Catalogus*, p. 248) read (with help from the Bodleian copy?) *rynas Dryhñes* (Hickes, *Drithmes*!), 'mysteries of the Lord,' and Wanley reproduces the Domitian copy of runes.

In 1741, Pontoppidan, in his *Gesta et Vestigia Danorum extra Daniam* 2. 14, reproduces Spelman's runes from Worm (somewhat toppling to the right the twelfth letter), and gives a new rendering, furnished by Christian Helverschov, formerly Counsellor of Justice and Provincial Judge in Denmark. Helverschov supposes the runes to represent an utterance of Christ on the cross—*Vilos ero ateos*—which he takes to be vile Latin for *Vilis ero atheis*: 'I shall be vile to the godless'; whereupon Pontoppidan gravely doubts whether the initial letters of these three words have been quite correctly read. He ends with a copy of Worm's emended line.

In 1821, Wilhelm Grimm (*op. cit.*, p. 167), takes up the matter of the inscription at Bevercastle (*sic*), near Nottingham (there is a Bevercoates near Tuxford), reproduces it from Worm, and renders it as *rices Dryhñes*, observing at the same time that the *e* of the ending is not represented by the usual rune. He interprets the Old English as 'of the realm's dominion,' namely (p. 168), 'the rule of heaven over earth'; or, 'the power of the earthly realm through the acceptance of

the cross'; or, most probably, 'the sway of the jurisdiction,' according to which the cross would have served to mark the boundary of a district.

In 1840, Kemble (*Archæologia* 28. 346) reproduces the Spelman inscription, and renders by *ricæs Dryhtnæs*, 'Domini potentis,' for '[signum] Domini potentis.'

But what bearing has all this upon the Bewcastle Cross? 'On the head of a cross found at Beucastell in 1615,' says the Domitian MS. Sent (between 1618 and 1623) by Belted Will to his half-nephew, says Cotton's slip. Was the cross found in 1615? Then it was not our cross, written about in 1607 by a member of Belted Will's household (see p. 1, above). Was it the cross-head that was found in 1615? Then it could not have been on our cross in 1607. Was it disinterred in 1615, having originally belonged to our cross? If so, was it the cross-beam, or the portion immediately above? It has neither the shape nor the dimensions which fit either of these suppositions (*Date*, p. 122). Then it is not a part of our cross, but of some other cross. But if it was the portion above the cross-beam, and stood upon its edge, the cross must have been at once broader and thinner than the present. (Few of the Scottish slabs were so thin as 4 inches, but there is one at Brodie (Allen, *Early Christ. Mon.* 3. 132), not far from Forres in Elgin, which tapers upward from 5 inches to 4, its height being 5 feet 4 inches, and its breadth, 3 feet 5 inches to 3 feet 2 inches. Significant in this connection is the one at Keills in Argyll pictured by Allen (between pp. 390 and 391), 7 feet 4 inches high, 1 foot 9 inches across the arms, and 6½ inches thick.) And if it was the cross-beam itself, and lay upon its broader face (a rather improbable supposition), the cross must have been much shorter than the present one, in order that the thickness of four inches should bear some due proportion to the height of the cross.

Observing, too, that the ending -æs (as Kemble has told us: *op. cit.*, p. 346) is a mark of antiquity, why may we not assume that this was the head of an older cross, of quite different shape, fallen, perhaps overthrown and covered with earth, and with some of the letters illegible. Might not

such an older cross have been removed when the newer, and perhaps more highly ornamented one, was erected? In thus superseding the older one, the sculptor of the present cross might or might not have adapted the work of his predecessor. If so, an older *Cyniburg* might in this way have become *Cynmburug*.

It will be evident that *epistylum crucis*, in the light of Cotton's entries, must mean *cross-head* (Wilhelm Grimm said 'Queerstück,' cross-beam, transverse piece), and that all attempts to make the phrase mean the existing shaft, the lowest inscription on the south face, etc., are due to misapprehension.

41. Nicolson here assumed that the inscription sent to Worm was part of that on the west face.

42. *Epystilium* signified to Nicolson the whole cross. See note on 3s.

43. *five yards*. Cf. pp. 12, 17, 25.

44. *white oyle Cement*. Frequently transcribed by later writers.

45. *two foot*. Compare the figures on pp. 12, 25.

46. Here is the first decipherment of this line, and clearly *Cynmburug*. See *Date*, pp. 12, 26, 37, 43-44, and above, pp. 10, 11.

51. Interpreting *Ryn-* as 'runes,' and *-buru* as 'burial.'

61. The last two letters are meant for NN.

62. *More antient date*. See note on 12.

81. Compare these with the previous reading, p. 7.

91. Cf. *Date*, pp. 98-9 (note).

92. Perhaps properly *Tonge*; cf. p. 10, and *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 163.

93. *Benson*. Mentioned in Nicolson's Diary, under 1704; see *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America* 17. 371.

94. As it does now.

95. Cf. note on 3s.

101. 1695.

102. Again *Cynmburug*.

103. *Thisle*. The topmost vine? Or the sundial?



121. *Obelisk*. The first time it is so called. See *Date*, pp. 121—3.
122. Cf. Nicolson, p. 4.
123. Cf. Nicolson, p. 4.
124. *Cross*. The first suggestion of this.
13. For the third and fourth letters of *Cymburug*, cf. pp. 4, 10, 11.
14. The inscription at the left is intended to reproduce the lowest one visible; cf. p. 8.
151. Southern Baltic, east of Jutland.
152. Note the advance in the interpretation.
153. The Massagetæ inhabited what is now northern Khiva. For a so-called Massagetic alphabet, see Hickes, *Thesaurus, Gram. Isl.*, Tabella I, bottom.
154. Not the European Don.
161. *Buchanan*. George Buchanan (1506—1582), *Rev. Scot. Hist.* 6. 74.
162. Died 900.
163. Never published.
164. Cf. Nicolson's view, p. 6.
165. *Bride-Kirk*. Cf. pp. 3, 7, 22, 24.
171. Cf. p. 12.
172. Cf. note on 124.
173. *Dial*. The earliest mention.
174. The earliest mention.
201. The reading of *Cymburug*.
211. Cf. p. 7.
212. *Eleventh century*. A new date, unless this was what Nicolson had in mind; see note on 62, p. 30, and p. 97, note 40.
213. *Pomegranet*. The dial?
214. Cf. note on 124.
221. *Effigies*. Note the fulness of the descriptions of the figures.
231. Cf. p. 4.
232. Cf. p. 5.
- 24 (plate, fig. 3). The stroke of the second N in CYNN-BURUG is here faint.
251. See note on 45.

252. Cf. note on 124.  
 253. *Working*. Cf. p. 21.  
 254. Cf. note on 24.  
 281. *Holy lamb*. Here first identified.  
 282. Cf. note on 14.  
 301. Again *Cynnburug*.  
 311. Cf. note on 14.  
 321. *Baptist*. Here first identified; cf. p. 23.  
 322. *Hawk*. Cf. pp. 4, 17, 22, 32.  
 323. Cf. note on 173.  
 324. *Ed*. Perhaps Albert Way (1805—1874); see pp. 69, 72.  
 331. *Mr. Smith*. Rather Hutchinson; see p. 22.  
 351. The first mention of Dunstan in connection with the Cross.

361. An abstract of Dr. Edward Charlton's paper (read Jan. 2, 1856) is contained in the rare Vol. 1 (no more published) of the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1856), pp. 75—7. Dr. Charlton follows the readings, now of Maughan, whom he calls 'the zealous incumbent of Bewcastle,' and now of Haigh (I owe my information to the transcript obligingly made for me by Robert Blair, Esq., F. S. A., Secretary of the Society). Dr. Charlton says: 'Having with great care, cleansed the stone of its lichen and moss [cf. pp. 70, 118], Mr. Maughan took careful casts of the characters, and communicated copies to several archæologists, amongst others, to the Rev. Daniel Haigh. . . . On the north side of the cross is inscribed, very plainly, "Kyniburuk" [cf. pp. 15, 99], or "Cyneburg," the name of a queen of Northumbria, being the wife of Alchfrid, son of Oswiu, king of Northumberland. On the western face, the inscription, as deciphered, is "THIS SIGBECUN SETTAE HWÆTRED, WITGAER, FELWOLD & ROETBERT, UMÆ KYNING ALCFRITHÆ GEBIDÆD HISSUM SAULA"—intimating that the four persons first named had set up this cross to King Alcfrith, and requested prayers for his soul. Roetbert is commemorated in the Falstone inscription, as dead.' Here Charlton follows Haigh (see pp. 107, 110, 111). He proceeds: . . . 'On the south face is a Runic inscription, interpreted by Mr. Haigh—"OSWU

KYNING ELT,"—or Oswy the King. "Elt" may possibly refer to his being the elder (or head) of the family [see p. 109]. This inscription confirms the supposition that the cross was reared in the lifetime of Oswy. No prayers being asked for the souls of Oswy and Cyneburga, as for the soul of Alchfrid, it may be inferred that they were still living. If so, the memorial must have been erected between 664, when we last hear of Alchfrid, and 670, when Oswy died.' . . . In a note to his paper, Dr. Charlton refers to a new version of the Bewcastle inscription, published by Mr. Maughan in December, viz.: "This sigbeacithon saetta Hwaetred, Withgar, Aalewolphu, aft Alcfrithu, ean Kunig eak Oswiung. Igebid heo sinna sawhula." "Hwaetred, Withgar, and Alfwold, erected this little beacon in memory of Alfrid, at one time king with, and son of, Oswy. Pray for them, their sins and their souls." The Doctor thinks the version of Mr. Haigh, the more probable of the two, and nearer the truth.

'The chairman [Mr. John Hodgson Hinde] said, the paper was very interesting. At the same time, it would have been more conclusive if "Cyneburga" had not been deciphered first. Assuming the accuracy of the conclusions now before the meeting, it would seem that, contrary to the historians, the Anglo-Saxons had written characters before their conversion to Christianity.'

362. *Penrith*. See Collingwood's *Early Sculptured Crosses*, pp. 240 ff.

363. *Camden*. Rather, Cotton; see note on 33.

381. See note on 33.

382. This is taken from Worm's conjectural emendation (*Dan. Mon.*, p. 168).

383. Cf. p. 119.

391. These variants occur in the form presented by Dr. Charlton on March 2, 1856 (*Newcastle Proc.*, p. 98, as communicated by Mr. Blair): line 1, DIS; 2, VN SÆT-; V ROETBERT. See pp. 110, 116.

392. Here, as in *Ecgrid* (below) and *Alcfridæ* (next page), the *d* is a Latinization of *þ*, and would not occur in a runic inscription.

- 39s. His plate reads distinctly *Cynn*-.  
 401. Cf. *Date*, pp. 93—4.  
 411. *Rit.* 68. 11—12.  
 421. *ahofe*. Rather, *ahof*, *Rit.* 61. 15.  
 42s. *gicegath*. Normally, *gicegað* (see *Rit.* 173. 9, and cf. 175.21); but *gicegað* occurs 54. 3. The sense is 'call upon.'  
 42s. It is hardly necessary to comment upon these conjectures and assumptions.  
 424. *hiora*. And *hiara* (3).  
 431. See note on 42s.  
 441. Cf. pp. 100, 102.  
 451. But Wilfrith went abroad to be consecrated in 664, and did not return till 666 (*Bede, Op. Hist.*, ed. Plummer, 2. 317).  
 461. See my edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, pp. xi ff.  
 46s. See *Date*, pp. 53—5.  
 471. Cf. note on 401.  
 481. Cf. p. 36, and *Date*, p. 75.  
 48s. From Bewcastle?  
 511. See *Date*, pp. 111—3.  
 521. See p. 31.  
 52s. See *Date*, pp. 121—3.  
 531. Rather, p. 318; see p. 13.  
 53s. See p. 18.  
 53s. See p. 24.  
 541. See p. 24.  
 54s. See p. 20.  
 54s. See plate opposite p. 28.  
 544. See p. 2. Note the variations.  
 551. Cf. *Date*, p. 122.  
 55s. 2. 478—9. They say the stone is 'about five feet and a half high.'  
 55s. See note on 3s.  
 554. Omit *in*.  
 55s. See note on 3s.  
 55s. This comes ultimately from Worm's p. 162, but with two important changes. The eighth letter (= Y) is properly an inverted v, with an oblique downward stroke from the

inside of the left leg. This Worm represents almost as in Maughan's plate, which makes it resemble an *Æ*, the fourth and twelfth letters, only tilted instead of upright. Maughan tilts all three; hence we should either read *RICÆS DRÆHT-NÆS*, or *RICYS DRYHTNYS*; but this Maughan does not see.

557. This is not Spelman's reading; Spelman could not read it, and therefore sent it to Worm; see below.

558. From Kemble.

559. Read *Dryhtnes*.

5510. See note on 38.

561. Rather Spelman.

562. See note on 554.

563. Here there are various deviations from Worm's runes.

564. Worm has *stina d*—'these stones'; for 'made,' Worm has *posuit*, 'placed.'

565. *Roden Dryhtness*. I do not find this. Hickes says (*Præfatio*, p. XIII): '*Inveni Saxoniam crucis epigraphen, nempe, Rynas Drithnes [sic], mysteria domini, literis Runicis descriptam.*' He then refers to Wanley (p. 248).

566. For *Nicolson*.

567. Maughan seems to have followed the copy in Hutchinson's *Hist. Cumb.* 1. 82—3.

568. For *erlat*.

569. Which Maughan has not reproduced (see p. 7).

5610. Published 1840.

571. Kemble's words are (p. 346): 'There has, therefore, been either a portion of the inscription lost, or the cross or pillar on which it stood was meant to be taken as part of the legend:—thus, *Signum Domini Potentis.*'

572. Pp. 346—7.

573. This is still unpublished; it was compiled by Jonathan Boucher (1738—1804), a friend of Washington's, for whom see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

574. Omit 'the reader.'

575. This is from Nicolson.

581. See p. 24.

582. *Robert White*. At the meeting of the Society of

Antiquaries of Newcastle on October 1, 1856, Mr. White said that, 'being recently in the neighbourhood of Bewcastle, he stepped aside to view the famous cross which had so repeatedly been brought under their observation, and, to his astonishment, found that the portions containing the long-studied inscriptions had been painted!—painted blue! The Runic letters were indicated by black lines upon the blue, the painter tracing the lines as he himself deciphered them; and even where there were no letters decipherable at all, Runes were painted. To satisfy himself of this fact, he drew his finger over the painted characters, and found no corresponding hollows in the stone. . . . Dr. Charlton said, he had no doubt the paint had been applied with a commendable object—to preserve the cross from further injury; but the Runes, of course, should have been left to speak for themselves, instead of being made to favour any particular reading. Mr. Henry Turner said, the paint would preserve the stone; and the black lines, legitimate or not, would not affect the substance of the cross' (*Proc.* 1. 165–6).

In a letter to the *Gateshead Observer* of October 18, 1856, Mr. Maughan replied: 'My motive for so doing was neither to disfigure, to injure, nor to preserve the Cross, but merely to secure as much accuracy as possible in deciphering the inscriptions. A stone which has retained its inscriptions for twelve hundred years requires no such adventitious aid as a coat of paint, and it is difficult to conceive how such a puerile idea can have found a lodgment in the cranium of the antiquated patriarchs of such a renowned Society. . . . My object in painting those parts of the Cross where I had reason to suspect the existence of inscriptions, was simply to obtain every vestige, however obscure it might be; and I have been gratified by thus recovering several traces which it was impossible for the eye to detect before. The process is most unquestionably a good one, and the result has been satisfactory. The paint has not done the slightest injury to the stone, and in a few winters will entirely disappear. . . . The paint was a mixture of white and brown, and, when first applied, was as near as possible of the same grey colour

as the old mossy covering with which the stone was coated. Since the application the brown has rather predominated over the white, and it has now a darker appearance. . . . I am ready to admit that there are black marks on the South and the North Sides of the Cross, where the letters have partly disappeared. I feel firmly convinced, however, that there is not a black mark in the chief inscription without its corresponding depression on the stone, although some of the tracings were all but obliterated. It was only by thus tracing the letters in black that I was able to arrive at the full and the clear conviction that my decipherings are probably correct'.

At a meeting of the Society on August 5, 1857, there was 'a short conversation on the Bewcastle cross' and 'a joke or two on the recent controversy thereon and on the Rev. Mr. Maughan's latest pamphlet' (*Proc.*, p. 263). On September 2, 1857, a member said 'the cross had received a second coat of paint of a puce colour, over its former covering of blue (blue-blue, such as carts are painted with) and as these portions of the pillar which were not inscribed had been spared by the brush, it had a strange, motley aspect' (p. 266).

591. I can not find that Mr. Howard ever made any such suggestion, but he had published (*Archæologia* 13 (1800). 309–312) a paper read on March 29, 1798, entitled, 'Enquiries concerning the Tomb of King Alfred at Hyde Abbey, near Winchester'; and he began his letter (p. 24, above) with a reference to the former article: 'The Society of Anti-quaries have honoured a communication of mine, respecting the tomb of Alfred, in a manner far beyond its deserts.' Maughan apparently confuses Alcfrith with Alfred the Great, who flourished more than two centuries later.

592. Referring to the plate on p. 15.

593. See note on 3s.

594. See note on 3s.

601. But see Anderson, *Early Christ. Mon. of Scotland* 1. xxviii–ix.

611. See *Date*, p. 123.

631. See *Date*, p. 25.

641. See note on 361, end.

671. See *Date*, p. 37.

681. Properly, Verelius.

701. See *Date*, p. 58.

711. George Stephens (1813–1895) accepted, for the most part, Maughan's readings, and from him they were taken by Henry Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, 1885, p. 124) and others. Stephens explains (*Old-Northern Runic Monuments* 1 (1866–7). 398) that his pictures of the cross (p. 399) were founded on Maughan's sketches, photographs, and rubbings, assisted by his *Memoir*, and that the completed drawings were again checked and corrected by Maughan from the stone itself. It is therefore not surprising that all Maughan's readings of illegible runes appear on the stone itself in Stephens' two pictures of the cross, except that in the long inscription in Stephens' plate *o* is sometimes reproduced by *a*, etc. In this (p. 402) the differences are (Stephens' readings in parenthesis): *beacn* (*becn*); *Wæthgar* (*Wothgar*); *Alwfwolpu* (*Olwfwolthu*); *-ing* (*-ng*); *heo sinna* (*heo-sinna*); *sawhula* (*sowhula*); and, in translation: *Pray thou for them, their sins, their souls* (*Pray for the crime (high sin) of his soul*). On the south face, he reads *thæes* for Maughan's *thæs*, and after *lice* he conjectures *he*. At the top of the east face (p. 403) he conjectures a former *frithes*. On the north face he reads *Kynnburug*, and the rest on this face as Maughan does.

As to Stephens' trustworthiness, I quote from Wimmer (*Die Runenschrift*, pp. XV, XVI, translated): 'In everything for which runology is indebted to this man, a fantastic enthusiasm for the subject is coupled with the most amazing lack of insight into the questions dealt with, and with utter contempt for all scientific method. . . . My judgment also holds with reference to the treatment of Old English inscriptions, though here the author is concerned with his mother-tongue, and one can allow him a certain authority in virtue of his position. But where he can not depend upon the thorough work of predecessors, which he was fortunately able to do in the case of the larger inscriptions, but had to



strike out for himself, he is capable of reaching incredible results, as in his interpretation of the Brough stone in Westmoreland, where on ten folio pages he renders a Greek inscription as Old English, in a dialect which he invented for the occasion.' Add Henry Bradley's opinion (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* 54. 173-4): 'His own contributions to the interpretation of the inscriptions are almost worthless, owing to his want of accurate philological knowledge. His method of translation consisted in identifying the words of the inscriptions with any words of similar appearance that he could discover in the dictionaries of ancient or modern Scandinavian languages, and then forming them into some plausible meaning without regard to grammar.... A ludicrous illustration of the worthlessness of his principles of decipherment is afforded by his treatment of the inscription found at Brough in Westmoreland, which he declared to be written in Anglian runes, and translated in accordance with that supposition. When it was pointed out that the inscription consisted of five Greek hexameters, Stephens frankly acknowledged his blunder, though the acknowledgment involved the condemnation of nearly all that he had done in the decipherment of the inscriptions.'

Stephens' views concerning the Brough inscription (the stone, discovered in 1879, is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) will be found in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, Vol. 5 (1881); his reprint (from *Mém. de la Soc. Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, Copenhagen, 1882-4) of lectures delivered in the spring of 1881, entitled, *Prof. S. Bugge's Studies in Northern Mythology* (London, 1883), pp. 377-380 (with plate); and his *Runic Monuments* 3 (1884). 169-179 (with plate). For the discussion by Sayce, Ridgeway, Bradley, and various other scholars, see *Academy* 25 (1884). 421-2, 440, 458; 26 (1884). 10, 28, 47-8, 62, 77-8, 94-5, 137-9, 173; 27 (1885). 170, 336-7; *Athenæum* for 1884<sup>2</sup>. 664 (with plate), 741, 777, 813; *Camb. Univ. Reporter* for March 3, 1885 (pp. 495-8); *Camb. Antiq. Soc. Report and Communications*, No. 27 (Vol. 6, No. 1, 1887), pp. xxiii-xxix (read Feb. 23, 1885). The authoritative form of the Greek

inscription will be found in Kaibel, *Inscr. Græcæ, Siciliæ, et Italiæ, additis . . . Britannicæ* (1890), p. 671. Stephens had rendered it (*Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, as above, p. xxvii); 'Ingalang in Buckenhome bigged this gravekist of Cimokom, Ahl's wife but born in Ecby at Ackleigh. Holy into destruction walked she. The mound Oscil, Osbiol, Cuhl, Oeki made. The body all-friend Christ, young, reaches after death; eke sorrow's cry never moves me more.' Professor E. C. Clark thus rendered the Greek in a free metrical paraphrase (same page):

Hermes of Commagene here—  
 Young Hermes, in his sixteenth year—  
 Entombed by fate before his day  
 Beholding, let the traveller say:—  
 Fair youth, my greeting to thy shrine  
 Though but a mortal course be thine,  
 Since all too soon thou wing'dst thy flight  
 From realms of speech to realm of night;  
 Yet no misnomer art thou shewn,  
 Who with thy namesake God art flown.

712. The character which, with Maughan, represents **Æ** in **HWÆTRED**, **WÆTHGAR** (p. 110), represents **A** in **BEACN** (110), **FRUMAN**, **GEAR** (96), **KYNESWITHA** (102), **MYRCNA** (102), **WÆTHGAR**, **ALFWOLTHU**, **AFT**, **ALCFRITHU**, **EAN**, **EAC**, **SINNA**, **SAWHULA**, twice (110), and **o** in **SETTON**, **ALFWOLTHU**, **OSWIUNG**, **HEO** (110). With Haigh, it represents **o** in **FLWOLDU** (110), **HEOSUM** (116). With Stephens, it represents **o** in **SETTON**, **WOTHGAR**, **OLFWOLTHU**, **OSWIUNG**, **HEO**, **SOWHULA** (402). The true value of this rune is **o**.

The character which, with Haigh, represents **Æ** in **SETTÆ**, **HWÆTRED**, **WITGÆR**, **GEBIDÆD** (so for **GEDIDÆD**), **ALCFRITHÆ** (110), represents **A** in **ALCFRITHÆ**, **SAWLUM** (110; cf. also 116), **EANFLAD** (121), and **o** in **OSWU** (109). With Stephens, it represents **Æ** in **HWÆTRED** (402), **THEES** (403). Its true value is **Æ**.

The character which, with Haigh, represents **o** in **ROETBERT** (110), with Stephens represents **A** in **WOTHGAR**, **AFT**,

ALCFRITHU, EAN, EAC, SINNA, SOWHULA (402), FRUMAN, GEAR (403), KYNESWITHA, MYRCNA (404). Its true value is A.

The character which, with Maughan, represents *Æ* in THÆS (95), with Stephens represents *ÆE* in THÆES (403).

EA is written with two characters in BEACN, EAN, EAC by Maughan (110) and Stephens (402), and by Maughan in GEAR (97), but as one character by Haigh in EANFLÆD, PREASTER (39), EANFLAD (121). It is properly written as one.

Two runes are written in combination by Maughan (called by Maughan 'trirunor,' and by Stephens 'bind-stave' or 'tie') for *Æ* (95), MA (96), EA, ON, ÆT, ÆTH, HU (110), THU (94, 110); ER is thus written by Haigh (110). These seem to be otherwise unexampled in Old English runes (cf. Stephens, pp. 401, 403). The reading of THU in CYNNBURTHUG (99) makes nonsense of the word.

NG is represented as two characters by Maughan in KYNINGES (96), KYNG (102), and by Haigh in KYNG (120); but as one character by Haigh in CYNING (39 (3), 109, 110), CYNGN, twice (39), and by Maughan (for ING) in CYNING, OSWIUNG (110). It is properly written as one (see Hickes, *Thesaurus, Gram. Isl.*, Tabella II).

721. See p. 32.

722. Not in Nicolson's letter; cf. p. 22.

731. Never.

732. There is no OE. word *ihun*; the nearest approach to it is *ðyn(ne)*, *ðin(ne)*, 'thin.'

741. There is no *can* in OE.

742. In the seventh century, *ge-* would have been *gi-*; see Cædmon's *Hymn*.

743. 'To pray for' is regularly (*ge*)*biddan for*, with the accusative or (less often) dative.

744. A Celtic, not an OE. word.

751. Wrong.

752. Impossible.

781. Wrong.

801. See *Date*, pp. 42-3.

802. As a Latin genitive: *Signum manus Alhfripi*.

80s. Properly, Riemmelth.

811. *Stephenson's*. Properly, *Stevenson's*.

812. Published 1838.

81s. *Alðfrid*. There was a tenth-century Aldred, the provost, who transcribed four collects in the *Durham Ritual*; cf. *Stevenson's* preface to his edition, pp. ix, x.

821. As late as 1911, we find such a scholar as Dalton saying (*Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 236, note 3): 'The Bewcastle and Ruthwell crosses are of the same age, and the former is dated by the mention of Alcfrith.' And in 1912 Prior and Gardner say (*Mediæval Figure-Sculpture in England*, p. 117), referring to Maughan's views concerning Ecgrith (p. 94, above): 'It is true the last important word [Ecgrith] is much defaced. But doubt is set at rest by the runes in other parts of the inscriptions—said to be quite distinct—of recorded contemporaries, one of these being Alcfrith.' Prior and Gardner, it may be said in passing, by referring the Bridekirk Font to the twelfth century (p. 94), weaken the force of Dalton's statement (*loc. cit.*): 'Runes would have been unintelligible in the twelfth century.' Cf. Collingwood, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 68 ff.

Collingwood, in the *Victoria History of Cumberland* (1901), 1. 277—8, (cf. pp. 256—7), says of the inscriptions on the Bewcastle Cross: 'The reading which may be called the *Textus Receptus*, though not without difficulties, we owe mainly to the late Rev. J. Maughan of Bewcastle. It is as follows. . . . The main purport of the [long] inscription seems to be fairly clear. If the Bewcastle cross is to be dated 671, as its inscription and ornament seem to suggest, these runes are the earliest dated piece of English writing in existence'; cf. his *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, pp. 44—47.

Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, Fellow of the British Academy, speaking of the Bewcastle Cross in 1906 (Hunt and Poole, *Pol. Hist. Eng.* 1. 172), called it 'a monument raised to his [Alcfrith's] memory.' He referred to the 'inscription which, though not yet deciphered beyond dispute, certainly says that the stone was raised as a memorial of "Alcfrith, son of Oswy, and aforetime King." . . . An inscription seems

to record that it was reared in the first year of his brother Egfrid, that is in 670.' To him 'the standing figure of a man with a bird on his wrist' was 'perhaps King Alchfrid himself with his falcon.' He thought it possible, however, that 'the reading of one line of the inscription, "Pray for his soul's great sin"' might 'prove too fanciful to be accepted by future students.'

831. Bede merely says that Oswy held the kingdom for 28 years with great difficulty, being warred upon by the heathen Mercians, Alchfrith, and Ethelwald.

841. Rather 651 (Bede 5. 24).

842. Late in 665 or early in 666 (Bright, *Early Eng. Church Hist.*, p. 213), Chad was sent to Canterbury by Oswy to be consecrated bishop of York, as Wilfrith, at Alchfrith's instance, had been consecrated in France a year or so earlier. Plummer says (2. 198): 'It is certain that at this point he [Alchfrith] disappears from history; and probable that that disappearance, whether by death or exile, was due to his rebellion against his father;' cf. Bright, p. 212.

843. Bede's mention in 3. 14 is nothing to the purpose; but cf. 3. 21.

844. Misprint for 'reigned.'

851. Bede and Eddi agree.

861. Cuthbert was not consecrated bishop till 685; it was Ecgfrith who was instrumental in having Cuthbert called (Bede 4. 28).

862. John was made bishop in 687, under king Aldfrith.

863. At the Synod of Whitby, 664.

871. Rather, Iona.

881. Bede distinctly says Oswy (3. 28).

882. Chad.

891. Misprint for 664.

892. 664, according to Plummer (Bede, *Op. Hist.* 2. 317).

901. Properly, Ettmüller.

911. Soon after 642, and not later than 645 (Plummer 2. 165).

912. As he died in 725 (Bede 5. 23), he must indeed have been young in 645, or earlier.

921. This Alfwold died in 749 (Plummer 2. 107).  
 92a. Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* 2. 337.  
 941. Rather, *lichama*, *lichoma*.  
 961. Such forms in *-es* (instead of *-æs*), did they exist on the stone, would prove that the inscriptions were not of the 7th century; see *Cædmon's Hymn*; Sievers, *Gram.* 237, note 1; Kemble, *Archæologia* 28. 346).  
 96a. This word, if it could be so read, would end in *-e* (or very early *-i*: Sievers, *Gram.* 237, note 2); see Wülffing, *Syntax* 125.  
 96a. See *Date*, p. 42, note 1.  
 971. Read 'Nicolson.'  
 981. Rather *-buru*; the error is from Hutchinson, like 'Nicholson' for 'Nicolson.'  
 98a. Aldhelm's. Anselm of Canterbury lived 1033–1109.  
 991. Cf. p. 25.  
 99a. The two readings are exactly the same.  
 99a. *Arch.* 28. 347, and Pl. 16. 15.  
 994. *Cyniburuh*.  
 995. See p. 57.  
 996. 3. 21.  
 1001. But Bede died in 735.  
 1011. It was Osric, King of the Hwiccas, who founded the monastery of St. Peter's at Gloucester, and he surely was not the son of the Mercian Penda, nor, consequently, the brother of Cyniburg.  
 1021. In the seventh century, this would be *Cyni-* (*Kyni-*); see Bede, ed. Plummer, 2. 446–7.  
 102a. See the Saxon *Chronicle* (Laud MS.) under 656 and 963. Both she and Cyniburg were buried at Caistor.  
 102a. These are impossible as seventh-century forms.  
 1031. In the seventh century, this word would have been *Wulfheri* (Sievers, *Gram.* 246, note 1; Bede, ed. Plummer, 1. 141, 199, 206, 207, 354).  
 1051. *White*. See p. 58.  
 105a. See note on 361.  
 1061. See note on 591.  
 106a. See pp. 96, 108, 121.

1081. No such rune is known to me.

1101. UMÆ should have been transliterated UME, and the last two lines should read:

EBIDÆD : HE

OSUM : SAWLUM,

allowing the Æ of the first line to be identical with the A of the second.

1161. *hissum* and *heosum* are equally impossible.

1231. See p. 43.

123a. See pp. 40, 76.

123s. See pp. 39, 41.

1234. See pp. 36, 48.

123s. See pp. 45, 46.

1241. See p. 42.

*Supplementary note on 21.*

The nucleus of Camden's statement is to be found in a communication made to him by Mr. Bainbrigg, schoolmaster at Appleby, who made a tour in 1601 (Camden was never in Cumberland save in 1599), in the interest of the *Britannia*. His words are (Cott. Julius F. 6, fol. 324): 'Crux quæ est in cæmeterio est viginti fere pedum, ex uno quadrato lapide graphice exciso cum hac inscriptione:

D+BOROX.\*

Talem Edwardus primus in Alienoræ conjugis memoriam posuit, vel qualem Roisia mulier eo tempore celeberrima ad Roistone statuit.' This is apparently the very first mention of the Bewcastle Cross, and accounts for Roscarrock's statement about *Eborax*. See Professor F. Haverfield's communication in *Trans. Cumb. and Westm. Antiq. and Archæol. Assoc.*, N. S. 11 (1911). 355 (cf. 349, 376, 377).

\* In Bainbrigg's manuscript the D has a vertical stroke in the middle.

## YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH.

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR.

- I. The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification. CHARLTON M. LEWIS, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- II. Ælfric: A New Study of his Life and Writings. CAROLINE LOUISA WHITE, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- III. The Life of St. Cecilia, from MS. Ashmole 48 and MS. Cotton Tiberius E. VII, with Introduction, Variants, and Glossary. BERTHA ELLEN LOVEWELL, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IV. Dryden's Dramatic Theory and Practice. MARGARET SHERWOOD, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- V. Studies in Jonson's Comedy. ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VI. A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels, Latin-West Saxon and West Saxon-Latin. MATTIE ANSTICE HARRIS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- VII. Andreas: The Legend of St. Andrew, translated from the Old English, with an Introduction. ROBERT KILBURN ROOT, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VIII. The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems. CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IX. A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances dealing with English and Germanic Legends, and with the Cycles of Charlemagne and of Arthur. ANNA HUNT BILLINGS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- X. The Earliest Lives of Dante, translated from the Italian of Giovanni Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni Aretino. JAMES ROBINSON SMITH. \$0.75.
- XI. A Study in Epic Development. IRENE T. MYERS, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XII. The Short Story. HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, Ph.D. \$0.30.
- XIII. King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$1.00.



*Yale Studies in English*

- XIV. *The Phonology of the Northumbrian Gloss of St. Matthew.* EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XV. *Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great, translated from the Greek, with an Introduction.* FREDERICK M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XVI. *The Translations of Beowulf: A Critical Bibliography.* CHAUNCEY B. TINKER, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XVII. *The Alchemist, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary.* CHARLES M. HATHAWAY, Jr., Ph.D. \$2.50. Cloth, \$3.00.
- XVIII. *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose* HUBERT GIBSON SHEARIN, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XIX. *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare.* ROBERT KILBURN ROOT, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XX. *The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage.* ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XXI. *The Elene of Cynewulf, translated into English Prose.* LUCIUS HUDSON HOLT, Ph.D. \$0.30.
- XXII. *King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, turned into Modern English.* HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXIII. *The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons.* WILLIAM O. STEVENS, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXIV. *An Index to the Old English Glosses of the Durham Hymnarium.* HARVEY W. CHAPMAN. \$0.75.
- XXV. *Bartholomew Fair, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary.* CARROLL STORRS ALDEN, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XXVI. *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics.* FREDERICK M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXVII. *Poetaster, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary.* HERBERT S. MALLORY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXVIII. *The Staple of News, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary.* DE WINTER, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.

*Yale Studies in English*

- XXIX. *The Devil is an Ass*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. WILLIAM SAVAGE JOHNSON, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXX. *The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of St. Luke*. MARGARET DUTTON KELLUM, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXXI. *Epicœne*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction Notes, and Glossary. AURELIA HENRY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXII. *The Syntax of the Temporal Clause in Old English Prose*. ARTHUR ADAMS, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXIII. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HERBERT S. MURCH, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXIV. *The New Inn*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. GEORGE BREMNER TENNANT, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXV. *A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies*. LORING H. DODD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXVI. *The Complaint of Nature*, translated from the Latin of Alain de Lille. DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT. \$0.75.
- XXXVII. *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker*. FREDERICK ERASTUS PIERCE, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXVIII. *English Nativity Plays*, edited with Introduction Notes, and Glossary. SAMUEL B. HEMINGWAY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth \$2.50.
- XXXIX. *Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose*. JOSEPHINE MAY BURNHAM, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XL. *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, by John Milton, edited with Introduction and Notes. WILLIAM TALBOT ALLISON, Ph.D. \$1.25.
- XLI. *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1850*. MARY W. SMYTH, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLII. *The Dialogue in English Literature*. ELIZABETH MERRILL, Ph.D. \$1.00.

*Yale Studies in English*

- XLIII. A Study of Tindale's Genesis, compared with the Genesis of Coverdale and of the Authorized Version. ELIZABETH WHITTLESEY CLEAVELAND, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLIV. The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama. MABLE BULAND, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- XLV. Cynthia's Revels, or, The Fountain of Self-Love, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. ALEXANDER CORBIN JUDSON, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLVI. Richard Brome: A Study of his Life and Works. CLARENCE EDWARD ANDREWS, Ph.D. \$1.25.
- XLVII. The Magnetic Lady, or, Humors Reconciled, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HARVEY WHITEFIELD PECK, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLVIII. Genesis A (sometimes attributed to Cædmon). LAWRENCE MASON, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XLIX. The Later Version of the Wycliffite Epistle to the Romans, compared with the Latin Original: A Study of Wycliffite English. EMMA CURTISS TUCKER, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- L. Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross between the Years 1607 and 1861. ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK. \$1.50.









82.5.8 H/K  
Y. Varian

YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

LI

THE READY AND EASY WAY  
TO ESTABLISH  
A FREE COMMONWEALTH

BY

JOHN MILTON

Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary

BY

EVERT MORDECAI CLARK, Ph.D.,

INSTRUCTOR IN ENGLISH IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale  
University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



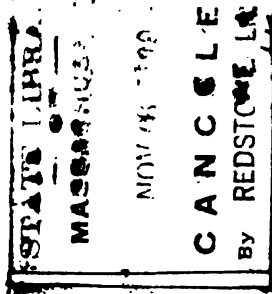
NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON: HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

MDCCCCXV





HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY  
DEPOSITED BY  
MASSACHUSETTS STATE LIBRARY

NOV 18 1929  
TRANSFERRED TO  
CHILD MEMORIAL LIBRARY

MASSACHUSETTS  
TO  
BOSTON

WEIMAR: PRINTED BY R. WAGNER SOHN.

## PREFACE

*The Ready and Easy Way* marks the close of Milton's long public career, and exhibits his political ideas crystallized into a definite republican proposal. It presents a remarkable opportunity for observing Milton the idealist and doctrinaire contending with Milton the practical man of affairs. It is in some degree drawn from the ancients, but it also proceeds from the modern democratic movement that had its origin in the Middle Ages. And it is peculiarly a reflection of events, feelings, and utterances during the last days of the Interregnum. Hence, in the following Introduction and Notes, I have attempted to point out the relation of the treatise to previous political theory, to the events of its day, and to contemporaneous publications.

But perhaps the most distinctive feature of the present edition is to be found in the treatment of the text itself. Owing to the rapid shifting of the situation in England during February, March, and April, 1660, and the resistless sweep of men and affairs in the direction of kingship, Milton subjected the first edition of *The Ready and Easy Way* to thoroughgoing revision, and, a few weeks after its first appearance, reissued the treatise in a practically reconstructed form. The changes introduced are so radical, and the deftness with which they were accomplished, notwithstanding Milton's blindness, is so remarkable, that it has seemed to the present editor worth while to form a text which should present, in their proper connection, the author's first thought and his afterthought, and at the same time exhibit the interesting process of revision. Accordingly, the

first edition (which has been so neglected by editors and publishers for two hundred years) has been reproduced as the basis of the present text, and into this have been inserted all the variants and additions found in the revised edition. Omissions from the first edition have been indicated also. Hence the text as it appears in this volume affords a picture of the process of revision, and at the same time presents, in smallest compass, the entire thought of both original editions.

I desire to express my gratitude to Professor Albert S. Cook for invaluable criticism and advice, and to Professor Henry A. Beers and Professor William Lyon Phelps for encouragement and helpful suggestions. My thanks are due, also, to Professor Williston Walker, of the Yale Divinity School, for information on questions of church history; to Horace Hart, Esq., of Oxford, England, for certain information in regard to original editions of the treatise; to the officials of the British Museum; to my friend and predecessor in this field, Professor William T. Allison, of the University of Manitoba; to Mr. W. A. White, of New York City, for the use of his unique copy of the revised edition; to Mr. Andrew Keogh, for aid in matters of bibliography; and to Mr. Henry A. Gruener and other officials of the Yale University Library, for special privileges and assistance.

A portion of the expense of printing this book has been borne by the Modern Language Club of Yale University, from funds placed at its disposal by the generosity of Mr. George E. Dimock, of Elizabeth, New Jersey, a graduate of Yale in the class of 1874.

E. M. C.

YALE UNIVERSITY,  
May 1, 1911.

# CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	
A. EDITIONS . . . . .	vii
B. DATES OF COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION	
I. THE FIRST EDITION	
1. <i>Preface</i> . . . . .	x
2. <i>Body</i> . . . . .	xii
II. THE SECOND EDITION . . . . .	xiv
C. HISTORICAL SETTING	
I. 'ANARCHY AND CONFUSION' . . . . .	xvii
II. 'AIRRIE MODELLS' . . . . .	xxviii
D. MILTON'S IDEAL REPUBLIC . . . . .	xxxv
E. TWO FORMATIVE INFLUENCES	
I. MEDIEVAL REPUBLICAN THOUGHT . . . . .	xxxix
II. THE ROTA CLUB . . . . .	xlvi
F. SOURCES	
I. SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY AND ILLUSTRATION . . . . .	lv
II. CLASSICAL PRECEDENT	
1. <i>Greek Commonwealth-Theory</i> . . . . .	lvi
2. <i>The Roman Republic and Its Expounders</i> . . . . .	lvii
III. MODERN POLITICAL THEORISTS	
1. <i>Machiavelli</i> . . . . .	lix
2. <i>Bodin</i> . . . . .	lx
3. <i>Miscellaneous Contributors</i> . . . . .	lxiv
G. STYLE . . . . .	lxv
H. SIGNIFICANCE . . . . .	lxix
TEXT . . . . .	I
NOTES . . . . .	43
GLOSSARY . . . . .	161
APPENDICES	
A. THE PROCESS OF REVISION . . . . .	165
B. CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM . . . . .	172
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	183
INDEX . . . . .	191



# INTRODUCTION

## A. EDITIONS

Milton dictated two editions of *The Ready and Easy Way*, and original copies of both have been preserved. The first edition is entitled *THE READIE & EASIE WAY TO ESTABLISH A Free Commonwealth, AND The EXCELLENCE thereof Compar'd with The inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation*. It is a small quarto of eighteen pages. Masson seems to be in error in stating that it was published by Livewell Chapman. The title-page shows that the book was printed by 'T. N.,' who doubtless was Milton's old publisher, Thomas Newcome (see first note). However, the pamphlet was put on sale, about the end of February, 1660, at Chapman's book-store in Pope's-Head Alley.

The second edition is a duodecimo volume of 108 pages. It retains the original title, but its title-page shows quite a different make-up in other respects. No hint as to printer or stationer is given. It is simply: 'The second edition revis'd and augmented,' and 'Printed for the Author' at London in 1660. The book appeared toward the end of April. Chapman was then a fugitive (see second note), and doubtless by this time no printer was willing to risk even his initials on a title-page with Milton's. Certainly Newcome was already trimming his sails to the breeze from Flanders. 'I should have liked very much to know,' says Masson, 'whether Livewell Chapman was nominally publisher of the second edition, . . . or whether Milton was obliged to put forth the second edition without any publisher's

name.' The title-page, as we have seen, furnishes answers to both these questions. It contains also the important addition of the following motto (see third note) :

et nos  
*consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.*

This is an adaptation from Juvenal i. 15-7 :

*et nos ergo manum ferula subduximus, et nos  
consilium dedimus Sullæ, privatus ut altum  
dormiret.*

The treatise is the result of a thorough revision of the first edition. Many passages have been omitted ; some have been altered ; and much new matter has been incorporated, the additions swelling the volume to nearly twice its original size.

No record of the publication of the revised edition is to be found in the Stationers' Registers, or in the Thomason Collection of pamphlets. It was long a matter of speculation whether the second edition actually got into print in 1660. Masson was never able to locate a copy. 'In my perplexity,' he says, 'I began to ask myself whether this was to be explained by supposing that Milton, after he had prepared the second edition for the press, did not succeed in getting it published, and so that it was not until 1698 that it saw the light, and then by the accident that his enlarged press-copy had survived, and come (through Toland or otherwise) into the hands of the printers of the Amsterdam edition of the Prose Works. But, though several pieces in that edition are expressly noted as "never before published," . . . there is no such editorial note respecting *The Ready and Easy Way*, but every appearance of mere reprinting from a previously published copy of 1660. On the whole, therefore, I conclude that Milton did publish his second and enlarged edition some time

in April 1660; and I account for the rarity of original copies of this second edition by supposing that either the impression was seized before many copies had got about, or the Restoration itself came so rapidly after the publication as to make it all but abortive.<sup>1</sup>

Masson was reasoning well. A copy of this 'all but abortive' edition was once owned by the late Dr. Joseph F. Payne, of New Barnet, England, and is now to be found in the library of Mr. W. A. White, of New York City. Through the kindness of Mr. White, the writer has been privileged to examine this rare volume, and to make use of it in the present edition.

Masson was not quite correct, however, in the implied assumption that *The Ready and Easy Way* did not again see the light until 1698, as both first and second editions were reprinted before that date. The first edition appears in the folio 'Prose Works' of 1697. The second edition was reprinted (if we may trust the title-page of 'Five Tracts') for the first time in 1694. The sections entitled 'Four Tracts,' 'Five Tracts,' and 'Four Miscellaneous Tracts' all bear the date 1694, and are bound into a single volume, which is stamped with the same date. It is probably true, however, that these 1694 sections did not get into circulation before 1698; for we find them incorporated as an integral part of of Toland's edition of 1698. The title-page of this so-called Amsterdam (really London) edition is, in part, as follows: 'A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton, Both English and Latin. With som Papers never before Publish'd. In three Volumes. . . . Amsterdam. Finished in the year M.D.C.XC.VIII.' This last statement may mean that the publication had been begun at a considerably earlier date, possibly as early as 1694.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Milton* 5. 678.



*The Ready and Easy Way* has been frequently reprinted—in the editions of Milton's prose published in 1697, 1698, 1738, 1753, 1806, 1833, 1853, and in numerous publications of selections. It is interesting to note that the treatise was revived during the revolutionary days of 1791, and neatly published in separate form as a refutation of the arguments of Edmund Burke.

It is the enlarged edition that has been used almost invariably. From 1697 to the present time the original edition has never been republished in any of the collected works; nor, so far as is known, in any of the volumes of selections.

## B. DATES OF COMPOSITION AND PUBLICATION

### I. THE FIRST EDITION

#### I. *Preface*

The first line of *The Ready and Easy Way* makes it clear that the preface was added at some time subsequent to the writing of the main body of the treatise. In this interval 'the members at first chosen' had been 'readmitted from exclusion, to sit again in Parliament.' This readmission of the secluded members took place Feb. 21, 1660. It is certain, therefore, that the preface was written as late as Feb. 21. Moreover, 'writs for new elections have bin recall'd.' In the morning session of Feb. 21 the Rump passed the resolution 'that all Votes of this House, touching new elections of Members to sit and serve in this Parliament, be, and are hereby, vacated.'<sup>1</sup> But the specific annulment, or recall, to which Milton undoubtedly refers passed the House the next day, and was as follows:

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journals*.

'Ordered, That a Committee be appointed to bring in an Act for repealing the Act appointing the Form of a Writ for Members to sit and serve in Parliament.'<sup>1</sup> It is probable, therefore, that Milton added his preface on or after Feb. 22. This conclusion is strengthened by the further fact that Milton professes to be rejoicing over 'the resolutions of all those who are now in power, jointly tending to the establishment of a free Commonwealth.' Those 'now in power' were, of course, Monk, made commander-in-chief Feb. 21, and the restored Parliament. As for Monk, he had privately assured the secluded members, on the morning of Feb. 21, that he had nothing before his eyes 'but God's glory and the settlement of these nations upon commonwealth foundations'<sup>2</sup> (see p. xxxiii). But we learn that his public declaration (see p. xxvi) was drafted, signed, and sent forth 'that night'<sup>3</sup>; so the reassuring news undoubtedly did not reach Milton until Feb. 22. As for expressions from the Parliament, we find that 'the secluded Members declared, as to Government they intended no Alteration in it, or to act further than in Preparation for a Parliament to succeed them'<sup>4</sup>; and that, on Feb. 22, they voted 'that a new Parliament be summoned to appear upon the 25th Day of April 1660.'<sup>5</sup> As these joint assurances of good affection toward the commonwealth-cause upon the part of Monk and the Parliament got abroad in London on Feb. 22, it is fairly certain that the preface was not written earlier than that date.

<sup>1</sup> *Commons Journals*.

<sup>2</sup> Cobbett, *Parliamentary History* 3. 1580.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, *Chronicle* (cont. by Edward Phillips), p. 601

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 600.

<sup>5</sup> *Commons Journals*.

The Thomason copy of the pamphlet is dated March 3; but there is evidence that the treatise was in circulation before the end of February. Wood (*Fasti* i. 485) records: '(21) *Ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth and the Excellencies thereof compared with, &c.* Lond. 1659 in two sheets and an half in qu. This being published in Feb. the same year.'

The preface was therefore written in the interval Feb. 21 (probably Feb. 22)–Feb. 29.

## 2. Body

From the evidence just considered, it is clear that the whole treatise was completed and published not later than March 3; and, if Wood's information be correct, not later than Feb. 29. But it is apparent from the preface, and from the whole tenor of the treatise, that it was composed before the readmission of the secluded members on Feb. 21. There is no mention of any rupture between Monk and the Rump. Besides, the central argument of the pamphlet is one in support of the perpetuation of the Rump as a grand council—a project which of course became impossible the instant the Presbyterian majority, pledged to speedy dissolution, returned in overwhelming numbers on Feb. 21. But there is also interesting external proof that the main body of the treatise was written before Feb. 21. Roger L'Estrange, writing immediately after March 16, mocks at Milton's predicament as follows: 'I could only wish his *Excellency* [Monk] had been a little civiller to Mr. *Milton*; for, just as he had finished his *Modell of a Common-wealth*, directing in these very Terms the Choyce; . . . "men not addicted to a Single Person, or House of Lords, and the Work is

done." *In come the Secluded members and spoyle his Project.*<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, internal evidence makes it extremely probable that the body of the work was completed before the middle of February. The people are 'mad,' 'misguided,' 'strangely infatuated.' The sentiment in favor of kingship has suddenly become 'a torrent,' 'an epidemic madness,' a 'general defection.' And—most significant of all—Milton himself is in imminent peril. These were precisely the conditions in London on and immediately after Feb. 11; for when, on that day, General Monk suddenly turned upon his masters and sent a peremptory command for the Rump to 'fill up,' the rabble instantly went mad with joy, and amused itself not only with bonfires, bell-ringing, and the roasting of rumps, but also by assaulting Rumpers and stoning their houses. Praise-God Barebone had his windows broken, and Speaker Lenthall himself was affronted on his way home that night. Milton complains that the small number in Parliament 'is of late' 'made a by-word of reproach to them.' And although the term 'Rump' had been used occasionally ever since 1648 (see note on 20. 25), it took on an immense accession of popularity upon this occasion, the odious assembly being 'given this night the lasting Name of *Rump* Parliament,' and this 'Saturday Night February 11, . . . called the roasting of the Rump.'<sup>2</sup> These facts all seem to indicate that Milton is writing during this very reign of terror among republicans. Indeed, at the very close of the pamphlet, he declares that he is venturing 'with all hazard' to speak out. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the period of composition did not extend beyond Feb. 15.

<sup>1</sup> *Seasonable Word* (*Tracts*, p. 86).

<sup>2</sup> Skinner, *Life of General Monk*, pp. 251-2.

As to the other limit, it is certain that the treatise was begun after Feb. 4. 'The Parliament have voted to fill up their number.' We know from the *Commons Journals* that, after promising and dallying about the matter during January, the Rump finally, on Feb. 4, voted 'that this Parliament . . . be filled up to the Number of Four Hundred, for *England and Wales*.' That it was begun about this date is rendered probable by the fact that General Monk entered London on Feb. 3, and aroused unparalleled interest in the great question of settlement. Would he declare for the king or for a commonwealth; for restoring the secluded members, for a free Parliament, or for perpetuating the Rump? Upon all hands it was agreed that the new-comer should not lack advice; and every one set to work upon his model. Undoubtedly, Milton at this time began *The Ready and Easy Way*—and very probably about Feb. 6; for on that day Monk delivered a brief speech (see p. xxiii) which, although ambiguous, republicans generally interpreted as favorable to a commonwealth. We may conclude, therefore, that the body of the work was certainly written during the interval Feb. 4 to Feb. 21, and probably in the ten days between Feb. 4 and Feb. 15.

## II. THE SECOND EDITION

'It was but a little before the king's Restoration,' says Milton's nephew, 'that he wrote and published his book *In Defense of a Commonwealth*; so undaunted he was in declaring his true sentiments to the world.'<sup>1</sup> And a study of the additions, omissions, and other alterations made in the process of revision shows that

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *Lives of Edw. and John Phillips*, p. 377.

the treatise must indeed have been almost the last pre-Restoration protest of the republicans.

There are many references to contemporary events. The restored Rump has already become the 'last Parliament.' This dissolution occurred on March 16. Those who are bent upon recalling the king are now engaged in 'cheapning' the 'price' of subjection. Monk held his first interview with the royal agent, Sir John Greenville, on March 17, and dispatched him to Brussels with proposals on March 20. It is not likely that Milton knew of this business immediately. Yet he seems to be writing with full knowledge of Monk's and of the Presbyterians' negotiations with the king. *The Censure of the Rota* appeared on March 30. It is evident that Milton is writing after that date, for the gibes and criticisms contained in the pamphlet are freshly and poignantly in mind (see Appendix A. 2). Furthermore, Milton thinks that what he has written 'may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely published, *in the midst of our Elections to a free Parliament, or their sitting to consider freely of the Government.*' The writs for this election had been agreed upon by Parliament on March 16, and Whitelock reports several members elected as early as March 26.<sup>1</sup> But Milton's sentence indicates that he is writing, not at the beginning, but in the full swing of the elections—very probably well along in April. As these elections proceeded, it became apparent that the Parliament about to meet would be almost solidly Royalist. The return of Charles was therefore a certainty. Milton concedes the fact, and drops, as no longer applicable, the allusion to Coniah in his terrific peroration. He laments the 'absolute determination . . . to enthrall,' and admits

<sup>1</sup> *Memorials* 4. 405.

the hopelessness of staying the deluge. There is no longer a possibility of convincing opponents, but only of confirming those who yield not—probably Lambert and the Fanatics, then making a last appeal to arms. Lambert escaped from the Tower on April 9, and was captured on April 22. In view of the internal evidence just considered, we may be reasonably certain that to this interval, April 9–22, belongs the composition of the second edition.

We do not know the exact date of its publication; but there is evidence that the book appeared after April 20. Milton himself mentions the possibility of its coming out during the 'sitting' of the new Parliament—that is, after April 25. Roger L'Estrange, Milton's tireless pamphleteering opponent and critic, writing on April 20 in reply<sup>1</sup> to the *Notes on Dr. Griffith's Sermon*, quotes several passages from *The Ready and Easy Way*, and invariably from the first edition. It seems incredible that L'Estrange, who pounced with such zest and fury upon every utterance of his renowned antagonist, should have been ignorant of the more daring edition, or have failed to quote from it, had it been at that time in print.

It would seem, at first thought, that the book must have appeared before April 24, when Lambert was brought captive to London, and all signs of armed resistance disappeared. But Phillips' statement indicates that the pamphleteers were the last in the field: 'The Defeat of Lambert did not make the Fanatics leave the Pursuit of their Mischiefs, several seditious Pamphlets being published in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People.'<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that *The Ready and Easy Way* was one of them.

<sup>1</sup> *No Blinde Guides* (Tracts, p. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 608.

The conclusion, then, is that the second edition was written certainly between March 16 and April 25, and very likely during the interval April 9–22; and that it was published upon the eve of the Restoration, almost certainly after April 20, and probably in the last six days before the setting up of kingship on the 1st of May.

## C. HISTORICAL SETTING

### I. 'ANARCHY AND CONFUSION'

A study of the historical situation with which *The Ready and Easy Way* attempts to deal may well begin with a *résumé* of the more important events of 1659. Early in that year the Cromwellian protectorate had gone to pieces; and in May the army, by resurrecting the Rump Parliament, restored the republic as it had existed from 1649 to 1653. Eager to exert its authority, and especially to subordinate the military to the civil power, the Rump's first business was the reorganization of the army. Week after week a steady procession of the 'well affected' filed in before that august assembly, received new commissions from the venerable speaker's hands, and filed out again better 'affected' than ever. At last the weary process was completed—and just in time. A general rising of Royalists had been planned to occur on August 1; but only Sir George Booth, in Cheshire, made any considerable demonstration, and he was easily suppressed (Aug. 17–9) by the new-modeled army. From this achievement General Lambert returned with high notions of his own and of the army's importance. In September the Parliament was suddenly dumbfounded by demands, couched in no uncertain terms, from Lambert and his clique of ambitious officers. Among other things demanded, Fleetwood was



to be made commander-in-chief, and Lambert himself was to be placed next under him. The wary and insecure Rump instantly scented a conspiracy. It was convinced that Lambert 'aspired to succeed Cromwell,' and that 'when he should have so gotten the Sword, he would not long want the Scepter.'<sup>1</sup> It refused these and other demands, reproved the petitioners, and being secretly assured of support from Scotland, finally cashiered Lambert and eight of his associates. The next morning (Oct. 13) Lambert threw his troops around Westminster, and put an end to the sitting. 'Illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous,' protested Milton, 'that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the supreme power that set them up.'<sup>2</sup>

But the army-officers boldly assumed control, set up a committee of safety, and fell to work upon a constitution. The sword was law. Citizens were 'knock'd on the head,'<sup>3</sup> or killed outright. The soldiers, in turn, were hissed, jeered, and pelted until they grew ashamed and afraid to march.<sup>4</sup> L'Estrange was inflaming Royalists with his pamphlets. 'No quiet was enjoyed by any party,'<sup>5</sup> and on Dec. 20 poor Whitelock was wishing himself 'out of these daily hazards.'<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile the army in Scotland was preparing to march against Lambert. Suddenly Ireland and the fleet declared for the Parliament. The army-*régime* collapsed. Fleetwood now admitted that '*the Lord had blasted their Counsels, and spit in their Faces.*'<sup>7</sup> On Dec. 24

<sup>1</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter to a Friend* (Bohn 2. 103).

<sup>3</sup> L'Estrange, *Apology* (Tracts, p. 42).

<sup>4</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 591.

<sup>5</sup> Whitelock, *Memorials* 4. 380.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 4. 380.

<sup>7</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 592.

even 'the Soldiers declared to live and die with the Parliament'; and they 'stood in Ranks, and made Acclamations,' as the triumphant little Rump marched back to Westminster on Dec. 26.<sup>1</sup>

The most potent factor in the overthrow of the Lambert tyranny had been the silent pressure of Cromwell's old lieutenant-general, George Monk, military governor of Scotland, who now emerged as the dominant individual force in England. Monk was by no means the loftiest character on that remarkable stage; but he possessed a unique combination of qualities that fitted him to glide into the midst of turbulent factions, preserve order, and guide the overwhelming sentiment of the nation to its logical expression in restored kingship. He was a blunt, rough soldier, having had his 'education in a commonwealth whose soldiers received and observed commands but gave none'<sup>2</sup>; a man of decision and vigor, of much shrewdness and common sense. He stuck not at dissimulation, and knew how to think much and say little. Phillips calls him 'the most reserved man then living.'<sup>3</sup> He was generally known in his army as 'silent Old George.' It was precisely this cunning and this incomparable impenetrability that fitted him so uniquely for the rôle he now proposed to assume.

The turn of the year found Monk crossing the Border. The movement was begun immediately upon his hearing of the downfall of the army-*régime*. This is all the more curious, as his announced intention had been merely to restore the Rump. The apparent aimlessness of the movement argued some deep design, which none could positively fathom, but which every faction chose

<sup>1</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> Monk, *Letter to Speaker* (Corbet, *Monk*, p. 121).

<sup>3</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 594.

to interpret as tending to promote its own cause. The very name 'Old George' had a pleasurable thrill of mystery about it, and during the month of January all eyes were riveted upon the column of veterans moving steadily southward across snow-covered England. Everywhere they were greeted with acclamations and the ringing of bells. Monk was welcomed as the deliverer, and was petitioned for a free Parliament, termination of the Rump, and readmission of the secluded members. The sphinx heard all and said nothing, except to reaffirm his championship of the existing Parliament.

Meanwhile, all factions in London were stimulated to fresh hopes and enormous diligence by the near approach of this tremendous and mysterious new force. There should be no dearth of good counsel if Milton and the host of pamphleteering politicians could help it; there should be no stone left unturned to enlist 'the General' in the 'cause' of this, that, or the other faction.

The political alignment at the beginning of February, 1660, should be understood. The two grand divisions were, of course, Royalists and Commonwealth-men; but each of these had several distinct subdivisions. Of the former there were, first, the Old Royalists, including cavaliers, clergymen of the Church of England, and a large part of the gentry and country-folk generally, whose loyalty to kingship had remained unshaken. These were for unconditional restoration. The second sub-group were the New Royalists, including the entire body of Presbyterians—'new royalized Presbyterians,' as Milton calls them; that part of the Cromwellians who, upon the downfall of Richard, had gone over to Sir George Booth and his Royalist forces; the City, or Municipal, party; and that vast mass of the common people and 'rabble' who, either from sheer fickleness and desire for change, or from motives of personal safe-

ty, were now indulging in extravagant demonstrations of loyalty. The Presbyterian element was for a constitutional monarchy, and restoration upon rigid Presbyterian conditions. But the whole group was unanimous in demanding an end of the Rump, admission of the secluded members, and the calling of a free Parliament.

Both Old and New Royalists rejoiced at Monk's coming; for, in spite of his emphatic declarations to the contrary, they persistently believed that he was, at bottom, for the king, and would yet bring him in. That there was good foundation for this faith cannot be doubted. Overtures from the king had reached Monk the previous summer through the medium of his brother Nicholas, and he had made ready to coöperate with Booth in the Royalist rebellion. That he 'demurred two days,' until a fortunate arrival of mail warned him of Booth's defeat, was all that saved him from committing himself at that time.<sup>1</sup> 'By the grace of God I will do it if ever I can find it in my power,'<sup>2</sup> he declared to his chaplain, Mr. Price, just before beginning his march. His own army would not be convinced but that he would restore the king.<sup>3</sup> From these and other similar indications, it seems perfectly certain that such was his real intention; and all that he might say could not rob the Royalists of joy and hope in his coming.

The second political grand division—the Commonwealth-men—was still more heterogeneous. It included (1) that small remnant of Cromwellians who had not turned Royalist, but who favored a protectorate, or single-person government (not kingship), and still cherished a

<sup>1</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 575.

<sup>2</sup> Corbet, *Monk*, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 586.

design to reinstate Richard. The movers of similar conspiracies among the superior officers may be classed with this faction. In this division were (2) those Cromwellians who returned with enthusiasm to the commonwealth of 1649–53 as a model settlement. To this group belonged Milton. Here, of course, were (3) the uncompromising republicans—those who had stood for the old republic, had not accepted the protectorate, and were now advocating a commonwealth ‘without single person or house of lords.’ Such were the Rumpers—or a sufficient number of them to characterize the body. To this group belonged also the rank and file of the army, and the Independent clergy. Finally, this division included (4) miscellaneous anti-Royalists—Anabaptists, Fifth-Monarchy-men, etc.

These various branches of Commonwealth-men looked upon Monk’s coming with some degree of misgiving. The Independent ministers had solemnly endeavored to dissuade him from marching against Lambert, inasmuch as the ‘*Canaanites* and *Perizzites* were in the land.’<sup>1</sup> The Rumpers, who knew how it felt to be pulled out by the ears, would have preferred the influence of this masterful man at a safe distance rather than his actual presence with a grim army of veterans at his back. But whatever they felt, they could hardly do less than extend a seemingly hearty welcome to their approaching savior and professed champion. So they made him Ranger of St. James’ Park, voted him £1000 a year for life, and sent Masters Scott and Robinson to escort him to London—and to ferret out all they could of his designs. If Monk would only fall in with their filling-up scheme of perpetuating themselves, and take the abjuration-oath, his coming might turn out to be a good thing after all! The Cromwellians saw a possibility

<sup>1</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 588.

of making Monk protector; while Milton, and Commonwealth-men in general, decided, upon the whole, to accept with good grace Monk's vehement declaration in favor of a commonwealth.

Into the midst of this welter of faction and boundless curiosity, on February 3, came marching 'Old George' the mysterious, with 5800 weather-beaten troops. No less sumptuous an abode was tendered him than the Prince's Lodgings at Whitehall. On Monday, Feb. 6, he was escorted to Westminster, and compelled to endure a panegyric from the speaker. When the ordeal was over, Monk delivered a brief reply, in which he recommended to the astonished Rumpers their early dissolution; 'a free and full Parliament; . . . a Gospel Ministry; encouragement of Learning and Universities; and . . . admittance of the Members secluded before 1648, without previous oath or engagement.'<sup>1</sup> Sir Roger Gifford, writing on Feb. 8, expresses the general feeling of mystification: 'Monck was at the House on Munday last who expresst himself so obscurely that most men know not what construction for to make of it.'<sup>2</sup>

What did Monk mean? What would he do next? The curiosity of the anxious members was to be satisfied before the end of the week. But meanwhile Milton and the other pamphleteers labored amain to supply the blunt, apparently nonplussed general with abundance of 'light.'

On Feb. 8 the City voted to pay no more taxes to the odious Rump, in which it had not a single representative. The Parliament decided to test Monk's sincerity, and, as Burnet<sup>3</sup> thought, to render him harmless by making

<sup>1</sup> Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* 3. 1575.

<sup>2</sup> *Verney Memoirs* 3. 458.

<sup>3</sup> *History of My Own Time*, p. 156.

him as unpopular as themselves. On Feb. 8 the citizens of London were astounded to find him and his soldiers at work demolishing their gates, posts, chains, portcullises, and other defenses. Parliament had commanded; Monk had obeyed. On the next day he finished the job, and retired from the scene with every shred of popularity gone—the most thoroughly hated man in London. The Rump had scored. ‘Now George, we have thee for ever,’ cried Haslerig, ‘body and soul!’ But Monk marched back again on the 11th, no longer the servant of the Rump, but its dictator! ‘By Friday next,’ ran his ultimatum, ‘they should issue out Writs to fill up their House; and when filled, should rise at their appointed time, to give Place to a full and free Parliament.’<sup>1</sup>

The demonstrations of joy that greeted this sudden and complete change of front were unparalleled. Pepys’ vivid account<sup>2</sup> is as follows: ‘I saw many people give the soldiers drink and money, and all along in the streets cried, “God bless them!” . . . In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing, . . . it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! . . . I could at one view tell thirty-one fires. In King-street seven or eight; and all along burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the May Pole in the Strand rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it.

<sup>1</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 598.

<sup>2</sup> *Diary*, Feb. 11, 1660.

At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side.'

'This blow was it,' says Clement Walker, 'made Independency stagger, for so highly were both City and Country pleased with this Declaration, that they did hardly know in what manner to express their joy, ringing their bells, making bonfires, the air resounding nothing but the name and prayeses of Monck, and the Streets filled with gratefull hearts, who on bended knees prayed for blessings on the head of the hoped restorer, both of the Church and Commonwealth.'<sup>1</sup>

But if the Royalists exulted in the assurance of a free Parliament, and, through this, of an early restoration, the Commonwealth-men were in despair. Milton especially must have felt the blow, as it shattered in an instant his favorite scheme of perpetuating the Rump, and paved the way for a return to kingship. Indeed, we find that his pamphlet, which was apparently nearing completion at the time of these mad tumults, was thrown aside, and, for the time being, left unpublished.

Encouraged by Monk's stand, the secluded members pressed him more closely than ever to espouse their cause. As they were out-and-out Royalists, Monk feigned unwillingness; but he consented to hear them debate the matter with certain of the Rumpers—really only delaying until the army was in 'temper' for the move. And finally, pledging them to (1) army-settlement, (2) maintenance and arrears for army and navy, (3) a new Parliament, and (4) their own legal dissolution at an early date, he restored to their seats in Parliament, on Feb. 21, those members who had been excluded by Pride's Purge in 1648. 'This began to infuse a new

<sup>1</sup> Clement Walker, *History of Independency* 4. 92.



spirit of life into the Kingdom,' says Walker, 'in whom at this springing season of the year, began a new to bud and peep out the bloomes of a too long frost-nipped loyalty, so that one now might have seen what twenty years before could never shew, countenances, that lately were dejected through the cruell tyranny of their *Ægyptian* task masters, now gather cheerfull looks, and like fresh blown roses yield a fragrant savour.'<sup>1</sup>

But Monk as yet dared by no means to renounce his republican pretensions. A few days before the re-admission of the secluded members, he declared to Ludlow that they 'must live and die together for a Commonwealth,'<sup>2</sup> and to Haslerig, 'I do protest I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a Single Person or House of Peers'<sup>3</sup>; and on the night of Feb. 21 he dispatched with all haste letters to the different regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland to satisfy them '*that nothing was intended for Alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a free State and Commonwealth.*'<sup>4</sup> It was such assurances as these, together with the fact that the restored Parliament, although strongly Royalist, resolved to terminate soon, and leave the whole question of settlement to a free Parliament, that led Milton to take up again his neglected pamphlet, which he now prefaced with a brief reference to the altered situation, and published at the end of February.

After setting up a council of state, and making provisions for general elections, the famous Long Parliament dissolved on March 16; but only 'after many sad

<sup>1</sup> Walker, *Hist. of Independency* 4. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Ludlow, *Memoirs* 2. 227.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 2. 237.

<sup>4</sup> Baker, *Chron.*, p. 601.

pangs & groanes,'<sup>1</sup> for there was a growing inclination among its members to sit on, and bring in the king themselves, and on their own terms. Monk now began to play more boldly his game of negotiation. On the 'next Evening after the Dissolution of Parliament'<sup>2</sup> he consented to a private audience with his cousin, Sir John Greenville, who put into his hands a message from Charles. Three days later, Sir John was posting back to the Continent with Monk's advice to the royal exile (see note on 16. 31). Among other things, he recommended a proclamation of general pardon, confirmation of titles to real estate, and toleration as to matters of religion.

In the last days of March, amidst the greatest enthusiasm and keenest rivalry ever known, began the general elections. Every one was eager for a place in the 'free' Parliament, whereas no one but the excluded members had cared to sit with the Rump. As early as Feb. 23 Lady Anne Rochester writes: 'Good Mr. Yates, next to my sonne Lee, let not Sr. Raphe Verney faile of being chosen.'<sup>3</sup> These two seats, she thinks, will be 'as many' as they 'can compas.' The elections continued through the greater part of April. From the first the Royalists, of course, carried all before them. Very soon it became obvious to every one that the king's return was only a matter of weeks. On the 9th of April, Monk felt so confident of this that he sent Charles an absolute assurance of unconditional restoration.

Even Milton admitted as much. He had been revising his *Ready and Easy Way* with the design of influencing elections, or at least the Parliament. But as the returns began coming in, it became apparent that his efforts were to be as futile in the one case as in the other. Never-

<sup>1</sup> *Verney Memoirs* 3. 473.

<sup>2</sup> *Baker, Chron.*, p. 605.

<sup>3</sup> *Verney Memoirs* 3. 465.

theless, he was not quite alone. There was Lambert, just escaped from the Tower, and gathering together the desperate remnant of Fanatics, who were determined to oppose kingship to their last drop of blood. Milton owned them as kindred spirits, and resolved to make *his* forlorn fight at their side. Apparently in the very last days before the capture of Lambert on April 22 and the assembling of Parliament on the 25th, and probably after April 20, he finished, and soon after sent forth, the enlarged—and embittered—edition; ‘not so much to convince these,’ which he little hoped, ‘as to confirm them who yield not.’

## II. ‘AIBERIE MODELLS’

The one question upon which there was universal agreement during the months immediately preceding the Restoration was the urgent necessity of settling the government upon permanent foundations. ‘This care of timely settling a new government,’ declared Milton, ‘too much neglected, hath been our mischief.’ The republic of 1649–53 had been merely tentative; the protectorate, in spite of its noble achievements, had utterly collapsed within a year after the death of the great ‘Single Person’; the resurrected Rump delayed the attempt until turned out by the army; the army-*régime* evolved elaborate proposals, only to fall to pieces again in favor of the Rump; and, finally, the Remnant, after its second restoration, seemed utterly incompetent, or strangely unwilling, to go about the great business. In a word, proposal, experiment, and failure had been the history of the past eleven years, and the half-year preceding the Restoration is well called the reign of ‘anarchy and confusion.’ ‘Like a drowning man,’ declared one of Monk’s gratuitous advisers, ‘this nation

hath laid hold of every thing that came in its way; but all things have proved but straws and helpless twigs, that will not bear it above water.'<sup>1</sup> Monk himself told the Parliament on Feb. 6 that, as he marched from Scotland, he 'observed the people in most counties in great and earnest expectations of Settlement.'<sup>2</sup>

But if there was unanimity as to the need, there was the greatest possible diversity of opinions as to ways and means. Every faction had its 'only cure' or 'easy prescription.' And, as *The Ready and Easy Way* was one of these contributions of advice, it will be best understood in relation to the more important, at least, of these numerous proposals.

Of no statesman of his day had Milton a higher opinion than of Sir Henry Vane, whom Clarendon describes as a man 'unlimited and unrestrained by any rules or bounds prescribed to other men, by reason of his perfection, . . . a perfect enthusiast' who 'did believe himself inspired.'<sup>3</sup> In the well-known sonnet, Milton addresses him as

Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,  
Than whom a better senator ne'er held  
The helm of Rome.

Vane and Milton were both republicans, both champions of the Rump, and both believers in freedom of conscience, and separation of church and state. It is not surprising, therefore, that their solutions of the problem of settlement show a considerable similarity, particularly in the advocacy of a perpetual council. In *A Healing Question propounded and resolved, . . . with a Desire to apply Balsome to the Wound before it become incurable*,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letter of Advice* (Harl. Misc. 8. 625).

<sup>2</sup> Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* 3. 1575.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. of Rebellion* 16. 88.

<sup>4</sup> *Somers Tracts* 6. 303.

Vane inquired whether a 'standing council of state settled for life in reference to the safety of the commonwealth, and for the maintaining intercourse and commerce with foreign states, under the inspection and oversight of the supream judicature, but of the same fundamental constitution with themselves, would . . . be disliked.' By such recommendations, urged by such worthy members as Henry Vane, Milton was undoubtedly persuaded into championing the perpetuation of the Rump as a grand council. Vane's council was to have been even more absolute than Milton's: vacancies, 'by death or otherwise, might be supplied by the vote of the major part of themselves.' This idea may have suggested to Milton his modified form of rotation (see p. 23). Vane is clearly in advance of Milton in his recommendation of distinct legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the government. 'Would there be any just exception to be taken,' he asks, 'if (besides both these) it should be agreed (as another part of the fundamental constitution of the government) to place that branch of sovereignty which chiefly respects the execution of laws in a distinct office from that of the legislative power, (and yet subordinate to them and to the laws) capable to be intrusted into the hands of one single person, if need require, or in a greater number, as the legislative power should think fit?' Like Milton, Vane concludes his model with a rhapsodic expression of faith in its efficacy, exclaiming: 'How suddenly might harmony, righteousness, love, peace, and safety unto the whole body follow hereupon, as the happy fruit of such a settlement, if the Lord have any delight to be amongst us!'

Vane's influence did not cease with the downfall of the Rump in October, 1659, but is apparent in the constitution drafted by the general council of army-officers, the main provisions of which were as follows: that there

be (1) no kingship, (2) no single person as chief magistrate, (3) no house of peers, (4) no imposition upon conscience; (5) that an army be continued; (6) that the legislative and executive powers be in distinct hands; and (7) that Parliaments be elected by the people.<sup>1</sup> In this constitution, Vane's idealism is tempered and restrained by the conservatism and legal acumen of Bulstrode Whitelock.

On the last day of October, 1659, William Prynne, the most voluminous of the pamphleteers, came forward with *A short, legal, medicinal, useful, safe, easy Prescription, to recover our Kingdom, Church, Nation, from their present dangerous, distractive, destructive Confusion*,<sup>2</sup> in which he recommended, as 'the only just, legal, probable means now left,' the following: (1) 'for all the antient nobility of the kingdom . . . to assemble themselves by common consent at Westminster' and issue writs for a Parliament; (2) 'for all freeholders in every county' . . . to elect 'the ablest, honestest, wisest, stoutest gentlemen for their sheriffs,' and 'the wisest, ablest, stoutest, discreetest persons . . . knights, citizens, and burgesses'; (3) for all to resolve not to obey 'new, illegal, tyrannical, upstart powers, officers, conventicles, committees, or councils,' and to punish all resisting these measures as traitors.

Denouncing Prynne as a 'crop-eared pettifogger, a reviler of the saints, a constant opposer of powers, an unwearied scribbler, a demoniack possessed with a legion of hellish fiends, the spirit of contradiction,' the author of *Democritus turned Statesman*<sup>3</sup> wished to know 'whether it be not the purest and safest kind of free state, to have a free parliament elected annually, or twice a year, as it

<sup>1</sup> Whitelock, *Memorials* 4. 378.

<sup>2</sup> *Somers Tracts* 6. 533.

<sup>3</sup> *Hart. Misc.* 6. 192.

was before the Conquest, and after many years, without restraint on the wills of the free people of the nation; which parliament may constitute and elect a senate, that shall act according, and subject to the law of the land in the interval of parliament, and so to be elected from year to year by each parliament.' This was the notion of 'successive Parlements' with which Milton regrets to find men's minds 'prepossessed.'

A most remarkable anticipation of the presidency and house of representatives, as constituted in modern republics, is found in *Twenty-five Queries: modestly and humbly, and yet sadly and seriously propounded*<sup>1</sup>: 'If it shall be thought fit to have a single person to govern these nations with the advice of his council in the intervals of parliament: first, Then will it not be the safest way for the people to have this single person and council invested only with power to execute the laws, and the whole legislative power to be settled in the people's representatives? And again, considering the temper and constitution of the nation, will it not be most equal and just to have this single person elective, to continue for one or two years, and he and his council to be accountable to the parliament for mal-administration? . . . Will not this way be far less chargeable and burthensome to the nation than hereditary kingship?'

Among these numerous advisers there were few who agreed with Milton upon perpetuation, but the sentiment in favor of a commonwealth in some form was predominant in publications up to the decisive turn of affairs on Feb. 11. A typical plea for an 'equal commonwealth' is found in *A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord-General Monk*<sup>2</sup>: 'Thus hath this poor nation, within these few years, tried all sorts of government, but an

<sup>1</sup> *Harl. Misc.* 9. 424.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 8. 625.

equal commonwealth. We have experienced monarchy in the old line, and in the two protectors, a select senate, an oligarchy, the government of an army; what not? And have not as yet met with the ends of a good government. . . . And now, sir, can anything else save us, but an equal commonwealth? Which in truth is no more than a free and full parliament; but a free and full parliament more truly elected and better formed.'

Monk himself pretended to be strong for a commonwealth, as is evident from *The Speech and Declaration*<sup>1</sup> of Feb. 21: ' . . . I thought good to assure you, and that in the presence of God, that I have nothing before my eyes but God's glory, and the settlement of these nations upon commonwealth foundations. . . . Only give me leave to mind you, that the old foundations are by God's providence so broken, that, in the eye of reason, they cannot be restored but upon the ruins of the people of these nations; . . . for if the people find that, after so long and bloody a war against the king for breaking in upon their liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of question, as is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his will, dispose of parliaments and parliament men as he pleaseth, and yet the people will never more rise for their assistance.'

Harrington's important proposals are considered in the section entitled *The Rota Club*.

On October 20, in *A Letter to a Friend, Concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth*,<sup>2</sup> Milton himself sketched in outline a proposal which four months later he elaborated in *The Ready and Easy Way*. It ran: 'Being now in anarchy, without a counselling and governing power; and the army, I suppose, finding

<sup>1</sup> Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* 3. 1579.

<sup>2</sup> Bohn 2. 103.



themselves insufficient to discharge at once both military and civil affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no commonwealth can subsist, must be a senate, or general council of state, in whom must be the power, first to preserve the public peace; next, the commerce with foreign nations; and lastly, to raise monies for the management of these affairs: this must be either the parliament readmitted to sit, or a council of state allowed of by the army, since they only now have the power. The terms to be stood on are, liberty of conscience to all professing Scripture to be the rule of their faith and worship; and the abjuration of a single person'—the former implying also 'the removal of a forced maintenance from ministers. . . . That which I conceive only able to cement, and unite for ever the army, either to the parliament recalled, or this chosen council, must be a mutual league and oath, private or public, not to desert one another till death: that is to say, that the army be kept up, and all these officers in their places during life, and so likewise the parliament or counsellors of state. . . . And whether the civil government be an annual democracy or a perpetual aristocracy, is not to me a consideration for the extremities wherein we are, and the hazard of our safety from our common enemy, gaping at present to devour us.' Finally, 'well-order'd committees of their faithfulest adherents in every county may give this government the resemblance and effect of a perfect democracy.'

We may now turn from this embryonic constitution to its full development in *The Ready and Easy Way*.

## D. MILTON'S IDEAL REPUBLIC

The ground upon which Milton was to erect his commonwealth was first cleared of all traditional rubbish. There was to be no king or duke or protector—no single person of any kind. There were to be no bishops, no House of Lords; nor was there to be any 'distinction of lords and commoners' that might 'any way divide or sever the public interest.'

In the way of positive proposal he began, as he did in the *Letter to a Friend*, with an aristocratic council. Supreme power should be vested in a 'full and free Council of ablest men,' elected by the people from such as were 'not addicted to a single person or house of lords.' This council should have control of the naval and military forces, manage the public revenue, make laws, and attend to all affairs with other nations. The tenure of office in this body should be for life, or during good behavior; but if this would not be accepted, then the expedients of rotation, or of submitting to the people the question whether the several members should retire or remain in office, might be adopted.

To facilitate the handling of matters requiring much 'secrecie and expedition,' and to act as a kind of executive head, the grand council must choose from its own members a smaller council of state. 'No single person, but reason only,' was to rule in all its deliberations.

Every county in England was to be constituted a 'little commonwealth,' of which the chief town should be the capital. Here the chief gentry were to reside in befitting palaces, and participate in the local legislative, executive, and judicial organizations, which should be subordinate only in matters affecting the national government. But even the legislative enactments of

the grand council were to be submitted, by a species of referendum, to ratification or rejection at the hands of the majority of these subordinate commonwealths. Thus there were to be, not 'many sovranities united in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one united and entrusted sovranitie'—not a loose confederation, but the largest amount of local sovereignty consistent with a supreme and efficient national authority.

Offices were to be filled by popular election; but suffrage must be well hedged about with qualifications. By no means should all be left to 'the noise and shouting of a rude multitude.' These qualifications were designed to restrict suffrage and magistracy to those who were 'well affected' toward government without single person or House of Lords. Those 'rightly qualified' might nominate as many as they would; from these nominees, 'others of a better breeding' were to 'chuse a less number more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice,' those were left who were the 'due number,' and 'by most voices' thought 'worthiest.' Thus 'worth and merit,' rather than rank or wealth, were to govern in the choice of public servants. Moreover, these worthies were to be unsalaried; for magistracy should be undertaken, not from motives of personal ambition, but solely as an opportunity for unselfish service.

The good and the wise, however few, were to rule. But 'due libertie'—not license—and equality proportioned to merit should be guaranteed to all. In every town there should be free schools and academies. Church and state should be absolutely distinct and independent; and liberty of conscience must be assured. Finally, there were to be the fewest possible laws, in order that there might be the largest possible degree of individual freedom; one universal, divine law should prevail—the

law of nature, 'the only law of laws truly and properly to all mankind fundamental.'

When the government was once settled on this foundation, virtue would flourish and happiness abound. The people would soon be 'satisfi'd and delighted with the decent order, ease, and benefit' of such a government. And the republic itself should never know decay, but should 'so continue . . . even to the coming of our true and right full and only to be expected King, . . . the Messiah, the Christ.'

Milton vigorously resented any suggestion that his model was ideal and impracticable. Again and again he insisted that his 'way' was 'plain,' 'open,' 'easy,' 'without intricacies . . . or any considerable objection . . . that it is not practicable.' He professed to follow Aristotle rather than Plato, whose 'fancied republic . . . in this world could have no place.'<sup>1</sup> He desired 'to ordain wisely, as in this world of evil'—not 'to sequester out of the world into Atlantic and Utopian politics, which never can be drawn into use.'<sup>2</sup>

In Milton's claim there was some degree of force. His plan was extremely simple. It meant merely perpetuating a body of men already in power, and further elaborating systems of local sovereignty and popular education already in existence. Many of its recommendations have long since become a part of the actual workings of modern republics. Such are its combination of local and national authority, the referendum in legislation, and the merit-system of civil service. Besides, he announced no socialistic principles of absolute equality, equal division of lands, or community of goods. He attempted, at least, to lay the foundations of his commonwealth, not upon some undiscovered Oceana.

<sup>1</sup> *Areop.* (Bohn 2. 72).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* (Bohn 2. 74).

Utopia, or New Atlantis, but in the England of February, 1660.

But while Milton, in modeling his republic, endeavored to play the rôle of a practical statesman, he nevertheless remained the great idealist and poet. Hence we find that, in spite of its air of practicality, his republic has much in common with those of Plato and other political idealists. With Augustine and the mystical mediævalists, Milton loves to think of the race as a great brotherhood, and of God's 'governing from heaven' as the 'universal Lord of all mankind.' With Plato, he conceives of office-holding as public service. The right of the wise to rule, and the obligation of the ignorant to follow; aristocracy of merit; the exaltation of spiritual interests over every other in the state—these are all a part of Plato's republic. Like Plato, Milton saw no reason why a state, so constituted, should not endure for ever.

The impracticability and real Utopian character of Milton's republic, however, are to be found in its most fundamental proposal—government by a supreme and perpetual council of ablest men. To Milton, who looked upon magistracy as unselfish service, and believed that 'nothing is more agreeable to the order of nature, or more for the interest of mankind, than that the less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and in virtue,'<sup>1</sup> it seemed so easy, so desirable, so safe, to constitute the Parliament then sitting a perpetual council. As their literary champion, Milton had come to believe that these men were absolutely worthy and incorruptible—'faithfull worthies, who at first freed us from tyrannie, and have continu'd ever since through all changes constant to thir trust.' But by February, 1660, Milton stood practically alone in this belief. The

<sup>1</sup> *Sec. Def.* (Bohn i. 265).

Rump had become a national byword. No Utopian model ever dreamed could have been less acceptable to England at that time than was Milton's proposal to perpetuate this obnoxious assembly. *The Ready and Easy Way* was greeted with a roar of derision. Instantly and mercilessly were its fundamental weaknesses laid bare. *The Censure of the Rota* is typical: 'Though you brag much of the people's managing their own affairs, you allow them no more share of that in your Utopia, as you have ordered it, than only to set up their throats and bawl, instead of every three years, which they might have done before, once in an age, or oftener, as an old member drops away, and a new one is to succeed,' etc. (see Appendix B. 3).

So far as the adaptability of Milton's model to then existing conditions was concerned, there can be no doubt that the critics were right. Had there been infallible means of finding out who were the best and wisest; had all men looked upon magistracy as unselfish service; had officers, once chosen for life, been absolutely incorruptible, then, and then only, could Milton's scheme have been successful. But notwithstanding twenty years of participation in public affairs, Milton seems to have been unable to perceive the utter impracticability of his proposal, or to realize, as did Sir Thomas More, that 'except all men were good, everything cannot be right.'

## E. TWO FORMATIVE INFLUENCES

### I. MEDIAEVAL REPUBLICAN THOUGHT

Milton entertained no very high opinion of scholasticism, and the present work shows no appeal whatever to mediæval authorities. Nevertheless, he belonged to a school of political thought that had had its origin in

the heart of the Middle Ages ; indeed, the radical doctrine of *The Ready and Easy Way* is in large measure an unacknowledged inheritance from the republicanism of the mediæval church. One should remember, of course, that Milton was debtor also to the Greeks, and to all the learning and political experience of antiquity—as were in some degree the mediævalists themselves. However, in this pamphlet not only did he base his opinions concerning covenant, resistance, and tyrannicide upon sixteenth-century revolutionary thought, which itself was derived from the Middle Ages ; but his three fundamental conceptions—sovereignty of the people, government by supreme representative council, and federation—have, in the form in which they came down to Milton, distinctly mediæval beginnings.

The doctrine of popular sovereignty was a political expression of the belief in the intrinsic importance of the individual—a belief peculiar to Hebrew and Christian philosophy. Man had been created in the image of God, and endowed with immortality and the possibility of direct communion with his Creator. A tradition prevailed that in the far-off beginning, before the advent of sin, men had lived together in a state of nature, as free and equal sons of God, and under His direct guidance. This body of thought was augmented by the revelations of Christ, who clearly taught the fatherhood of God, and the immortality and infinite worth of even the humblest soul. From such teaching arose the Christian conceptions of universal brotherhood and equality ; and from the practice of the apostolic church descended even a tradition of the community of goods. St. Augustine, in the *De Civitate Dei*, which, of all books, next after the Bible, most profoundly influenced mediæval thought, cordially embraced the new philosophy, and declared that God ' did not intend that His rational creature should

have dominion over anything but the irrational creation—not man over man, but man over the beasts,' and that those who are in authority should really 'serve those whom they seem to command; for they rule not from a love of power, but from a sense of duty they owe to others.'<sup>1</sup> And Milton further notes that 'ad subditos suos scribens, Constantinus Magnus non alio nomine quam fratres appellat.'<sup>2</sup>

It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the sovereignty of the aggregate of individuals, each of infinite worth, was recognized in the great world-empire which arose under the inspiration of the Christian philosophy. The earliest form of this doctrine, however, was very different from its radical development as found in Milton and the extremists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The mediæval conception of popular sovereignty was by no means incompatible with loyalty to kings and popes. These were upheld by the people as necessary heads of the temporal and spiritual orders of life in the great quasi-mystical empire over which God himself reigned supreme. But they were nevertheless regarded as servants. John of Salisbury (1120–80), that most interesting and modern of twelfth-century Englishmen, pupil of Abelard, and friend of Thomas à Becket, in his famous book, the *Policraticus* (4. 1–3, 5), speaks of a king as 'minister populi,' and 'publicæ utilitatis minister.' A century later, Thomas Aquinas (d. 1274) is still more explicit: 'Principes terrarum sunt a Deo instituti, non quidem ut propria lucra quærent, sed ut communem utilitatem procurent' (*De Regimine Judæorum* 6).<sup>3</sup> The pope himself, although nominally su-

<sup>1</sup> *De Civ.* 19. 14–5.    <sup>2</sup> *Commonplace Bk.*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Gierke-Maitland's *Political Theories of the Middle Age* has generally been followed in references to mediæval works that were not accessible.



preme, was also a chosen servant, and subject to the council of the church.

While there was pretty general agreement as to the fact of popular sovereignty, there were two opinions as to its transference to rulers. Some held that the transfer of supreme authority to king or pope, made voluntarily by the people or their representative, was irrevocable. But the more dominant idea was that the investiture of rulers was a delegation of sovereignty, to be valid only as long as the terms of the contract were observed. This mediæval doctrine of contract, which flows down the centuries in a strong and unbroken stream, carrying with it tremendous significance as a justification of popular revolts against tyrants, kings, and popes, found formal expression in the writings of the Abbot of Admont, Engelbert of Volkersdorf (1250–1311). In the *De Ortu, Progressu, et Fine Romani Imperii Liber* (c. 2) he shows the origin of all *regna et principatus* to have been in a *pactum subjectionis*. These ideas of delegated sovereignty and contract are very prominent in Milton's treatise. 'Sovrantie,' he affirms, must not be 'transferred, but delegated only.'

As kings and popes were public servants, instituted by the sovereign people for its own welfare, it followed that they were also subject to the will of the people. The law of God and the law of nature alone were absolute; and when regal or papal decrees ran counter to these higher mandates, they might, and must, be disobeyed. Even Thomas Aquinas, a powerful supporter of the papal power, clearly recognizes the supremacy of the higher law. God is to be obeyed before the pope (*Summa Theologiæ* 2. 1. 96. 4). William of Ockham expresses the same idea with reference to the emperor, who is only to be obeyed 'in licitis' (*Dialog.* 3. 2. 20). The statement is made general by Philippus Decius (1454–

1536) in the *Consilia* (72. 2) : 'Superiori non est obediendum quando egreditur fines sui officii.'

But popular sovereignty implied more than the possibility of passive disobedience. As early as the eleventh century the doctrines of active resistance and tyrannicide were being taught by Manegold. In the following century John of Salisbury boldly wrote *On The End of Tyrants*, and in the *Policraticus* he justifies every means of tyrannicide except poison.<sup>1</sup> In the hands of the pope, during the papal supremacy, this became an effective instrument for reducing arrogant emperors to a proper subordination. In the sixteenth century we shall find the church, through the Jesuit writings, attempting to wield once more this ancient weapon against her imperial foes ; while in the seventeenth century the whole Puritan revolution may be expressed in terms of these mediæval principles of popular sovereignty, resistance, and tyrannicide.

The mediæval idea of popular sovereignty did not extend so far as to grant participation to the people individually in the administration of the empire or church. In fact, they were pretty generally excluded. It was understood to mean the supremacy of the people collectively ; hence it found its expression in a supreme representative council, popularly chosen, and, theoretically, exactly equivalent to the whole sovereign people for which it stood. Nothing exactly like this—a supreme assembly perfectly representative of the entire people—had ever been known, and its developments were destined to be of the utmost consequence. In the direct line of descent are the modern representative parliament, and Milton's supreme 'general Council of ablest men, chosen by the people.' The authority of this mediæval council was limited by nothing except the law of God

<sup>1</sup> Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought*, p. 238.

and the law of nature. To it the senate of cardinals and the pope himself were subject.

But to realize the completeness of this mediæval conception, one must turn to the writings of Marsilius of Padua (d. after 1342), the famous rector of the University of Paris. In the *Defensor Pacis* (c. 1324), which has been called 'the most original political treatise of the middle ages,'<sup>1</sup> he clearly sets forth the principle of a representative council. Chapters 20—1, pp. 256—63, are thus summarized by Poole: 'The supreme power in the church is the church itself, that is, a general council, formed of the clergy and laity alike, and convoked not by any pretended spiritual authority but by the source of all legislation and jurisdiction, the civil state. Thus constituted a general council may not only decide ecclesiastical questions but even proceed to excommunicate the temporal ruler and place his land under an interdict, just because it represents the authority of the universal church and speaks the voice of the entire community, in both its spiritual and its temporal capacities. That it has power over the pope follows necessarily from the principles already laid down.'<sup>2</sup>

But while there was recognition of the worth and rights of the individual, and of the sovereignty of the people as a whole; and although this found its highest expression in a representative council under the nominal leadership of the papal and regal authority, the most remarkable and unique achievement of mediæval policy was the building of these manifold elements of government into a unified whole. The genius of the mediæval mind, in fact, was chiefly its unparalleled capacity to achieve unity out of multiplicity. One God, one authority, one world-wide empire, one human brotherhood,

<sup>1</sup> Poole, *Illus. of Hist. of Med. Thought*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 273.

one goal of life—such were the ideals that wrought themselves into unworldly monasticism, into the Holy Roman Empire; into cathedral and *Divina Commedia*; and into a system of federated government which articulated and fused into a whole the successive units of sovereignty from the individual to the papal throne. In order of magnitude, these units were the individual, the family, the village, the city, the province, the nation, the empire. Each part was an individual organism having its end in itself, reflecting in miniature the constitution of the whole, and yet at the same time forming a subordinate element in the successive higher unities. Dante well expresses this conception of world-wide and race-wide unity in discussing ‘what is the end of human society as a whole’: ‘In order to discern the point in question more clearly, observe that as Nature fashions the thumb for one purpose, the whole hand for another, then the arm for a purpose differing from both, and the entire man for one differing from all, so she creates for one end the individual, for another the family, for another the village, for still another end the city, for another the kingdom, and finally for an ultimate end by means of His art which is nature, the Eternal God brings into being the human race in its totality.’<sup>1</sup>

Although this vast system of graduated sovereignties, united in one grand empire under the rulership of God, was soon to disintegrate, still the principle of federation—of preserving the identity and independence of the separate groups, yet binding all together into a unity—was to persist, and to exert a profound influence in modern times. The disintegration of the mediæval scheme of federated groups was largely due to the spread of Greek political ideas. Especially powerful was the

<sup>1</sup> *De Monarchia* tr. Henry, I. 3.

influence of the Greek conception of a sovereign, non-universal state; indeed, this idea completely shattered the vast mediæval empire, and laid the foundations of modern European states. The state at one end of the mediæval chain, and the individual at the other, became the two antagonistic supremacies, and the intermediate links—village, city, and province—practically disappeared politically.

More and more the state came to mean the king; and, striving against regal absolutism, individualism developed into the rebellions and revolutions of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Throughout this long struggle for political rights, the church, true to mediæval traditions, consistently championed the sovereignty of the people, and wielded the doctrine as a weapon against the pretensions of the temporal power. On the other hand, the supporters of the Reformation movement (itself an expression of individualism on its spiritual side) generally asserted the divine right of kings, in return for royal protection against the power of the pope. This was the alignment during the sixteenth century. Luther and Calvin—although the latter betrays some signs of a democratic, or at least aristocratic, preference—were outspokenly royalist. But the doctrines of disobedience, resistance, and tyrannicide were accepted by the later Calvinists, and were boldly proclaimed by the writers of the Huguenot and Jesuit schools. The sovereignty of the people and government by a representative council were reasserted, and justified historically, by Francis Hotman in the *Franco-Gallia* (1574). A still more powerful Huguenot presentation of liberal mediæval ideas is to be found in the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* (1578). In the *Politica Methodice Digesta* of Althusius, the German jurist who wrote in praise of the United Provinces, we find a most

remarkable return to the mediæval idea of federated groups—families uniting to form communities (villages, parishes, towns, etc.), and these combining into provinces, which in turn unite to form the state.<sup>1</sup>

But the most complete revival of mediæval political ideas is to be found in the writings of the Jesuits, a society which originated just before the middle of the sixteenth century. The Catholic principles of unity, of subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power, of popular sovereignty, and of government by a representative council are reaffirmed with admirable clearness and force. The Spanish Jesuits, Molina and Suarez, even revived the theocratic conception of a perfect state, over which should reign the law of God and the law of nature. The dominating tyranny of kings, while it made impossible the realization of this ideal, all the more stirred the zeal of the Jesuits in its behalf. Not only did they justify disobedience, resistance, and tyrannicide; but when the horror of St. Bartholomew's came to be laid at the door of Henry III, they were ready to assert and justify the right of private individuals to assassinate tyrants and heretic kings. The *De Rege et Regis Institutione* of Mariana, another Spanish Jesuit, is perhaps the boldest and ablest exposition of the radical antimonarchical doctrine ever written. The book produced a tremendous impression, and passed through many editions. Not only did it bear immediate fruit in the assassination of Henry III, but it became the authority and chief support of regicides for two centuries. Jesuit emissaries and Jesuit books crossed over into England in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and exercised no small influence in preparing the way for the extreme measures taken against the Stuarts.

<sup>1</sup> Dunning, *Political Theories, Ancient and Modern* 2. 62.

Milton's writings give evidence of his intimate acquaintance with the *Franco-Gallia*, *Vindiciæ*, *De Rege*, and other revolutionary utterances of the preceding century. In a very true sense their championship of popular, as against monarchical, ideas—derived, as we have seen, from the Middle Ages and the heart of the Roman church—they handed across the Channel to Milton, the apologist of the Puritan revolution and republic. Especially is this apparent in the present treatise in regard to its fundamental ideas of popular sovereignty, government by a representative council, and unified confederacy. Milton, in his political ideas, had vastly more in common with Catholic republicans than with Reformation royalists. In fact, as we shall see in the study of sources, Milton surreptitiously incorporates as authority in *The Ready and Easy Way* a generous portion of the *De Republica* of Jean Bodin, whom he elsewhere expressly styles a 'Papist.'

## II. THE ROTA CLUB

Among the various contemporary schools of commonwealth-proposers there was none so interesting, so brilliant, and so important in relation to Milton as the little group of enthusiasts who met regularly during the winter evenings of 1659–60 to discuss 'aierie modell's' under the hospitable shelter of Miles' Coffee-House, 'at the Turk's head, in the New Pallace-yard.' The founder and animating spirit of this famous debating society was James Harrington, the author of *Oceana*, and, upon the whole, the ablest political philosopher of his time. Toland styles him the 'greatest Commonwealthman in the World,'<sup>1</sup> and his *Oceana* 'the most

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Life of James Harrington*.

perfect Form of Popular Government that ever was.' However that may be, it is certain that no contemporary republican possessed an equally intimate acquaintance with all previous political theory, together with constructive imagination and genius for detail, and un-failing enthusiasm in promoting his ideas. The *Oceana* appeared in 1656. It was instantly pounced upon by Cromwell's courtiers, and carried to Whitehall; but, through Harrington's intercession with Lady Claypole, the 'child of his brain' was rescued from Cromwell. Toland tells us that the treatise was 'greedily bought up, and becom the subject of all mens discourse.' It proposed a most elaborate model of a commonwealth, based upon rotation in office, equal distribution of land, and the fundamental principle 'that empire follows the balance of property, whether lodg'd in one, in a few, or in many hands'—a principle which, Toland affirms, Harrington 'was the first that ever made out.' Aubrey records that this 'ingeniose tractat, together with his and H. Nevill's smart discourses and inculcations, dayly at coffee-houses, made many proselytes.'<sup>1</sup> It provoked spirited controversy, and became the political creed and unifying principle of the Rota Club.

As the militant republicanism of the Harringtonians exercised so large an influence upon both editions of *The Ready and Easy Way*, it may be worth while to become acquainted with the Rota-men and their famous Coffee-Club. The Club began its sessions in September, 1659, at the time when the restored Rump was taking up the great question of settlement. The purpose of the Club, according to Burnet, was 'to consider of a form of government that should secure liberty, and yet preserve the nation.'<sup>2</sup> It continued its animated discussions

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Lives* 1. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. of My Own Time* 1. 151.



through the constitution-making army-régime and until the downfall of the Rump in February, or almost up to the appearance of *The Ready and Easy Way*. Perhaps the best contemporary mention is the following quaint account by Aubrey, a frequent visitor: 'In so much [did Harrington 'make proselytes'] that, anno 1659, the beginning of Michaelmasterme, he had every night a meeting at the (then) Turke's head, in the New Pallace-yard, where they take water, the house next to the staires, at one Miles', where was made purposely a large ovall-table, with a passage in the middle for Miles to deliver his Coffee. About it sate his disciples, and the virtuosi. The discourses were in this kind the most ingeniose, and smart, that ever I heard, or expect to heare, and band[i]ed with great eagernesse: the arguments in the Parliament howse were but flatt to it. . . . Here we had (very formally) a *ballotting-box*, and balloted how things should be caried, by way of *tentamens*. The room was every evening full as it could be cramm'd. I cannot now recount the whole number:—Mr. Cyriack Skinner, an ingeniose young gentleman, scholar to John Milton, was chaireman. . . . We many times adjourned to the Rhenish wine howse. One time Mr. Stafford and his gang came in, in drink, from the taverne, and affronted the Junto (Mr. Stafford tore their orders and minutes). The soldiers offerd to kick them downe stayres, but Mr. Harrington's moderation and persuasion hindered it. The doctrine was very taking, and the more because, as to human foresight, there was no possibility of the king's returne. But the greatest part of the Parliament-men perfectly hated this designe of *rotation by ballotting*; for they were cursed tyrants and in love with their power, and 't was death to them, except 8 or 10, to admitt of this way. . . . Now this modell upon rotation was:—that the third part

of the Senate should rote out by ballot every yeare, so that every ninth yeare the House would be wholly alterd; no magistrate to continue above 3 yeares, and all to be chosen by ballot, then which manner of choice, nothing can be invented more faire and impartiall. Well: this meeting continued Novemb., Dec., Jan., till Febr. 20 or 21; and then, upon the unexpected turne upon generall Monke's comeing-in, all these aierie modell's vanishd.'<sup>1</sup>

Wood's account<sup>2</sup> follows Aubrey's, but adds that the ballot-box with which the 'gang' amused themselves was an absolute novelty, 'not being us'd or known in England before'; and that 'on this account the room was every evening very full.' This ballot-box, with its queer little pellets of divers colors, is one of the exotics at which Milton grumbles; but it was a source of infinite mirth among the Royalist wits. For a specimen of their satire see *The Censure of the Rota* (Appendix B. 3). Other amusing references to the Club may be found in the *Harleian Miscellany* (6. 192, 465; 7. 197).

A frequent and very much interested visitor at the Rota-Club debates was Samuel Pepys, who furnishes us comments under the dates of Jan. 10, Jan. 14, Jan. 17, and Feb. 20, the last of which is as follows: 'In the evening Simons and I to the Coffee Club, where nothing to do only I heard Mr. Harrington, and my Lord of Dorset and another Lord, talking of getting another place as the Cockpit, and they did believe it would come to something. After a small debate upon the question whether learned or unlearned subjects are the best the Clubb broke up very poorly, and I do not think they will meet any more.'

<sup>1</sup> *Brief Lives* 1. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Athen. Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, 2. 1119.

They did not ; at least, this is the last account we have of them.

We do not know that Milton ever visited the Rota Club, but it is certain that he was in constant and intimate touch with its proceedings. Cyriack Skinner, its occasional chairman, was one of Milton's closest friends. Besides, this vigorous championship of a commonwealth must have been of very great interest to Milton, who differed from Harrington only as to the best means to this same general end. In the preface to *Hirelings*, he seems to show a keen interest in the Harrington petition recently laid before Parliament (see note on 23. 19). It is probable that his Rota-friend read to him from time to time Harrington's various tracts in support of a commonwealth, such as *The Art of Lawgiving*, *Political Aphorisms*, *7 Models of a Commonwealth*, and *The Rota*. And it would be singular indeed if there were no trace of them to be found in Milton's contemporary model.

We find that the characteristic ideas of the Rota-men did exert an influence upon both editions of *The Ready and Easy Way*. The idea of rotation, so far from Milton's doctrine of perpetuity in office, was still less radical and dangerous than the 'conceit' of successive Parliaments. It is therefore mentioned by Milton in the first edition, by way of compromise with the Harrington school, as the 'best expedient, and with least danger'—but only to be tolerated as a last resort to satisfy such as were 'ambitious to share in the government.' It would seem, however, that Milton's information as to Harrington's proposal was somewhat inexact, or, as is more probable, that he was not willing to follow that design too closely. The rotation-scheme as stated in the first edition is Harrington's, but with a difference ; and the difference is characteristically Miltonic. In-

stead of one third of the senate's rotating annually by suffrage of the people, 'a hundred or some such number may go out by lot or suffrage of the rest'—a much less popular form of rotation than Harrington's, and one less likely to impair the dignity and power of the senate. If possible, the managing of this business should be in the control of the council itself. It is in the second edition, however, that the subject receives earnest attention. Milton finds it expedient 'to enlarge especially that part which argues for a perpetual Senat.' Accordingly, we find that the brief mention of rotation in the first edition has been expanded into whole paragraphs and pages in the second.

But the Rota Club, notwithstanding the fact that Milton grudgingly and tentatively accepts one of its proposals, is not to be thought of as a source of *The Ready and Easy Way*, but rather as a formative influence without the pressure of which large sections of Milton's treatise would not have been written. The ideas of the Rota-men are almost invariably mentioned to be criticized and combated. Such criticism must have seemed all the more imperative, as *The Rota: Or a Modell of a Free State or equal Commonwealth*, Harrington's contribution of advice corresponding to Milton's, was almost exactly contemporary with *The Ready and Easy Way*. Wood naturally associates the two rival models: '*The Rota* . . . published in the beginning of Feb. 1659. About which time John Milton published a pamphlet called, *The ready and easy Way to establish a free commonwealth*.'<sup>1</sup> That Milton considered Harrington a formidable competitor, we may infer from the dimensions of the counter-argument in this treatise, and from Harrington's reputation as a political philosopher.

<sup>1</sup> *Athen. Oxon.* 3. 1123.

Toland says by way of comparison: 'In this book [Milton's] he delivers the model of a commonwealth, well suted perhaps to the circumstances of that time, but inferior, in all respects, to Harrington's *Oceana*, which for the practicableness, equality, and completeness of it, is the most perfect form of such a government that ever was delineated by any antient or modern pen.'<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the principal proposals of Harrington that come in for criticism in the pamphlet, and Milton's opinions of them, may be briefly stated. (1) Agrarian laws (see note on 28. 30) Milton believes to be dangerous; his own model involves 'no perilous, no injurious alteration or circumscription of mens lands and proprieties.' (2) There were to be a 'Senate of three hundred Knights, and the popular assembly of one thousand and fifty Deputies, each being upon a triennial Rotation, or annual Change in one third part.' But this 'annual rotation of a Senat to consist of three hundred, as is lately propounded,' replies Milton, and 'another popular assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable rotation, . . . cannot but be troublesom and chargeable, unweildie with thir own bulk, unable to mature thir consultation as they ought.' He 'could wish this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinitie with the wheel of fortune.' He does not, however, reject it utterly. If not the 'best,' it is still the 'known expedient,' and much to be preferred to kingship. He will not 'forejudge . . . any probable expedient.' The tone of the argument reveals no sign of animosity toward Harrington himself. (3) The secret ballot receives no support from Milton; he speaks slightly of this Venetian innovation, and of 'exotic models' in general.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Milton*, ed. 1761, p. 110.

(4) Harrington's whole elaborate scheme of division and subdivision of territory into shires or tribes, hundreds, and parishes, and of the freemen into youths and elders, horse and foot; their assembling at stated times at the summons of trumpet or drum, or the ringing of bells; the compulsory marching and countermarching, the prescribed robes of divers colors, the intricate process of voting—all seemed to Milton 'new injunctions to manacle the native libertie of mankind; turning all vertue into prescription, servitude, and necessitie, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian libertie.' *His way, so different from Harrington's, was 'plain, easie and open; . . . without intricacies, without the introducement of . . . obsolete forms, or terms, or exotic models.'*

## F. SOURCES

### I. SCRIPTURAL AUTHORITY AND ILLUSTRATION

*The Ready and Easy Way* is not distinctively learned, argumentative, or defensive, but was written rather hastily, as a practical suggestion in an emergency. The Biblical element, therefore, is much less prominent here than it is in such treatises as the *Defensio* and the *Tenure*. However, we find that not fewer than twelve direct appeals to the Bible are made in the present work—for illustration and proof; for vindication and ridicule; for warning and denunciation. Milton's employment of Scripture is extremely bold and effective. Old-Testament blood-guiltiness is the warning held up before backsliders from the 'good old cause'; moreover, those who clamor for kingship may be warned of God's anger from the case of Samuel's sons; and let the Stuarts themselves tremble at the terrible denunciation of

Jeremiah against Coniah. Unfortunately, it was not without some grounds that the critics accused Milton of wresting the Scripture to his purpose (see notes on 15. 34 and 15. 35, and p. 177).

## II. CLASSICAL PRECEDENT

### I. *Greek Commonwealth-Theory*

In his proposed curriculum, as also in his own extensive reading, Milton had given a prominent place to 'those extolled remains of Grecian lawgivers, Lycurgus and Solon.' And while we are not to imagine him now, in his anxious haste and infirmity of blindness, as painfully groping among Athenian and Spartan constitutions, it is nevertheless true that he incorporates in his model much of their spirit, and many of their practical expedients. Milton seems to have read of the curb, or 'bridle'-device, of the *Ephori*, in the charming pages of Plutarch's *Life of Lycurgus*. There is also an allusion to the peculiar Spartan form of election in his unwillingness to commit all 'to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude.' Throughout the treatise there runs an implied commendation of Spartan frugality, simplicity, discipline, and patriotic fervor.

But it was for the Athenian commonwealth, as founded by Solon and further democratized by his successors, that Milton reserved his profoundest admiration. Like Milton, Solon was a poet turned statesman, an unselfish reformer, and an unsuccessful opposer of tyrants. But, unlike Milton's, his political ideas had the good fortune to become the basis of the constitution of the republic. Milton found these reflected in Plutarch's *Life of Solon*—itself largely derived<sup>1</sup> from Aristotle's recently recov-

<sup>1</sup> Sandys, *Aristotle's Constitution of Athens*, Intro., p. xxiv.

ered *Constitution of Athens*. Here are set forth the ideas of a supreme and perpetual council of the Areopagus; proportionate eligibility to office; the right of appeal to living judges. Solon himself, as here described, furnishes a splendid example of unselfish public service, and of supreme contempt for royal ostentation. And Milton's proposed combination of local and national authority—legislative, executive, and judicial—he finds 'to have been practised in the old Athenian commonwealth.' We may now turn to the strictly political writings of the Greeks to which our book is indebted. We have seen that Milton professed to hold in some derision the idealistic proposals of Plato—'a man of high authority indeed, but least of all for his commonwealth.'<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, almost a score of Plato's social and political ideas reappear in *The Ready and Easy Way*. The nature of the state, the origin of law, the purpose of government, the relation of tyranny to moral progress, magistracy as service, due liberty—these are some of the subjects upon which Milton's thought accords with Plato's. Most of these ideas, it is true, Milton met again far down the stream and in other forms, for we are here at the fountainhead of modern commonwealth-theory; but it is also true that he received the initial impression of these conceptions from the pages of the *Republic* and the *Laws*. Finally, Aristotle, a much more practical philosopher, is acknowledged as 'chief instructor,' and especially cited as authority (31. 5).

## 2. *The Roman Republic and Its Expounders*

Hardly less profoundly was Milton influenced by the history of the illustrious republic of Rome. The influence, however, was largely one of national character

<sup>1</sup> *Arsop.* (Bohn 2. 71).



and political institutions, for in the province of original political philosophy the Roman contribution had been small. It was the history of that liberty-loving people, who, deposing their kings, flourished for five hundred years as a republic; the matchless spirit of the Romans, who were 'in a manner all fit to be kings'; their august, perpetual senate, their check-device of the tribunes: it was these elements of Roman greatness that appealed most strongly to Milton at this time, as exemplifying the feasibility and superiority of an aristocratic republic.

But the Roman republic, although it imported its politics from Greece, was not quite without expounders. There were Cicero, with his *Republic* and *Laws*, and Polybius, and Justinian; from each of whom Milton seems to have gleaned ideas that were to reappear later in modified form in his own republic. Like Milton, Cicero had striven 'at all hazard' to uphold the tottering and already doomed structure of a republic, having voluntarily resigned the 'diversified sweetness' of his studies to oppose himself 'almost alone to the tempests and torrents of sedition, for the sake of preserving the state'<sup>1</sup>—an utterance that seems to have colored Milton's own declaration of motives. Like Milton again, Cicero professed to be a practical statesman; but he openly modeled his treatises upon Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*. Naturally, therefore, most of his ideas are of no importance as sources. Yet there is a certain remainder, peculiarly his own, which did exercise a direct influence upon the shaping of *The Ready and Easy Way*. For example, Milton expressly acknowledges the power of Cicero's beautiful and eloquent statement of the law of nature (see note on 10. 40).

It is probable that Milton's idea of 'balance' was derived from, or confirmed by, the exposition of the

<sup>1</sup> *De Republica*, tr. Barham, 1. 148.

Roman system of checks and balances, as found in Polybius. The *Commonplace Book* shows that he took notes from Justinian on natural and civil law. We know that Milton derived from Augustine the opinion that magistrates are really servants. The *De Civitate Dei* left other traces upon *The Ready and Easy Way*. It is certain that this was one source of the idea that kings should not presume to rule over men (see note on 19. 14).

### III. MODERN POLITICAL THEORISTS

#### I. *Machiavelli*

It has been the purpose of a preceding section to show that the mediæval contribution to *The Ready and Easy Way*, while very large indeed, descended by way of sixteenth-century democratic thought, and was not recognized as mediæval at all. We may therefore pass from the fifth to the fifteenth century, and next inquire as to the modern sources of Milton's treatise. It is not a little surprising to find the first of these in the writings of Machiavelli (1469–1527), the celebrated Florentine statesman, the first, and one of the greatest, of modern politicians. There are many reasons why Machiavelli particularly interested and influenced Milton. As an embodiment of the Renaissance spirit, he stood for intellectual and religious emancipation; he eagerly welcomed the experience and wisdom of Greece and Rome; he too acknowledged Aristotle as his chief instructor, and professed himself to be—what he really was—a practical statesman and impartial inquirer after truth; his favorite model of government was the republic of Rome; his volumes were rich in information about the minor republics of Italy, such as Venice and Florence; he started from the assumption that the state,

of whatever form, is to be preserved and promoted at whatever cost, and discussed with inimitable clearness and penetration the policies best adapted to that end. The fact that his attitude is unmoral and indifferentist, or nearly so, did not deter Milton—as it had innumerable narrow minds that execrated the very name of Machiavelli—from diligently reading and excerpting the *Discorsi* and the *Arte della Guerra*, as the *Commonplace Book* and *The Ready and Easy Way* prove. In spite of their usual impersonal tone, Machiavelli's volumes contained certain bold declarations and eulogies upon freedom which, to Commonwealth-men of the calibre of Milton and Harrington, seemed to betray a republican fervor in the author. Accordingly, Harrington holds him in high repute as the 'learn'd Disciple' of 'the Antients,' and 'the only Politician of later Ages.'<sup>1</sup>

A large part of Machiavelli's work is, of course, a restatement of Aristotelian philosophy, and must be disregarded so far as sources are concerned, except where its connection with Milton's thought is indisputable. Such is the case, as proved by Milton's own citations, in those passages which amplify the thought that hereditary kings are seldom virtuous, and that good men are scarce in monarchies, but abound in commonwealths. Machiavelli also suggested to Milton, or at least confirmed him in the opinion, that God preferred to make commonwealths when given His own way about it (see note on 32. 5).

## 2. Bodin

We have now arrived at the authority of whom Milton seems to have made most use during the composition of *The Ready and Easy Way*—Jean Bodin (1530–96).

<sup>1</sup> *Oceana*, ed. 1737, p. 38.

the illustrious author of the *De la République*. Like Machiavelli, Bodin was filled with the Renaissance enthusiasm for the wisdom of ancient Greece and Rome. He made eager explorations into various fields of learning, and distinguished himself by contributing to political, educational, and economic theory, and by practically originating the modern historical method of investigation. Moreover, he rendered valuable service as statesman and diplomat under Henry III. With admirable spirit he stood for liberty of conscience, mutual concessions, and peace, in the midst of the raging wars of religion. It is not surprising that his tolerance and poise brought upon him the zealots' charges, at different times, of being a 'Catholic, a Calvinist, a Jew, a Mohammedan, and an atheist.' Milton himself declares that 'Bodin, the famous French writer, though a Papist, yet affirms that the commonwealth which maintains this discipline [Presbyterianism] will certainly flourish in virtue and piety.'<sup>1</sup>

But it was in the field of political philosophy that Bodin made his most admirable contribution to knowledge and progress. The *De la République* appeared in 1576, and at once linked its author's name with that of Aristotle. The treatise was written in French, but was translated into Latin by the author in 1586. It was known and read all over Europe, and was promptly made a textbook in the English universities. It passed through numerous editions, the thick, almost cubical, Latin octavo of 1641 being the 'Editio Septima.'

Milton probably became thoroughly familiar with Bodin's *Repubblica* during his university days, and later, during the period of strenuous controversy, he did not forget this veritable mine of political wisdom. Page 112 of the *Commonplace Book* has the following note in Milton's own hand: 'Pro divortio vide Bodin. repub.

<sup>1</sup> *Reason of Ch. Gov.* (Bohn 2. 490).

l. 1, c. 3.' This note-book also contains a large number of direct quotations from Bodin, but as they are in Lord Preston's hand instead of Milton's, no use will be made of them as sources. Fortunately, the *Repubblica* itself is sufficiently convincing as to Milton's direct obligation. The most remarkable case of borrowing may be set forth here in some detail, as it possesses both historical and biographical significance.

On page 24 of this edition, Milton covertly refers to Bodin as 'they who write of policie,' and further distinguishes him above all other authorities by quoting a considerable passage in support of a perpetual senate. This conclusion, that Milton is here disingenuously helping himself to Bodin, is based primarily upon the evidence of the following parallels:

Bodin, <i>De Republica</i> 3.1., ed. Francofurti, 1641.	Milton, <i>Commonwealth</i> , 1 ed., 1660.	Bodin, <i>Commonweale</i> , London, 1606, p. 277.
'... mea tamen sententia commodius est, senatores perpetuos esse, . . . quintanta varietate mutabiles efficiunt, . . . non modo senatus splendorem obscurant, ac Reip. dignitatem labefactant, verumetiam Remp. in apertum discrimen contingunt, dum arcana promulgantur ac novis Senatoribus rerum prae-teritarum ignavis summa Reip. gubernacula committuntur.'	'They who write of policie, give these reasons; "That to make the whole Senate successive, not only impairs the dignitie and lustre of the Senate, but weakens the whole Commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger; while by this means the secrets of State are frequently divulgd, and matters of greatest consequence committed to inexperienced and novice counselors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledge of affairs past."'	'Howbeit I am not of opinion so to have the counsellours of estate changed and rechanged; but rather to have them perpetuall. . . . For the yearly chaunging . . . doth not onely greatly obscure the glorie of the Senat, which ought to shine as the sunne, but also draweth after it the inevitable daunger of disclosing and publishing or the secrets of the estate: joining hereunto also, That the Senat, all new, cannot bee enformed of affaires passed, neither yet well continue the entertainment of the affaires present.'

It is apparent that the second and third of these parallel passages are largely equivalent in thought, and very similar in sequence and phraseology; and one might reasonably conclude that the English version was Milton's source. But a careful comparison of the parallels in English and Latin, and especially of the italicized passages, proves that such was not the case. It is sufficient here to state the conclusions to which one must come after such an examination: (1) Bodin was 'they who write of policie'; (2) Milton drew from the Latin, rather than from the English, version of the *Re-publica*; (3) indeed, Milton's quotation is his own faithful and adequate, though not slavish, rendering of the Latin original; furthermore, (4) Milton's translation is far more coherent, dignified, and faithful than the English version of 1606.

Two interesting queries are suggested by Milton's use of Bodin. First, why did Milton, the staunchest of the republicans, appeal at all to Bodin, a royalist, a Frenchman, and a 'Papist'? Questions of the intrinsic merit of the author aside, the answer seems to be found in the historical situation in England at the time, and in Bodin's peculiar adaptability to Milton's political proposals. At the time Milton was writing, the Rump Parliament was again sitting in authority, and the great question of settlement was uppermost in all minds. It was Milton's central idea that a commonwealth should be established by perpetuating the existing Parliament as a grand council of the nation. He was sorely put to it to fortify with authority this generally odious principle of perpetuity in office. Plato was, upon the whole, for rotation; Aristotle had decided that life-tenure would never do among equals; Cicero had declared for succession; there was certainly nothing to hope for from Machiavelli. Fortunately, Bodin had spoken out

loudly and unmistakably for a perpetual council, or senate. Here, then, was the prop for Milton's doctrine; and not only a prop, but a tower of strength. It must have been with no little joy that Milton bethought him of this formidable ally in his time of need. One can almost hear him asking amanuensis or friend to read to him the well-remembered chapters, or at least choice extracts stored away in his note-books. Most certain it is that he swallowed for once his disinclination toward Frenchmen, royalists, and Papists, and set Bodin in the place of honor in his treatise.

The other question is: why did Milton withhold the name of his chief authority? Probably for two reasons: the educated among his readers would instantly recognize the familiar passage without such assistance; and, on the other hand, it would be awkward to have the ignorant multitude discover that John Milton, of all men, was citing a Frenchman, a Papist, and a royalist as an authority.

### 3. *Miscellaneous Contributors*

Several minor obligations remain to be mentioned briefly. We know from Milton's own citations that he was familiar with Hotman's *Franco-Gallia* (1574), and certain of its bold assertions seem to have left their mark upon *The Ready and Easy Way* (see note on 17. 23). Another and still more famous Huguenot book that Milton read, and made use of here, is the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* (1580), which develops the theory of contract, or covenant, between people and king. Buchanan, whose remarkably bold and able treatise, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579), contributed so largely to Milton's *Tenure*, exerted a general influence by declaring in vigorous language the sovereignty of the people and the

justice of tyrannicide, and possibly suggested to Milton one or two specific ideas (see notes on 15. 6 and 16. 37). To Luther and Calvin are to be referred certain expressions of the treatise concerning liberty of conscience. There is a direct reference to Camden's *History of Elizabeth*. The *Commonplace Book* shows that Milton made use of the following historians also: Holinshed, Stow, and Speed; De Thou, Girard, and Gilles; Sleidan; Costanzo. Many of the ideas here set forth may be found in the author's earlier pamphlets, or in the *Commonplace Book*. There is some obligation to contemporary usage, particularly in the matter of Cromwellian and Puritan phraseology, or cant (see note on 14. 27). And, finally, even Milton's bitter pamphleteering opponents contributed a slight element to *The Ready and Easy Way*.

### G. STYLE

It was the fashion with many pre-Restoration prose-writers of the seventeenth century to affect an impressive, ornate style; to lard their pages with Biblical and classical citations, and antiquarian lore; to make large use of Latin idiom and diction; to string together an interminable array of coördinate units—adjectives, substantives, phrases, or clauses; to elaborate enormous periods; and to suffuse their whole discourse with a tone of melancholy. In all these respects except the last, Milton's prose style in general shows unmistakable kinship with the old-fashioned school. Moreover, his left-handed product lacks the quaintness and kindly humor of Walton and Fuller, the rhythmical melody and exquisite finish of Taylor and Sir Thomas Browne. But if Milton as a prose-writer shared in the defects, and fell short of the graces, of the contemporary school,



he nevertheless excelled all the writers of his age in the more fundamental matters of dignity of thought, sincerity, and force.

Nothing that Milton ever wrote is more pronounced in these positive characteristics than *The Ready and Easy Way*. Its theme is the cause of human freedom—'a subject . . . never surpassed in any age, in dignity, or in interest.'<sup>1</sup> It is an assertion of the 'native libertie' and essential worth of the individual, a denunciation of tyrants, and a heroic attempt to rescue the nation from imminent slavery. Disregarding its practical—or unpractical—proposals, we yet find that the treatise in its essential content possesses the dignity which belongs to an expression of almost the highest and most universal of human ideals—something fundamentally different from dilettante speculations about 'what song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women.'

In consequence of this loftiness of thought, and the supreme importance of the cause here advocated, not only to the writer but to 'all ages,' the style of the treatise is characterized by deep sincerity. Whether the writer is warmly defending actions of the past, riddling the pretensions of monarchs, pointing out the 'way' to a republic, exhorting the people, or repelling the assaults of his enemies, one feels the presence of a compelling moral earnestness throughout the pamphlet.

The thoughts and emotions of such a dynamic personality as Milton, occasioned by an imperiled cause of such vital importance to himself and to the world, could not fail to be uttered with tremendous force. Standing alone against a torrent, firm in the consciousness of the eternal rightness of his cause, Milton poured forth his

<sup>1</sup> Bohn i. 219.

bold denunciations, solemn warnings, and passionate appeals, with something of the authority of a prophet. Even his bitterest enemies felt the power of his earnest words, and conceded him a 'formal eloquence,' explaining that 'this man Sollicites for his Head.'

But the forcefulness of *The Ready and Easy Way* is not entirely a matter of striking content—of noble thought and powerful feeling; it derives in no small measure from a more than ordinary simplicity and directness of expression. The occasion is urgent—the very lives of republicans and the life of the republic itself are at stake. It is no time for learned, gorgeous, or elaborate style. In the strongest, simplest native words Milton points out a way of escape, and appeals to the deepest instincts of the people. Three fourths of the treatise is pure Anglo-Saxon; more than half of its words are monosyllabic, and more than four fifths do not exceed two syllables in length. The line, 'what was otherwise well done was by them who so thought,' is solidly Anglo-Saxon, and practically monosyllabic. There is little that is fantastic or intricate between us and the author. In no other one of the prose works do we come into more intimate touch with the fervent, liberty-loving soul of Milton.

Another element of strength, in so far as strength depends upon effectiveness of expression, is to be found in the rather extensive use of short, clear sentences. This is especially manifest in those parts of the treatise which delineate or explain the model of government, where the author's intellectual rather than his emotional faculties are at work. There we find such comparatively simple and modern sentences as these:

'The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil libertie.'

'The day of council cannot be set as the day of a

festival ; but must be ready alwaies to prevent or answer all occasions.'

But the short sentence by no means predominates. Milton here still shows a preference for 'well-sized periods' instead of 'thumb-ring posies.' In fact, one sentence offends in this respect to the extent of containing three hundred and twenty-six words. The favorite length, however, is about ten lines. This would not be particularly objectionable if the structure were always faultless, and the meaning clear. But some of the sentences are rambling and obscure, and even defective in grammatical construction. The trouble arises from Milton's impatient or careless omission of connectives, vague use of the relative, or habit of following the glow of poetic feeling from one suggestion to another, without much regard to sentence-structure or coherence (see 10. 35 ; 16. 29).

We have here abundant proof that Milton was a master of grim satire and bludgeon-like invective. His friendly rivals, the Rota-men, come in for a few mild strokes ; the backsliding Presbyterians receive severer treatment ; kings and courts and sycophants are characterized in varied, caustic phrase ; but the satire, when turned against reviling foes, descends to the level of coarse invective and vituperation. Here Milton's style, and Milton himself, suffer most, because of the utter absence of control.

Although Milton's poetic genius is compelled to trudge along the dusty, noisy way of political controversy, yet we do not, even here, lose consciousness of the fact that it has wings 'to soar above the Aonian Mount.' This is evident in the wealth of apt and vigorous words at the writer's easy command ; in the tendency to invest word and phrase with a significance that lies below the superficial meaning ; in the facility (here much restrained)

of characterization by striking metaphor—as, for example, the figures of the tower of Babel, Egyptian bondage, contagion, deluge. But most of all is the poet manifest in the idealizing tendency, in the loftiness of thought, and in the fiery glow of generous passion, which is never long concealed, and again and again bursts through all restraints.

The style of *The Ready and Easy Way* is didactic, argumentative, declamatory, satirical, denunciatory, hortative, etc., according to the varied exigencies of the discourse. And we have found that it is characterized throughout by nobility, sincerity, and power. It is everywhere, and above all else, strikingly individual: it effectively reveals the mind and heart of Milton.

## H. SIGNIFICANCE

As a practical solution of the problem of settlement, we have seen that *The Ready and Easy Way* possesses little significance. There is no record of its ever having received the slightest serious consideration from those in authority, or of its ever having enlisted a single private voice in its support. While it contains much sound political wisdom, it reveals Milton's astounding ignorance of existing conditions in the proposal to perpetuate the very institution from which the whole nation was then crying aloud to be delivered.

Its interest as a literary achievement is much more considerable. Milton has not only made a constitution readable and interesting,—a feat sufficiently remarkable,—but he has so suffused its practical proposals with ideality and passionate humanity as to make this pamphlet one of the noblest that he ever wrote. Discarding ornate and elaborate style, in homely, telling words

Milton here pours forth his most earnest thought and feeling upon the lofty theme of human freedom. He asserts the native worth and inherent capacity of the individual and of the nation. He glows with indignation at the presumption of kings. With eloquent appeal he seeks to recall the infatuated people from their servility. With the almost unerring insight of a prophet, he warns of penalties to come. And with all the terrific power at his command, he hurls defiance and anathema at the approaching king. Although the treatise is tinged with a sad consciousness of defeat, it by no means belongs to the literature of despair. Its gloom is pierced by a ray of hope—the eternal hope of the Christian idealist. God, to whom the writer appeals in his sublime peroration, is able to raise up ‘children of reviving libertie’ from the very stones.

*The Ready and Easy Way* may be considered from the dramatic point of view. It is, indeed, a tragedy; for, although designedly a political pamphlet, it vividly portrays the heroic struggle of an individual against forces which prove irresistible. One has only to look beneath its hurried, fervent lines, to see the forward sweep of the mob, the vain attempt of a few brave men to stay its fury. It is the tragedy, not only of an individual and of a group, but of the cause of freedom.

The treatise possesses peculiar interest as a prophecy. Although sightless eyes were unable to inform him of conditions and needs as they existed immediately around him, Milton seems to have beheld, with all the prevision of a seer, the consequences which were to ensue upon the return of the Stuarts. The dissolute court, the widespread moral degeneracy; dire revenges, oppressive taxes, and confiscation of estates; the standing army, the corruption of the judiciary, the repentance of the people, the appeal

to arms—all this followed swiftly upon the Restoration, even as Milton had foretold.

The chief significance of *The Ready and Easy Way*, however, does not consist in its political, literary, or prophetic nature, but in its biographical revelations. After all, the personality of Milton is more interesting, and more important, than his doctrines; and here, in this slender pamphlet, we have a faithful record of the mind and heart and conduct of the greatest of the Puritans, at the supreme crisis of his political career.

It is pleasing to note that amidst almost universal defection Milton shows no sign of compromise, no abandonment of high ideals. He is still the advocate of Puritan simplicity, industry, frugality, stern morality, and true religion. He believes in the need and possibility of righteous public servants. He glows with indignation at the profligacy and insolence of courtiers and cavaliers. He still asserts the native liberty of men, and holds kings in less esteem than at any previous period of his life. He is even no longer a believer in protectors, as is shown by the motto prefixed to the second edition.

For twenty years Milton had given himself unreservedly to the service of the state. He had spread the fame of the 'glorious rising Commonwealth' all over Europe. With grief he now beheld the nation turning again, of its own accord, to servitude. Never did Milton's patriotism burn more brightly than in his earnest endeavor even yet to save the people from their folly, his eloquent warnings and appeals, his eagerness to point out the way of escape. Never did he give a more superb exhibition of courage. He had freely sacrificed his sight in 'liberty's defense'; he now offered life itself, for he could not have doubted that death was likely to be the penalty attached to his *Ready and Easy Way*.



# THE TEXT

A REPRODUCTION OF THE FIRST EDITION  
WITH VARIANTS FROM THE SECOND EDITION

A





## EDITOR'S NOTE

The text of the first edition has been reproduced from an original copy in the Public Library of the City of New York. Insertions from the revised edition follow the text of the copy owned by Mr. W. A. White, of New York City. Brackets ([ ]) indicate that the passages enclosed were omitted in revision. Parallel passages in the two editions are included between double bars ( || . . . | . . . || ). The first edition may be read by following the large type ; the second, by omitting the brackets and choosing the small-type variant.

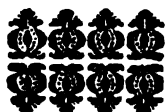


THE  
READIE & EASIE  
VVAY  
TO  
ESTABLISH  
A  
Free Commonwealth,  
AND  
The EXCELLENCE therof  
Compar'd with  
The inconveniences and dangers of  
readmitting kingship in this nation.

---

*The author J. M.*

---



LONDON,  
Printed by T. N. and are to be sold by *Livewell Chapman*  
at the Crown in Popes-Head Alley, 1660.



The readie and easie way  
to establish a  
free Commonwealth;

*and the excellence therof, com  
par'd with the inconveniencies  
and dangers of readmit-  
ting Kingship in  
this Nation.*

---

The second edition revis'd and  
augmented.

---

The author J. M.

---

*et nos  
consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.*

---

L O N D O N,  
Printed for the Author, 1660.



Although since the writing of this treatise, the face  
 of things hath had some change, writs for new elec-  
 tions have bin recall'd, and the members at first chosen,  
 readmitted from exclusion, [to sit again in Parliament,]  
 yet not a little rejoicing to hear declar'd, the resolu- 5  
 tion[s] of [all] those who are [now] in power, [jointly]  
 tending to the establishment of a free Commonwealth,  
 and to remove if it be possible, this || unsound | noxious  
 || humour of returning to [old] bondage, instilld of late  
 by some [cunning] deceivers, and nourished from bad 10  
 principles and fals apprehensions among too many of  
 the people, I thought best not to suppress what I had  
 written, || hoping it may perhaps (the Parliament now  
 sitting more full and frequent) be now much more  
 useful then before : yet submitting what hath reference 15  
 to the state of things as they then stood, to present  
 constitutions ; and so the same end be persu'd, not  
 insisting on this or that means to obtain it. The  
 treatise was thus written as follows. | hoping that it  
 may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely 20  
 publishd, in the midst of our Elections to a free Parliament, or  
 their sitting to consider freely of the Government ; whom it behoves  
 to have all things represented to them that may direct thir judg-  
 ment therein ; and I never read of any State, scarce of any tyrant  
 grown so incurable as to refuse counsel from any in a time of pub- 25  
 lic deliberation ; much less to be offended. If thir absolute deter-  
 mination be to enthrall us, before so long a Lent of Servitude, they  
 may permitt us a little Shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely,  
 and take our leaves of Libertie. And because in the former edition  
 through haste, many faults escap'd, and many books were suddenly 30  
 dispersd, ere the note to mend them could be sent, I took the  
 opportunitie from this occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge  
 the whole discourse, especially that part which argues for a per-  
 petual Senat. The treitise thus revis'd and enlarg'd, is as follows. ||



The Parliament of *England* assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faith-  
 fullest in [the] defence of religion and thir civil lib-  
 5 erties, judging kingship by long experience a govern-  
 ment || burdenson, expensive, useless and dangerous,  
 | unnecessarie, burdenson and dangerous, || justly and magnan-  
 imously abolishd it; turning regal-bondage into a free  
 Commonwealth, to the admiration and terror of our  
 emulous neighbours, [and the stirring up of *France* it  
 10 self, especially in *Paris* and *Bourdeaux*, to our imitation.]  
 They took themselves not bound by the light of nature or religion,  
 to any former covenant, from which the King himself by many  
 forfeitures of a latter date or discoverie, and our own longer con-  
 sideration theron had more & more unbound us, both to himself  
 15 and his posteritie; as hath bin ever the justice and the prudence  
 of all wise nations that have ejected tyrannie. They covenanted  
 to *preserve the Kings person and autoritie, in the preservation of*  
*the true religion and our liberties*; not in his endeavoring to bring  
 in upon our consciences a Popish religion, upon our liberties  
 20 thralldom, upon our lives destruction, by his occasioning, if not  
 complotting, as was after discoverd, the *Irish* massacre, his foment-  
 ing and arming the rebellion, his covert leaguering with the rebels  
 against us, his refusing more then seaven times, propositions most  
 just and necessarie to the true religion and our liberties, tenderd  
 25 him by the Parliament both of *England* and *Scotland*. They made  
 not thir covenant concerning him with no difference between a king  
 and a god, or promisd him as *Job* did to the Almightye, *to trust in*  
*him, though he slay us*: they understood that the solemn ingagement,  
 wherin we all forswore kingship, was no more a breach of the cov-  
 30 ant, then the covenant was of the protestation before, but a faith-  
 ful and prudent going on both in the words, well weighd, and in the true  
 sense of the covenant, *without respect of persons*, when we could not  
 serve two contrary maisters, God and the king, or the king and that  
 more supreme law, sworn in the first place to maintain, our safetie  
 35 and our libertie. They knew the people of *England* to be a free  
 people, themselves the representers of that freedom; & although  
 many were excluded, & as many fled (so they pretended) from  
 tumults to *Oxford*, yet they were left a sufficient number to act in  
 Parliament; therefor not bound by any statute of preceding Parla-  
 40 ments, but by the law of nature only, which is the only law of

laws truly and properly to all mankind fundamental; the beginning and the end of all Government; to which no Parliament or people that will thoroughly reforme, but may and must have recourse; as they had and must yet have in church reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to evangelic rules; not to ecclesiastical canons, though never so ancient, so ratifi'd and establishd in the land by Statutes, which for the most part are meer positive laws, neither natural nor moral, & so by any Parliament for just and serious considerations, without scruple to be at any time repeal'd. If others of thir number, in these things were under force, they were not, but under free conscience; if others were excluded by a power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the helm of government in no hands, to discontinue thir care of the public peace and safetie, to desert the people in anarchie and confusion; no more then when so many of thir members left them, as made up in outward formalitie a more legal Parliament of three estates against them. The best affected also and best principl'd of the people, stood not numbring or computing on which side were most voices in Parliament, but on which side appeerd to them most reason, most safetie, when the house divided upon main matters: what was well motiond and advis'd, they examin'd not whether fear or perswasion carried it in the vote; neither did they measure votes and counsels by the intentions of them that voted; knowing that intentions either are but guessed at, or not soon enough known; and although good, can neither make the deed such, nor prevent the consequence from being bad: suppose bad intentions in things otherwise welldon; what was welldon, was by them who so thought, not the less obey'd or followd in the state; since in the church, who had not rather follow *Iscariot* or *Simon* the magician, though to covetous ends, preaching, then *Saul*, though in the uprightness of his heart persecuting the gospell? Safer they therefor judgd what they thought the better counsels, though carried on by some perhaps to bad ends, then the wors, by others, though endevord with best intentions: and yet they were not to learn that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a Parliament as well as of a citie; wherof in matters of nearest concernment all men will be judges; nor easily permitt, that the odds of voices in thir greatest council, shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes, then the odds of enemies by open assaults; judging that most voices ought not alwaies to prevail where main matters are in question; if others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels, what is that to them who pretend not, but are in real danger; not they only so

judging, but a great though not the greatest, number of thir chosen Patriots, who might be more in weight, then the others in number; there being in number little vertue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things: and the dangers on either side they  
 5 seriously thus waighd: from the treatie, short fruits of long labours and seaven years warr; securitie for twenty years, if we can hold it; reformation in the church for three years: then put to shift again with our vanquishd maister. His justice, his honour, his conscience declar'd quite contrarie to ours; which would have furnishd  
 10 him with many such evasions, as in a book entitl'd *an inquisition for blood*, soon after were not conceald: bishops not totally remov'd, but left as it were in ambush, a reserve, with ordination in thir sole power; thir lands already sold, not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them call'd *sacrilege*; delinquents few of  
 15 many brought to condigne punishment; accessories punishd; the chief author, above pardon, though after utmost resistance, vanquish'd; not to give, but to receive laws; yet besought, treated with, and to be thankd for his gracious concessions, to be honourd, worshipd, glorifi'd. If this we swore to do, with what righteousness  
 20 in the sight of God, with what assurance that we bring not by such an oath the whole sea of blood-guiltiness upon our own heads? If on the other side we preferr a free government, though for the present not obtaind, yet all those suggested fears and difficulties, as the event will prove, easily overcome, we remain finally secure  
 25 from the exasperated regal power, and out of snares; shall retain the best part of our libertie, which is our religion, and the civil part will be from these who deferr us, much more easily recoverd, being neither so suttile nor so awfull as a King reinthron'd. Nor were || our | thir || actions less both at home and abroad  
 30 then might become the hopes of a glorious rising Commonwealth; nor were the expressions both of [the] Army and [of the] People, whether in thir publick declarations or several writings, other then such as testifi'd a spirit in this nation no less noble and well  
 35 fitted to the liberty of a Comonwealth, then in the ancient Greeks or Romans. Nor was the heroic cause unsuccesfully defended to all Christendom against the tongue of a famous and thought invincible adversarie; nor the constancie and fortitude that so nobly vindicated our liberty, our victory  
 40 at once against two the most prevailing usurpers over mankinde,

superstition and tyrannie unprais'd or uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to outlive detraction, as it hath hitherto convinc'd or silenc'd not a few of our detractors, especially in parts abroad. After our liberty and Religion thus || succesfully | prosperously || fought for, gain'd and many years possess'd, 5 except in those unhappie interruptions, which God hath remov'd, [and wonderfully now the third time brought together our old Patriots, the first Assertours of our religious and civil rights,] now that nothing remains but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy 10 and immediate settlement [to this nation] for ever in a firm and free Commonwealth, for this extoll'd and magnifi'd nation, regardless both of honour wonn or deliverances voutsaf't from heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly as it seems the multitude would, to 15 thir once abjur'd and detested thraldom of kingship, to be our selves the slanderers of our own just and religious deeds, though don by som to covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefor to be stain'd with their infamie, or they to asperse the integritie of others, and yet these now by revolting from the conscience of 20 deeds welldon both in church and state, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray a just and noble cause for the mixture of bad men who have ill manag'd and abus'd it (which had our fathers don heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true religion, what had long ere this become of our gospel and all 25 protestant reformation so much intermixt with the avarice and ambition of som reformers ?) and by thus relapsing, to verifie all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discern'd and justly censur'd both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical and impious, not only argues 30 a strange degenerate || corruption | contagion || suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepar'd for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbours. And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole *English* name, but scoffingly as of that 35 foolish builder mention'd by our Saviour, who began to build a Tower, and was not able to finish it : where

is this goodly tower of a Common-wealth which the *English* boasted they would build, to overshadow kings and be another *Rome* in the west? The foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worse  
 5 confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, then those at the tower of *Babel*; and have left no memorial of thir work behinde them remaining, but in the common laughter of *Europ.* ✓ Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our neighbours  
 10 the United Provinces, to us inferiour in all outward advantages: who notwithstanding, in the midst of greater difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly went through with the same work, and are settl'd in all the happie enjoiments of a potent and flourishing  
 15 Republick to this day.

Besides this, if we return to kingship, and soon repent, as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to finde the old incroachments coming on by little and little upon our consciences, which must necessarily  
 20 proceed from king and bishop united inseparably in one interest, we may be forc'd perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanc'd, to the recoverie of  
 25 our freedom, never [likely] to have it in possession, as we now have it, never to be voutsaf'd heerafter the like mercies and signal assistances from heaven in our cause, if by our ingratefull backsliding we make these fruitless [to our selves,] || all his gracious  
 30 condescensions and answers |; flying now to regal concessions from his divine condescensions and gracious answers || to our once importuning praiers against the tyrannie which we then groand under [to become now of no effect, by returning of our own foolish accord, nay running  
 35 headlong again with full stream wilfully and obstinately

into the same bondage :] making vain and viler then  
dirt the blood of so many thousand faithfull and valiant  
English men, who left us in this libertie, bought with  
thir lives ; losing by a strange aftergame of folly, all  
the battels we have wonne, together with all *Scolland* as  
to our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our kings could  
conquer, all the treasure we have spent, not that cor-  
ruptible treasure only, but that far more precious of  
all our late miraculous deliverances ; treading back again  
with lost labour all our happie steps in the progress of reformation, 10  
and most pittifully depriving our selves the instant frui-  
tion of that free government which we have so dearly  
purchasd, a free Commonwealth, not only held by  
wisest men in all ages the noblest, the manliest, the  
equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable 15  
to all due libertie and proportiond equalitie, both  
humane, civil and Christian, most cherishing to vertue  
and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest  
probabilitie) planely commended or rather enjoind by  
our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without 20  
remarkable disallowance and the brand of *Gentilism*  
upon kingship. God in much displeasure gave a king  
to the *Israelites*, and imputed it a sin to them that  
they sought one : but Christ apparently forbids his  
disciples to admitt of any such heathenish govern- 25  
ment : *the kings of the gentiles*, saith he, *exercise lordship*  
*over them ; and they that exercise autoritie upon them,*  
*are call'd benefactors. But ye shall not be so : but he*  
*that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger ;*  
*and he that is chief, as he that serveth.* The occasion 30  
of these his words, was the ambitious desire of *Zebede's*  
two sons to be exalted above their brethren in his  
kingdom, which they thought was to be ere long upon  
earth. That he speaks of civil government, is manifest  
by the former part of the comparison, which inferrs 35

the other part to be alwaies in the same kinde. And what government comes neerer to this precept of Christ, then a free Commonwealth ; wherein they who are greatest, are perpetual servants and drudges to the publick at thir own cost and charges, neglect thir own affairs ; yet are not elevated above thir brethren, live soberly in thir families, walk the streets as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration. Whereas a king must be ador'd like a Demigod, with a dissolute and haughtie court about him, of vast expence and luxurie, masks and revels, to the debaushing of our prime gentry both male and female ; not in thir pasetimes only, but in earnest, by the loos imploiments of court service, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a queen also of no less charge ; in most likelihood outlandish and a Papist ; besides a queen mother such alreadie ; together with both thir courts and numerous train : then a royal issue, and ere long severally thir sumptuous courts ; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of public, but of court offices ; to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms, even of the close-stool ; and the lower thir mindes debas'd with court opinions, contrarie to all vertue and reformation, the haughtier will be thir pride and profuseness : we may well remember this not long since at home ; or need but look at present into the *French* court, where enticements and preferments daily draw away and pervert the Protestant Nobilitie. || nor at his own cost, but on the publick revenue ; and all this to do nothing but bestow | As to the burden of expence, to our cost we shall soon know it ; for any good to us, deserving to be termd no better then the vast and lavish price of our subjection and their debauserie ; which we are now so greedily cheapning, and would so fain be paying most inconsideratly to a single person ; who for any thing wherein the public really needs him, will have little els to do, but to bestow || the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of State, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject

people, on either side deifying and adoring him || who  
for the most part deserves none of this by any good  
done to the people | for nothing don that can deserve it. ||  
(for what can he more then another man?) || but | who ||  
even in the expression of a late court-Poet, sits only 5  
like a great cypher set to no purpose before a long  
row of other significant figures. Nay it is well and  
happy for the people if thir king be but a cypher,  
being oft times a mischief, a pest, a scourge of the  
nation, and which is worse, not to be remov'd, not to 10  
be contrould, much less accus'd or brought to punish-  
ment, without the danger of a common ruin, without  
the shaking and almost subversion of the whole land.  
Wheras in a free Commonwealth, any governour or chief  
counselour offending, may be remov'd and punishd, with- 15  
out the least commotion. Certainly then that people  
must needs be mad[d] or strangely infatuated, that  
build the chief hope of thir common happiness or  
safetie on a single person ; who if he happen to be  
good, can do no more then another man, if to be bad, 20  
hath in his hands to do more evil without check, then  
millions of other men. The happiness of a nation  
must needs be firmest and certainest in a full and  
free Councel of their own electing, where no single  
person, but reason only sway[e]s. And what madness 25  
is it, for them who might manage nobly their own  
affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve  
all on a single person ; and more like boy[e]s under  
age then men, to committ all to his patronage and  
disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, 30  
and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will  
not be thir servant, but thir lord? how unmanly  
must it needs be, to count such a one the breath of  
our nostrils, to hang all our felicitie on him, all our  
safety, our well-being, for which if we were aught els 35



but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active vertue and industrie. *Go to the Ant, thou sluggard, saith Solomon, consider her waies, and be wise ; which having*  
*no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer,*  
*and gathers her food in the harvest.* Which evidently shews us, that they who think the nation undon without a king, though they || swell and look haughtie, | look grave or haughtie, || have not so much true spirit and  
 10 understanding in them as a Pismire. neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchie, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democratie or Commonwealth ; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and  
 15 counsel of many industrious equals, then under the single domination of one imperious Lord. It may be well wonderd that any nation, styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend hereditarie right over them as thir lord ; whenas by acknowledging that right, they conclude themselves  
 20 his servants and his vassals, and so renounce thir own freedom. Which how a people and thir leaders especially can do, || that hath | who have || fought so gloriously for libertie, how they can change thir noble words and actions heretofore so becoming the majestie of a free  
 25 people, into the base necessitie of court-flatteries and prostrations, is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on ; that a nation should be so valorous and courageous to winne thir libertie in the field, and when they have wonn it, should be so heart-  
 30 less and unwise in thir counsels, as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves ; but after ten or twelve years prosperous war and contestation with tyrannie, basely and besottedly to run thir necks again into the yoke which they have  
 35 broken, and prostrate all the fruits of thir victorie for | nothing | naught || at the feet of the vanquishd, besides our

loss of glorie, and such an example as kings or tyrants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ignominie, if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation possessd of thir libertie : worthie indeed themselves, || whosoever | what-soever || they be, to be for ever slaves ; but that part 5 of the nation which consents not with them, as I perswade me of a great number, far worthier then by their means to be brought into the same bondage, [and reservd, I trust, by Divine providence to a better end ; since God hath yet his remnant, and hath not 10 yet quenched the spirit of libertie among us.] Considering these things, so plane, so rational, I cannot but yet further admire on the other side, how any man who hath the true principles of justice and religion in him, can presume or take upon him to be a king 15 and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superiour to himself : how he can display with such vanitie and ostentation his regal splendour so supereminently above other mortal men ; 20 or, being a Christian, can assume such extraordinarie honour and worship to himself, while the kingdom of Christ, our common King and Lord, is hid to this world, and such *Gentilish* imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his disciples ? All || Protestanus 25 | Protestants || hold, that Christ in his Church hath left no vicegerent of his [kingly power,] but himself without deputy, is the only head thereof, governing it from heaven : how then can any Christian man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation then 30 the Pope his headship over the Church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such vicegerence from him in the State, as the Pope pretends for his in the Church, but hath expressly declar'd that such regal dominion is from 35

the gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charg'd us, not to imitate them therein?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free Commonwealth  
5 without single person or house of lords, is by far the best government, if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, bin expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. Tis true indeed, when monarchie was dissolv'd, the form of a Commonwealth should have forthwith bin fram'd;  
10 and the practice therof immediatly begun; that the people might have soon bin satisfi'd and delighted with the decent order, ease, and benefit therof: we had bin then by this time firmly rooted past fear of commotions or mutations, & now flourishing: this care of timely settling a new government instead of y<sup>e</sup> old, too  
15 much neglected, hath bin our mischief. || I answer, that | Yet || the cause thereof may be ascrib'd with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions and dissolutions which the Parliament hath had partly from the impatient or disaffected people, partly from some ambi-  
20 tious leaders in the armie; much contrarie, I believe, to the minde and approbation of the Armie it self and thir other Commanders, [when they were] once undeceiv'd, or in thir own power. [Neither ought the small number of those remaining in Parliament, be  
25 made a by-word of reproach to them, as it is of late by the rable, whenas rather they should be therefor honour'd, as the remainder of those faithfull worthies, who at first freed us from tyrannie, and have continu'd ever since through all changes constant to thir trust;]  
30 which they have declar'd, as they may most justly and truly, that no other way they can discharge, no other way secure and confirme the peoples libertie, but by settling them in a free Commonwealth. And doubtless, no Parliament will be ever able under  
35 royaltie to free the people from slavery: and when they go about it, will finde it a laborious task; and

when they have don all, they can, be forc'd to leave the contest endless between prerogative and petition of right, till only dooms-day end it: And] now is the opportunitie, now the very season wherein we may obtain a free Commonwealth, and establish it for-  
ever in the land, without difficulty or much delay. [The Parliament have voted to fill up their number:] Writs are sent out for elections, and which is worth observing in the name, not of any king, but of the keepers of our libertie, to summon a free Parliament: which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honor of that supreme title, if they preserve us a free people. Which never Parliament was more free to do; being now call'd, not as heretofore, by the summons of a king, but by the voice of libertie: and if the people, laying aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider thir own good, both religious and civil, thir own libertie and the only means therof, as shall be heer laid before them, and will elect thir Knights and Burgesses able men, and according to the just and necessarie qualifications (which for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepeald, as they were formerly decreed in Parliament, men not addicted to a single person or house of lords, the work is don; at least the foundation [is] firmly laid of a free Commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free government (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one person) is a general Council of ablest men, chosen by the people to consult of publick affairs from time to time for the common good. || This Grand Council must have the forces by sea and land in thir power, | In this Grand Council must the sovran-  
tie, not transferd, but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside; with this caution they must have the forces by sea and land committed to them for preservation of the common peace and libertie; || must raise and mannage the Publick revenue, at least

with som inspectors deputed for satisfaction of the people, how it is imploid; || make lawes, as need requires, | must make or propose, as more expressly shall be said anon, civil laws; || treat of commerce, peace, or war with forein nations; 5 and for the carrying on som particular affairs [of State] with more secrecie and expedition, must elect, as they have already out of thir own number and others, a Councel of State. And although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that mens mindes are pre-

10 possesd with the || conceit | notion || of successive Par-  
laments, I affirm that the Grand or General Council being well chosen, should || sit | be || perpetual: for so their business is, or may be, and oft times urgent; the oppor-  
15 tunitie of affairs gaind or lost in a moment. The day of counsel cannot be set as the day of a festival; but must be readie alwaies to prevent or answer all occasions. || and they will become  
✓ thereby | By this continuance they will become everie way ||  
skilfullest, best provided of intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the people at home, and the people  
20 with them. The ship of the Commonwealth is alwaies undersail; they sit at the stern; and if they steare well, what need is ther to change them; it being rather dangerous? Adde to this, that the Grand Council is both foundation and main pillar of the whole State;  
✓ 25 and to move pillars and foundations, || unless they be faultie, | not faultie, || cannot be safe for the building. I see not therefore how we can be advantag'd by successive and transitorie Parlements; but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather then to settle  
30 a free government, to breed commotions, changes, novelties and uncertainties; to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all mindes are suspense with expectation of a new assemblie, and the assemblie for a good space taken up with the new setting of it self. After which, if they finde  
35 no great work to do, they will make it, by altering or repealing former acts, or making and multiplying new; that they may seem to see what thir predecessors saw not, and not to have assembl'd for

nothing: till all law be lost in the multitude of clashing statutes. || and serve only to satisfie the ambition of such men, as think themselves injur'd, and cannot stay till they be orderly chosen to have thir part in the government. If the ambition of such be at all to be regarded, | But if the ambition of such as think themselves injur'd that they also partake not of the government, and are impatient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuities of others chosen before them, or if it be feared that long continuance of power may corrupt sincerest men, || the best expedient will be, and 10 with least danger, | the known expedient is, and by som lately propounded, || that || everie two or three years | annually (or if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better) || a hundred or some such number may go out by lot or suffrage of the rest, | the third part of Senators may go 15 out according to the precedence of thir election, || and the like number be chosen in thir places; to prevent the settling of too absolute a power, if it should be perpetual: and this they call *partial rotation*. [(which hath bin already thought on heer, and done in other Commonwealths:)] || but in my 20 opinion better nothing mov'd, unless by death or just accusation: | But I could wish that this wheel or partial wheel in State, if it be possible, might be avoided; as having too much affinity with the wheel of fortune. For it appeers not how this can be don, without danger and mischance of putting out a great 25 number of the best and ablest: in whose stead new elections may bring in as many raw, unexperient'd and otherwise affected, to the weakning and much altering for the wors of public transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual Senat, especially chosen and entrusted by the people, much in this land to be feared, 30 where the well-affected either in a standing armie, or in a settled militia have thir arms in thir own hands. Safest therefor to me it seems, and of least hazard or interruption to affairs, that none of the Grand Council be mov'd, unless by death or just conviction of som crime: for what can be expected firm or stedfast from a 35 floating foundation? however, I forejudge not any probable expedient, any temperament that can be found in things of this nature so disputable on either side. || [and I shall make mention of another way to satisfie such as are reasonable, ere I

end this discourse.] || And | Yet || least this which I affirme  
 be thought my single opinion, I shall adde sufficient  
 testimonie. Kingship it self is therefore counted the  
 more safe and durable, because the king and for the  
 ✓ 5 most part, his Councel, is not changd during life: but  
 a Commonwealth is held immortal; and therein firmest,  
 safest and most above fortune; for [that] the death  
 of a king, causeth oft-times many dangerous altera-  
 tions; but the death now and then of a Senatour is  
 10 not felt; the main body of them still continuing ||  
 unchang'd | permanent || in greatest and noblest Common-  
 wealths, and as it were eternal. Therefore among the  
 Jews, the supream Councel of seventie, call'd the  
*Sanhedrim*, founded by *Moses*, in *Athens* that of [the] *Areop-*  
 15 *agus*, in || *Lacedæmon* | *Sparta* || that of the Ancients, in  
*Rome* the Senat, consisted of members chosen for term  
 of life; and by that means remaind as it were still the  
 same to generations. In *Venice* they change indeed  
 offer then everie year som particular councel[s] of  
 20 State, as that of six, or such others; but the || full |  
 true || Senate, which upholds and sustains the govern-  
 ment, || sits immovable. | is the whole aristocracie immovable.  
 || So in the United Provinces, the States General,  
 which are indeed but a Councel of State || delegated |  
 25 deputed || by the whole union, are not usually the same  
 persons for above three or six years; but the || Provin-  
 cial States, | States of every citie, || in whom the || true  
 sovranterie is plac'd, | sovranterie hath bin plac'd time out of  
 minde, || are a standing Senate, without succession, and  
 30 accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of thir  
 libertie. And why they should be so in everie well  
 ordered Commonwealth, they who write of policie,  
 give these reasons; "That to make the [whole] Sen-  
 ate successive, not only impairs the dignitie and lustre  
 35 of the Senate, but weakens the whole Commonwealth,

and brings it into manifest danger; while by this means the secrets of State are frequently divulgd, and matters of greatest consequence committed to inexpert and novice counselors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledg of affairs past.” I know not therefor what should be peculiar in *England* to make successive Parlements thought safest, or convenient heer more then in [all] other nations, unlesse it be the fick’lness which is attributed to us as we are Ilanders. But good education and acquisite wisdom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watrie situation. It will be objected, that in those places where they had perpetual Senats, they had also popular remedies against thir growing too imperious: as in *Athens*, besides *Areopagus*, another Senat of four or five hunderd; in *Sparta*, the *Ephori*; in *Rome*, the Tribunes of the people. But the event tels us, that these remedies either little availd the people, or brought them to such a licentious and unbridl’d democratie, as in fine ruind themselves with thir own excessive power. So that the main reason urg’d why popular assemblies are to be trusted with the peoples libertie, rather then a Senat of principal men, because great men will be still endeavoring to enlarge thir power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain thir own libertie, is by experience found false; none being more immoderat and ambitious to amplifie thir power, then such popularities; which was seen in the people of *Rome*; who at first contented to have thir Tribunes, at length contended with the Senat that one Consul, then both; soon after, that the Censors and Prætors also should be created Plebeian, and the whole empire put into their hands; adoring lastly those, who most were aduers to the Senat, till *Marius* by fulfilling thir inordinat desires, quite lost them all the power for which they had so long bin striving, and left them under the tyrannie of *Sylla*: the ballance therefor must be exactly so set, as to preserve and keep up due autoritie on either side, as well in the Senat as in the people. And this annual rotation of a Senat to consist of three hunderd, as is lately propounded, requires also another popular assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable rotation. Which besides that it will be liable to all those inconveniencies found in the foresaid reme-



dies, cannot but be troublesom and chargeable, both in thir motion and thir session, to the whole land; unweildie with thir own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature thir consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so  
 5 many parts remote to sit a whole year lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a forrest of fingers, or to convey each man his bean or ballot into the box, without reason shewn or common deliberation; incontinent of secrets, if any be imparted to them, emulous and always jarring with the other Senat. The much better  
 10 way doubtless will be in this wavering condition of our affairs, to deferr the changing or circumscribing of our Senat, more then may be done with ease, till the Commonwealth be thoroughly setl'd in peace and safetie, and they themselves give us the occasion. Militarie men hold it dangerous to change the form of battel in view of  
 15 an enemy: neither did the people of *Rome* bandie with thir Senat while any of the *Tarquins* livd, the enemies of thir libertie, nor sought by creating Tribunes to defend themselves against the fear of thir Patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of thir kings, and in full securitie of thir state, they had or thought they had just  
 20 cause given them by the Senat. Another way will be, to welqualifie and refine elections: not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualifi'd, to nominat as many as they will; and out of that number others of a better breeding, to chuse a less number  
 25 more judiciously, till after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest. To make the people fittest to chuse, and the chosen fittest to govern, will be to mend our corrupt and faulty education, to teach the people faith not without  
 30 vertue, temperance, modestie, sobrietie, parsimonie, justice; not to admire wealth or honour; to hate turbulence and ambition; to place every one his privat welfare and happiness in the public peace, libertie and safetie. They shall not then need to be much mistrustfull of thir chosen Patriots in the Grand Council; who will  
 35 be then rightly call'd the true keepers of our libertie, though the most of thir business will be in forein affairs. But to prevent all mistrust, the people then will have thir several ordinarie assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious power and name of Committies) in the chief towns of every countie, without the  
 40 trouble, charge, or time lost of summoning and assembling from far in so great a number, and so long residing from thir own houses, or removing of thir families, to do as much at home in thir several

shires, entire or subdivided, toward the securing of thir libertie, as a numerous assembly of them all formd and conven'd on purpose with the wariest rotation. Wherof I shall speak more ere the end of this discourse: for it may be referrd to time, so we be still going on by degrees to perfection. || I suppose therefor that the people well weighing these things, would have no cause to fear or murmur, | The people well weighing and performing these things, I suppose would have no cause to fear, || though the Parlament, abolishing that name, as originally signifying but the *parlie* of our Lords and Commons with thir *Norman* king when he pleasd to call them, should with certain limitations of thir power, || perpetuate themselves, | sit perpetual || if thir ends be faithfull and for a free Commonwealth, under the name of a Grand or General Council: [nay] till this be done, I am in doubt whether our State will be ever certainlie and throughly sett'd: [and say again therefor, that if the Parlament do this, these nations will have so little cause to fear or suspect them, that they will have cause rather to gratulate and thank them: nay more, if they understand thir own good rightly, will sollicit and entreat them not to throw off the great burden from thir shoulders which none are abler to bear, and to sit perpetual;] never likely till then to see an end of || thir | our || troubles and continual changes, or at least never the true settlement and assurance of || their | our || libertie. [And the government being now in so many faithful and experienc'd hands, next under God, so able, especially filling up their number, as they intend, and abundantly sufficient so happily to govern us, why should the nation so little know thir own interest as to seek change, and deliver themselves up to meer titles and vanities, to persons untri'd, unknown, necessitous, implacable, and every way to be suspected: to whose power when we are once made subject, not all these our Patriots nor all the

wisdom or force of the well affected joind with them can deliver us again from most certain miserie and thralldom. To return then to this most easie, most present and only cure of our distempers,] the Grand  
 5 Councel being thus firmly constituted to perpetuities, and still, upon the death or default of any member, suppli'd and kept in full number, ther can be no cause alleag'd why peace, justice, plentiful trade and all prosperitie should not therupon ensue throughout the  
 10 whole land; with as much assurance as can be of human things, that they shall so continue (if God favour us, and our wilfull sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and right full and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only  
 15 Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only heir of his eternal father, the only by him anointed and ordaind, since the worke of our redemption finishd, universal Lord of all mankind. The way propounded is plain, easie and open before us; without intricases, without  
 20 the introducement of new or obsolete forms, or terms, or exotic models; idea's that would effect nothing, but with a number of new injunctions to manacle the native liberty of mankind; turning all vertue into prescription, servitude, and necessitie, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian libertie: I say again, this  
 25 way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangl'd with inconveniencies; invents no new incumbrances; requires no perillous, no injurious alteration or circumscription of mens lands and proprieties; secure, that in this Commonwealth, temporal and spiritual lords remov'd, no man or number of men can attain to such  
 30 wealth or vast possession, as will need the hedge of an Agrarian law (never succesful, but the cause rather of sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public libertie; || without the mixture of inconveniencies, or any considerable objection to  
 35 be made, as by some friviously,<sup>1</sup> that it is not practicable:  
 | to conclude, it can have no considerable objection made against it,

<sup>1</sup> Frivolously.

that it is not practicable: least it be said hereafter, that we gave up our libertie for want of a readie way or distinct form propos'd of a free Commonwealth. || and this facilitie we shall have above our next neighbouring Commonwealth, (if we can keep us from the fond conceit of something like a duke of *Venice*,<sup>5</sup> put lately into many mens heads, by som one or other suttly driving on under that [prettie] notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a crown) that our liberty shall not be hamperd or hoverd over by any ingag'ment to such a potent family as the house of *Nassaw*, of whom<sup>10</sup> to stand in perpetual doubt and suspicion, but we shall live the cleerest and absolutest free nation in the world. On the contrarie, if ther be a king, which the inconsiderate multitude are now so madd upon, marke how far short we are like to com of all those<sup>15</sup> happinesses, which in a free State we shall immediately be possessd of. First, the Grand Council, which, as I || said | shewd || before, [is both the basis and main pillar in everie government, and] should sit perpetually, (unless thir leisure give them now and<sup>20</sup> then some intermissions or vacations easilie manageable by the Councel of State left sitting) shall be call'd, by the kings good will and utmost endeavour, as seldome as may be; [and then for his own ends: for it will soon return to that, let no man hope other-<sup>25</sup> wise, whatever law or provision be made to the contrarie.] For it is only the kings right, he will say, to call a Parlament; and this he will do most commonly about his own affairs rather then the kingdom's, as will appear planely so soon as they are call'd. For<sup>30</sup> what will thir business then be and the chief expence of thir time, but an endless tugging between || right of subject | petition of right || and royal prerogative, especially about the negative voice, militia, or subsidies, demanded and oft-times extorted without reason-<sup>35</sup>

able cause appearing to the Commons, who are the only true representatives of the people; and thir libertie, but will be then mingl'd with a court-faction; besides which, within thir own walls, the sincere part  
 5 of them who stand faithful to the people, will again have || do | to || deal with two troublesome counter-working adversaries from without, meer creatures of the king, || temporal and spiritual lords, | spiritual, and the greater part, as is likeliest, of temporal lords || [made up into one house,  
 10 and] nothing concernd with the peoples libertie. If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the peoples interest, the Parlament shall be soon dissolv'd, or sit and do nothing; not sufferd to remedie the least greevance, or enact aught advan-  
 15 tageous to the people. Next, the Councel of State shall not be chosen by the Parlament, but by the king, still his own creatures, courtiers and favorites; who will be sure in all thir counsels to set thir maister's grandure and absolute power, in what they  
 20 are able, far above the peoples libertie. I denie not but that there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, may have no vicious favorite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his Parlament; but this rarely happ'ns  
 25 in a monarchie not elective; and it behoves not a wise nation to committ the summ of thir well-being, the whole state of thir safetie to fortune. What need they; and how absurd would it be, when as they themselves to whom his chief vertue will be but to hearken, may with much  
 30 better management and dispatch, with much more commendation of thir own worth and magnanimitie govern without a maister. Can the folly be paralleld, to adore and be the slaves of a single person for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more  
 35 effectually, more laudably our selves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise to make seasonable use of gravest authorities,

experiences, examples? Is it such an unspeakable joy to serve, such felicitie to wear a yoke? to clink our shackles, lockt on by pretended law of subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, then those which are knockt on by illegal injurie and violence? *Aristotle*, our chief instructor in the Universities, 5 least this doctrine be thought *Sectarian*, as the royalist would have it thought, tels us in the third of his Politics, that certain men at first, for the matchless excellence of thir vertue above others, or som great public benifit, were created kings by the people; in small cities and territories, and in the scarcitie of others to be found 10 like them: but when they abus'd thir power, and governments grew larger, and the number of prudent men increas'd, that then the people soon deposing thir tyrants, betook them, in all civilest places, to the form of a free Commonwealth. And why should we thus disparage and prejudicate our own nation, as to fear a scar- 15 citie of able and worthie men united in counsel to govern us, if we will but use diligence and impartiality to finde them out and chuse them, rather yoking our selves to a single person, the natural adversarie and oppressor of libertie, though good, yet far easier corruptible by the excess of his singular power and exaltation, or at best, 20 not comparably sufficient to bear the weight of government, nor equally dispos'd to make us happie in the enjoyment of our libertie under him. || And | But || admitt, that monarchy of it self may be convenient to som nations, yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot 25 but prove pernicious. For [the] kings to com, never forgetting thir former ejection, will be sure to fortifie and arme themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts heerafter from the people: who shall be then so narrowly watch'd and kept so low, [as 30 that besides the loss of all thir blood, and treasure spent to no purpose,] || though they would never so fain and at the same rate, | that though they would never so fain and at the same rate of thir blood and treasure, || they never shall be able to regain what they now have 35 purchas'd and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke impos'd upon them. nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartn'd for the future, if these thir highest attempts prove unsuccessfull; which will be the triumph of all tyrants heerafter

over any people that shall resist oppression; and thir song will then be, to others, how sped the rebellious *English*? to our posteritie, how sped the rebells your fathers? This is not my conjecture, but drawn from God's known denouncement against the gentlizing  
 5 *Israelites*; who though they were governd in a Commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only thir king, they his peculiar people, yet affecting rather to resemble heathen, but pretending the misgovernment of *Samuel's* sons, no more a reason to dislike thir Commonwealth, then the violence of *Eli's* sons was imputable to that  
 10 priesthood or religion, clamour'd for a king. They had thir longing; but with this testimonie of God's wrath; *ye shall cry out in that day because of your king whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day.* Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who once delivered by him  
 15 from a king, and not without wondrous acts of his providence, insensible and unworthie of those high mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the captivitie from whence he freed us. Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easie rate this new gilded yoke which thus transports us: [Besides this,] a  
 20 new royal-revenue must be found; a new episcopal; for those are individual: both which being wholly dissipated or bought by private persons, or assing'd for service don, and especially to the Armie, cannot be recovered without a general detriment and confusion to men's  
 25 estates, or a heavy imposition on all men's purses. benifit to none, but to the worst and ignoblest sort of men, whose hope is to be either the ministers of court riot and excess, or the gainers by it: But not to speak more of losses and extraordinarie levies on our estates, what will then be the [Not to speak of]  
 30 revenges and offences [that will be] rememberd and returnd, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents; accounts and reparations that will be requir'd, suites [and] inditements, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom, or how  
 35 many, though perhaps neuters, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment; or molestation; [or] if not these, yet disfavour, discountenance, disregard and contempt on all but the known royalist, or whom he favours, will be plentious; nor

let the new royaliz'd presbyterians perswade themselves that thir old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten; whatever conditions be contriv'd or trusted on. Will they not beleeeve this; nor remember the pacification, how it was kept to the *Scots*; how other solemn promises many a time to us? Let them 5 but now read the diabolical forerunning libells, the faces, the gestures that now appeer foremost and briskest in all public places; as the harbingers of those that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings of our newly animated common enemies crept lately out 10 of thir holes, thir hell, I might say, by the language of thir infernal pamphlets, the spue of every drunkard, every ribald; nameless, yet not for want of licence, but for very shame of thir own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee that they intend to second thir wicked words, 15 if ever they have power, with more wicked deeds. Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves, how thir necks yok'd with these tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching but the sweating-tub, inspir'd with nothing holier then the Venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchie to the establishing of 20 church discipline with these new-disgorg'd atheismes: yet shall they not have the honor to yoke with these, but shall be yok'd under them; these shall plow on their backs. And do they among them who are so forward to bring in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be and so regarded, 25 as by kings are wont reconcil'd enemies; neglected and soon after discarded, if not prosecuted for old traytors; the first inciters, beginners, and more then to the third part actors of all that followd; it will be found also, that there must be then as necessarily as now (for the contrarie part will be still feard) a standing armie; which 30 for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest Cavaliers, of no less expence, and perhaps again under *Rupert*: but let this armie be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likeliest without arrear or pay; and being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be questioned for being in arms against thir king: the same let them fear, who 35 have contributed monie; which will amount to no small number that must then take thir turn to be made delinquents and compouncers. They who past reason and recoverie are devoted to kingship, perhaps will answer, that a greater part by far of the Nation will have it so; the rest therefor must yield. Not so much 40 to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply; that this greatest part have both in reason and the



trial of just battel, lost the right of their election what the government shall be: of them who have not lost that right, whether they for kingship be the greater number, who can certainly determin? Suppose they be; yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main  
 5 end of government: which if the greater part value not, but will degeneratly forgoe, is it just or reasonable, that most voices against the main end of government should enslave the less number that would be free? More just it is doubtless, if it com to force, that a less number compell a greater to retain, which can be no wrong  
 10 to them, thir libertie, then that a greater number for the pleasure of thir baseness, compell a less most injuriously to be thir fellow slaves. They who seek nothing but thir own just libertie, have alwaies right to winn it and to keep it, when ever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above  
 15 others are concernd to defend it from kingship, and from them who in pursuance therof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain miserie and thralldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shewn with what ease we may now obtain a free Commonwealth, and by it with as much  
 20 ease all the freedom, peace, justice, plentie that we can desire, on the otherside, the difficulties, troubles, uncertainties nay rather impossibilities to enjoy these things constantly under a monarch, I will now proceed to shew more particularly wherein our freedom and  
 25 flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free Commonwealth then under kinship.

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil libertie. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this world with contentment, who hath not libertie to serve God and to  
 30 save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his reveal'd will and the guidance of his holy spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and  
 35 that the whole Protestant Church allows no supream judge or rule in matters of religion, but the scriptures, and these to be interpreted by the scriptures themselves, which necessarily inferrs liberty of conscience,

|| hath bin | I have || heertofore prov'd at large in ||  
 other treatises, | another treatise; || and might yet further  
 by the publick declarations, confessions, and admoni-  
 tions of whole Churches and States, obvious in all  
 historie, since the Reformation. [He who cannot  
 be content with this libertie to himself, but seeks  
 violently to impose what he will have to be the  
 only religion, upon other men's consciences, let him  
 know, bears a minde not only unchristian and irre-  
 ligious, but inhuman also and barbarous. And in my<sup>10</sup>  
 judgement civil States would do much better, and  
 remove the cause of much hindrance and disturbance  
 in publick affairs, much ambition, much hypocrisie  
 and contention among the people, if they would not  
 meddle at all with Ecclesiastical matters, which are<sup>15</sup> ✓  
 both of a quite different nature from their cognisance, •  
 and have thir proper laws fully and compleatly with  
 such coercive power as belongs to them, ordaind by  
 Christ himself and his apostles. If ther were no med-  
 ling with Church matters in State counsels, ther would<sup>20</sup>  
 not be such faction in chusing members of Parlament,  
 while every one strives to chuse him whom he takes  
 to be of his religion; and everie faction hath the plea  
 of Gods cause. Ambitious leaders of armies would  
 then have no hypocritical pretenes so ready at hand<sup>25</sup>  
 to contest with Parlements, yea to dissolve them and  
 make way to thir own tyrannical designs: in summ,  
 I verily suppose ther would be then no more pretend-  
 ing to a fifth monarchie of the saints: but much peace  
 and tranquillitie would follow; as the United Nether-<sup>30</sup>  
 lands have found by experience: who while they per-  
 secuted the *Arminians*, were in much disquiet among  
 themselves, and in danger to have broke asunder into  
 a civil war; since they have left off persecuting, they  
 have livd in much more concord and prosperitie. And<sup>35</sup>

I have heard from *Polanders* themselves, that they never enjoin more peace, then when religion was most at libertie among them; that then first began thir troubles, when that king by instigation of the Jesuites began  
 5 to force the *Cossaks* in matters of religion.] This libertie of conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all men dearest and most precious, no government more inclinable not || only to favour | to  
 10 as being most magnanimous, most fearless and confident of its own fair proceedings. Whereas kingship, though looking big, yet indeed most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startl'd at everie umbrage, as it hath bin observd of old to have ever sus-  
 15 pected most and mistrusted them who were in most  
 " esteem for vertue and generositie of minde, so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion them who are most reputed to be religious. Q. *Elizabeth*, though her self accounted so good a Protestant, so  
 20 moderate, so confident of her subjects love, would never give way so much as to Presbyterian reformation in this land, though once and again besought, as *Cambden* relates, but imprisond and persecuted the verie proposers therof, alleaging it as her minde and maxim unalterable,  
 25 that such reformation would diminish regal authoritie. What libertie of conscience can we then expect || from | of || others far worse principld from the cradle, traind up and governd by Popish and *Spanish* counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially  
 30 what can this last Parliament expect, who having reviv'd lately and publishd the covnant, have reingag'd themselves, never to readmitt Episcopacie: which no son of *Charls* returning, but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge of his father, *to persevere in not the doctrine only,*  
 35 *but government of the church of England; not to neglect the speedie and effectual suppressing of errors and schisms; among which he*

accounted Presbyterie one of the chief: or if notwithstanding that charge of his father, he submit to the covenant, how will he keep faith to us with disobedience to him; or regard that faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal charge, and the reluctance, I may say the antipathie which is in all kings against Presbyterian and Independent discipline? For they hear the Gospel speaking much of libertie, a word which monarchie and her bishops both fear and hate; but a free Commonwealth both favours and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing it self.<sup>10</sup> But let our governors beware in time, least thir hard measure to libertie of conscience be found the rock wheron they shipwrack themselves, as others have now don before them in the cours wherin God was directing thir steorage to a free Commonwealth, and the abandoning of all those whom they call *sectaries*, for the detected falshood and ambition of som, be a wilfull rejection of thir own chief strength and interest in the freedom of all Protestant religion, under what abusive name soever calumniated.<sup>15</sup>

The other part of our freedom consists in the civil rights and advanc'ments of every person according to his merit: the enjoiment of those never more certain, and the access to these never more open, then in a free Commonwealth. || And both | Both which || in my opinion may be best and soonest obtaind, if every county in the land were made a || little commonwealth,<sup>25</sup> | kinde of subordinate Commonaltie or Commonwealth, || and || thir chief town a city, if it | one chief town or more, according as the shire is in circuit, made cities, if they || be not so call'd already; where the nobilitie and chief gentry from a proportionable compas of territorie annexd to each citie, may<sup>30</sup> build, houses or palaces, befitting their qualitie, may bear part in the government, make their own judicial lawes, or use these that are, and execute them by their own elected judicatures, and judges without appeal, in all things of civil government between man and man.<sup>35</sup> So they shall have justice in thir own hands, law executed fully and finally in thir own counties and precincts, long wishd, and spoken of, but never yet obtaind; || and none | they shall have none then || to blame but themselves, if it be

not well administerd. and fewer laws to expect or fear from the supreme autoritie; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to public libertie, they may without much trouble in these commonalties or in more general assemblies call'd to thir  
5 cities from the whole territorie on such occasion, declare and publish thir assent or dissent by deputies within a time limited sent to the Grand Council: yet so as this thir judgment declar'd shal submitt to the greater number of other counties or commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of  
10 agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the United Provinces, being sovran within it self, oft times to the great disadvantage of that union. In these employments they may much better then they do now exercise and fit themselves till their lot fall to be chosen into the Grand Council, according  
15 as their worth and merit shall be taken notice of by the people. As for controversies that shall happen between men of several counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the capital citie. or any other more commodious, indifferent place and equal judges. And this I finde to  
20 have bin practis'd in the old *Athenian* Commonwealth, reputed the first and ancientest place of civilitie in all *Greece*; that they had in thir several cities, a peculiar; in *Athens*, a common government; and thir right, as it befell them, to the administration of both. They should have heer also schools and academies at  
25 thir own choice, wherin their children may be bred up in thir own sight to all learning and noble education, not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more knowledge and civilitie, yea religion, through all parts of  
30 the land: by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie numm and neglected, [this] would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenuous at home, more potent, more honourable abroad. To this a free Commonwealth will easily assent; (nay the Parlament hath  
35 had alreadie som such thing in designe) for of all governments a Commonwealth aims most to make the people flourishing, vertuous, noble and high spirited. Monarchs will never permitt: whose aim is to make

the people, wealthy indeed perhaps and wel-fleec't for their own shearing, and [for] the supply of regal prodigalitie; but otherwise softest, basest, vitioussest, servilest, easiest to be kept under; and not only in fleece, but in minde also sheepishest; and will have 5 all the benches of judicature annexd to the throne, as a gift of royal grace that we have justice don us; L whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a people, then to have the administration of justice L and all publick ornaments in thir own election and 10 within thir own bounds, without long traveling or depending on remote places to obtain thir right or any civil accomplishment; so it be not supream, but subordinate to the general power and union of the whole Republick. In which happie firmness as in the 15 particular above mentioned, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not as they (to the retarding and distracting oft times of thir counsels or urgentest occasions), [so] many sovranities united in one Commonwealth, but many Commonwealths under one united and entrusted 20 sovranitie. And when we have our forces by sea and land, either of a faithful Armie or a settl'd Militia, in our own hands to the firm establishing of a free Commonwealth, publick accounts under our own inspection, general laws and taxes with thir causes in our own domestic suffrages, judicial laws, offices and ornaments 25 at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of lords and commoners, that may any way divide or sever the publick interest, remov'd, what can a perpetual senat have then wherin to grow corrupt, wherin to encroach upon us or usurp; or if they do, wherin to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove 30 the fear or envie of a perpetual sitting, it may be easilie provided, to change a third part of them yearly, or every two or three years, as was above mentiond; or that it be at those times in the peoples choice, whether they will change them, or renew thir power, as they shall finde cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well considerd; few and easie things, now seasonably don. But if the people be so affected, as to prostitute religion and libertie to the vain and

groundless apprehension, that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembring the frequent plagues and pestilences that then wasted this cite, such as through God's mercie, we never have || left | felt ||  
 5 since, and that trade flourishes no where more, then in the free Commonwealths of *Italie*, *Germanie* and the  
 ✓ Low Countreys, before thir eyes at this day, yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradsmen that nothing can sup-  
 10 port it, but the luxurious expences of a nation upon trifles or superfluities, so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugalitie, it might prove a dangerous matter, least tradesmen should mutinie for want of trading, and that therefor we must forgoe  
 15 and set to sale religion, libertie, honour, safetie, all concernments divine or human to keep up trading, if lastly, after all this light among us, the same reason shall pass for current to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the *Jews* to return  
 20 back to Egypt and to the worship of thir idol queen, because they falsly imagind that they then livd in more plenty and prosperitie, our condition is not sound but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence; and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those  
 25 calamities which attend alwaies and unavoidably on luxurie, [that is to say] all national judgments under forein or domestic slaverie: so far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our government; what ever new conceit now possesses us.  
 30 However w<sup>th</sup> all hazard I have ventur'd what I thought my dutie, to speak in season, & to forewarn my country in time: wherein I doubt not but there be many wise men in all places and degrees, but am sorrie the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many  
 35 circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things whereof I have spoken; but a few main

matters now put speedily || into | in || execution, will suffice to recover us, and set all right: and ther will want at no time who are good at circumstances, but men who set thir minds on main matters and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times I finde 5 not many. What I have spoken, is the language of that which is not call'd amiss the good old cause: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, then convincing to backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have 10 spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to, but with the Prophet, *O earth, earth, earth*: to tell the verie soil it self || what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay though what I have spoke, should happ'n (which Thou suffer not, who didst create mankinde free; nor Thou next, 15 who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring libertie. | what God hath determined of *Coniah* and his seed forever. || But I trust, I shall have spoken perswasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous men: to som perhaps, whom God may 20 raise of these stones, to become children of reviving libertie; and || may enable and unite in thir noble resolutions | may reclaim, though they seem now chusing them a captain back for *Egypt*, to bethink themselves a little and consider whether they are rushing; to exhort this torrent also of 25 the people, not to be so impetuos, but to keep thir due channell; and at length recovering and uniting thir better resolutions, now that they see alreadie how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies || to [give a] stay [to] these [our] ruinous proceedings justly and timely fearing 30 to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurrie us || through the | and to this || general defection of || the | a || misguided and abus'd multitude.

[The End]

D





## NOTES

5. **T. N.** This was undoubtedly Thomas Newcome, official printer to the commonwealth for many years under the editorship and censorship of Needham and Milton respectively. Several of Milton's books—*Defensio Prima*, *Defensio Secunda*, *Treatise of Civil Power* (1659), etc.—had issued from Newcome's press, and we may assume that it was still at Milton's service. But the initials perhaps indicate a wavering in this allegiance. At all events, Newcome had no hand in the second edition; and so dexterously was he off with the old and on with the new that we find him on May 5 appointed one of the two official printers to the Parliament.

5. **Livewell Chapman.** A stationer at the sign of the Crown in Pope's-Head Alley. The council of state, being informed that Chapman had lately 'caused several seditious and treasonable books to be printed and published,' issued an order for his arrest on March 28, 1660 (Masson, *Life of Milton* 5. 670).

7. **et nos**, etc. See Introduction, p. viii. Masson translates as follows:

We have advised  
Sulla himself, advise we now the People.

The allusion is to General Monk, to whom Milton, about the time of the appearance of *The Ready and Easy Way*, had addressed a brief and convenient summary of its proposals, entitled: *The Present Means and Brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth, Easy to be put in Practice, and without Delay. In a letter to General Monk.* Milton got no response whatever, and soon lost all confidence in Monk's professions of republicanism. He now turns from Sulla the tyrant to appeal to the people.

9. 1. **since the writing.** See Introduction B. 1.

9. 1a. **the face of things.** This was a very favorite expression during the Interregnum. Thus Dr. Denton writes to Sir Ralph Verney, Aug. 10, 1659: 'The face of things may alter in a moment' (*Verney Memoirs* 3. 450).

9. 2. **some change.** Within the fortnight just past, General Monk, hitherto the defender of the Rump, had become the Rump's dictator, and boldly restored the secluded members—now rampant Royalists. This opened the way to a certain and speedy restoration of kingship. Milton, conceding merely 'some change,' assumes at the outset a calmness of tone, as if determined still to hope, or at least not to communicate to others his own despair.

9. 2a. **writs for new elections.** The little handful of Rump-republicans were extremely reluctant to 'fill up' their numbers by new elections. Attributing the wretched state of affairs to this cause, General Monk marched into the city on Feb. 11, and flatly demanded that the House 'should issue out Writs' within six days (see *Introd.*, p. xxiv, for the exact ultimatum). That stubborn and tenacious little body retaliated by disabling all sons of sequestered Royalists, but took care to comply, on their last day of grace, with the dictator's main demand.

9. 3. **have bin recall'd.** See Introduction, pp. x—xi.

9. 4. **readmitted from exclusion.** On Dec. 6, 1648, Colonel Pride had posted his regiment at the doors of the House of Commons, and 'terrified from sitting, near two Hundred [cf. notes on 10. 38 and 11. 21], . . . being those who had on the fifth of December before, by Vote approved of the late King's Concessions for a Peace at the Isle of Wight' (Baker, *Chron.*, p. 542). During the succeeding years of the commonwealth these secluded members never ceased to demand readmission. Finally, they found an effective champion in General Monk, who 'on the one and twentyeth day of *February* [1660], meeting the secluded members at *Whitehall*, . . . commended to their care 1. Religion, . . . 2. the state,' and 'told them the house was open for them to enter, and prayed for their good success. The secluded members being thus admitted, fall immediately to work where they were abruptly forced to break off in

December 1648' (Walker, *Hist. Indep.* 4. 93). The eagerness of the long-debarred members to get back into their seats was not without its ludicrous aspect: 'As he went into the House W. Prynne's long sword got between Sir W. Waller's short legs, and threw him down, which caused laughter' (Aubrey, *Bodleian Letters* 2. 509). Pepys also has a good account of their triumphal entry.

9. 5. **not a little rejoicing.** The readmission of the secluded members had changed the Parliament in an instant from a staunch republican and Independent body into a Royalist and Presbyterian stronghold. Moreover, the restored members were pledged to a speedy dissolution and the calling of a free Parliament—conditions absolutely fatal to republicanism. Of the dissolution itself Clement Walker (*Hist. Ind.* 4. 95) exultingly records: 'And thus we see Independency laid in the dust, and ready to give up the ghost.' Milton's favorite scheme of perpetuating the Rump as a national grand council was, of course, no longer possible, if it had ever been so. Whatever rejoicing he was now capable of must have sprung, therefore, from some lingering hope of securing the main end—a commonwealth in some form instead of kingship—and a degree of faith in the vehement declarations of General Monk (see note on 9. 5a).

9. 5a. **resolutions of all those who are now in power.** Whitelock (*Memorials* 4. 397) mentions the engagement entered into by the Rump on Feb. 14 'to be true and faithful to the commonwealth of England, . . . without a king, single person or house of lords.' The restored members, on their part, 'declared, as to Government they intended no Alteration in it' (Baker, *Chron.*, p. 600). But most emphatic of all was General Monk. Early in February he declared to General Ludlow that they 'must live and die together for a Commonwealth' (Ludlow, *Memorials* 2. 227). His words of Feb. 21, addressed to the secluded members about to be restored, were still stronger (see Introduction, p. xxxiii). Clarendon is of the opinion that he 'desired nothing but that he might see a Commonwealth established, in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred' (*Hist. Rebellion* 16. 134). Being

offered 'the Government in his own Person, he said, The Experience of *Cromwell's* Fate gave him Reasons to avoid the Rock on which that Family was split' (Baker, *Chron.*, p. 603). Finally, a committee waited upon him for an explanation of his doings on Feb. 21, and 'having resolved to try him to the utmost, demanded farther if he would join with them against Charles Stuart and his party: in answer to which he applied himself to Sir Arthur Haslerig, . . . and taking off his glove, and putting his hand within Sir Arthur's, he added; "I do here protest to you in the presence of all these gentlemen, that I will oppose to the utmost the setting up of Charles Stuart, a single person, or a House of Peers"' (Ludlow, *Memoirs* 2. 237).

9. 6. **jointly tending.** The army was still thoroughly republican. The City hastened to send congratulations upon the 'happy return of the Parliament.' 'Whatever mistakes have been formerly,' said the Londoners, 'it cannot but be a happy Day, to all but our Enemies, in that all the affections of the City and Parliament are joined together.' These assurances, however ambiguous, together with the positive declarations (see note on 9. 5a) of Monk and the Parliament, Milton chooses to interpret in the most hopeful light possible, as 'jointly tending to the establishment of a free Commonwealth.'

9. 7. **Commonwealth.** The term as used in this treatise is practically synonymous with 'republic' or 'representative democracy.' It had been variously used by earlier English writers—as signifying the whole body politic, any group or fraternity united by a common interest or characteristic, monarchy, absolute democracy, mixed government, etc. The term, however, was specifically applied to the form of government in England during the Interregnum, and, still more narrowly, to the republic that existed before and after the protectorate. It is usually qualified by Milton and other advocates of a republic by such expressions as 'free and equal,' 'without single person or house of lords.' Among the Royalists the term came in for much ridicule; as, for example, the following: 'You have made us a commonwealth, that is, (as malignants say) have

given us power to put a finger into every man's purse and pocket. You have made the people supreme authority, and left them no laws' (*Hosanna: Somers Tracts* 7. 55).

9. 8. || **unsound** | **noxious**. | Note the gain in precision, force, and intensity of feeling. In these respects the two words adequately represent the quality and relationship of the two editions.

9. 9. **humour**. See Glossary; cf. Burton's *Diary* (1828) 4. 423, for 1659: 'These tymes, and the affairs transacted in them, give motion to all sorts of humours in the nation' (*New Eng. Dict.*).

9. 9a. **returning**. The opening months of 1660 were characterized by an ever-rising and finally irresistible tide of enthusiasm for the king. *A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord-General Monk* states that the 'multitudes of people, indeed (like children, who must have a baby to play with, and something to glitter in their eyes) cry for a king' (*Harleian Miscellany* 8. 627). The author of *England's Confusion* (*Somers Tracts* 6. 528) declares that 'the poor people . . . are fain to return home and sit still in amaze' (see notes on 9. 11 and 17. 18). Monk's stand against the Rump on Feb. 11 was the occasion for fresh outbursts of wild joy and demonstration (see *Introd.*, p. xxiv), which were still intensified by his restoration of the old members on Feb. 21. Pepys (*Diary*) observes on the following day 'how abominably Barebone's windows are broke again last night.' Another writer finds it 'difficult to describe the joy and exultation' at the 'prospect of peace, concord, liberty, justice' that 'broke forth at once, from amidst the deepest darkness in which the nation had ever been involved' (Cobbett, *Parl. Hist.* 3. 1578). John Stewkeley, of Hampshire, exultingly declares: 'We may all soon meet if the Wind blow from Flanders: wch I pray for, pro Re: pro Eccl. Ang.: pro reg: as a Subject; as a member, as an Englishman' (*Verney Mem.* 3. 460). By March 6 Pepys is able to record that 'everybody now drink the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it.' See also note on 9. 11.

9. 9b. **old bondage.** This was the common figure for kingship, not only with Milton, but with extreme Commonwealthmen in general. Thus Colonel Overton exhorted his soldiers 'to be watchful, and guard themselves against the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart, which was now reviving and would introduce the Bondage they had freed themselves from' (Baker, *Chron.*, p. 602). Speaker Lenthall informs Monk that the people were in danger 'to have been made slaves again.'

9. 9c. **instill'd of late by some cunning deceivers.** Milton's own comment on this passage is as follows: 'I affirmed in the Preface of a late discourse intitl'd, "The ready Way . . .," that the humour of returning to our old bondage was instilled of late by some deceivers; and to make good, that what I then affirmed was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people: and if I prove him not such, refuse not to be so accounted in his stead' (*Brief Notes upon a late Sermon titl'd The Fear of God and the King; Preach'd and since publish'd, by Matthew Griffith D. D.*: Bohn 2. 354). Whitelock records under date of Feb. 6 that 'divers of the King's party came from beyond sea into England, and talked very high, and that they were sure that the King would be in England very shortly' (*Memorials* 4. 393). An anonymous writer concocted the following (see *Somers Tracts* 6. 514):

'The Lord Chancellor Hyde to Mr. Hancock (Broderick.)  
Sir,

... Methinks it is a very fit conjuncture for you to get some sharp pamphlets to be published and dispersed, to inform the people of their folly and madness in affecting to be governed as a commonwealth, by convincing them how far the people are from enjoying that liberty under that government, which the people of England have always done under their kings; of the tyranny to which republics are subject, . . . vast taxes, . . . standing army. . . . I pray think of this, and in it do right to the worthy persons who are the chief cherishers and supporters of that design, by giving the right characters of them to the people, and making them as odious and ridiculous as they ought to be.' Such 'deceivers' were legion, and the press

was pouring forth a torrent of such pamphlets as *A Coffin for the Good Old Cause*, and *That wicked and Blasphemous Petition of Praise-God Barebone and his Sectarian Crew . . . anatomized*. Milton himself was twitted in the *Censure of the Rota* for being a 'cunning' man.

9. 11. **among too many of the people.** Lord Ormond, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1660, informs Lord Jermyn 'that the general disposition of the people, and particularly of the city of London, seems to promise great advantages to the King; four parts of five of the whole people, besides all the nobility and gentry, being devoted to him, and ready to act as they shall be directed, and not without some difficulty restrained from some present engagement' (quoted by Harris, *Life of Charles the Second* 1. 266). See also note on 9. 9a.

9. 12. **I thought best not to suppress what I had written.** Milton had written the body of the treatise before the overthrow of the Rump (see *Introd.*, p. xiv). The readmission of the secluded members had rendered futile many of his recommendations; as, for example, perpetuating the Rump as a grand council. Moreover, it had made the restoration of Charles inevitable. Perhaps the knowledge and conviction of all this caused Milton to contemplate suppressing his pamphlet. But his was not the temper that fights only, or even best, under prospects of victory. He was contending, as it seemed to him, for sanity as opposed to madness; for freedom as opposed to absolute thralldom. And however forlorn the republican hope, it was not in Milton to retreat in the face of onrushing Royalism. Besides, he still tries to persuade himself of a hope that he 'may perhaps . . . be much more useful then before.'

9. 14. **sitting more full and frequent.** This expression refers simply to the increased attendance after the readmission of the secluded members. It has no reference to the frequency of their sittings. See *Glossary*. The *New English Dictionary* exemplifies the usage as follows: '1606 Holland *Sueton*. 14 He in a ful and frequent assemblie . . . besought, etc. 1725 Pope *Odysse*. 16. 377 Apart they sate, and full and fre-



quent, form'd a dire debate. 1746 H. Walpole *Lett. to Sir H. Mann* (1857) 2. 38. One hundred and thirty-nine Lords were present, and made a noble sight on their benches *full and frequent*.' When the Rump resumed its sitting, Dec. 26, 1659, there were but thirty-six members present; and during the rest of its exclusive existence the attendance never exceeded fifty-three. There were seventy-three members restored on Feb. 21, and others returned later; so that there were about 150 present in the 'full and frequent' body to which Milton refers.

9. 14a. **be now much more useful than before.** The grounds for this hope are somewhat differently stated in the two editions. Writing in the last days of February, Milton seems to feel that it would be a noteworthy service to influence—perhaps convert—the restored Parliament of 150 members. A month later, he professes to see the still larger opportunity of influencing public opinion in the midst of a general election, and of helping to shape the policy of a free Parliament met for the express business of settlement.

9. 15. **what hath reference to the state of things as they then stood.** Passages that referred to conditions prior to the readmission of the secluded members; as: 'Neither ought the small number of those remaining in Parliament, be made a by-word.'

9. 17. **same end.** 'A free Commonwealth without single person or house of lords.'

9. 20. **to be freely publishd.** 'This liberty of writing' which Milton had 'used these eighteen years on all occasions to assert the just rights and freedoms both of church and state' (*Hirelings*: Bohn 3. 2) was now in grave danger of being abridged. Indeed, there was great probability that both author and publisher would be thrown into prison, and the bold pamphlet itself be suppressed. See note on 9. 28a.

9. 21. **a free Parliament.** The one insistent note that fell upon the ears of General Monk as he marched from Scotland was the cry of the people for a free Parliament. The same demand met him in the *Letter of Advice*. 'And now, sir,' said

the writer, 'can anything else save us, but an equal commonwealth? Which in truth is no more than a free and full parliament . . . more truly elected and better formed (*Harl. Misc.* 8. 626). Whitelock (*Memorials*) records (Feb. 3) 'a tumult yesterday in London, which was for a free parliament.'

The Long Parliament, and especially its notorious remnant, through rigid qualifications, processes of exclusion, and long continuance in power, had utterly ceased to be representative of the people at large. General Monk and the restored members responded to the almost universal demand. Disabling acts, abjuration-oath, and engagement were swept aside; and for the first time in many years a Parliament assembled, April 25, 1660, which not only was the free choice of the nation, but also was free from army-intimidation, and free to proceed with the settlement of the government.

9. 22. **whom it behoves.** A similar appeal for a hearing in the Parliament is made in the *Areopagitica* (Bohn 2. 52): 'I could name him who from his private house wrote that discourse to the parliament of Athens, that persuades them to change the form of democracy which was then establish'd. Such honour was done in those days to men who profest the study of wisdom and eloquence, not only in their own country, but in other lands, that cities and signiories heard them gladly, and with great respect, if they had aught in public to admonish the state.'

9. 26. **absolute determination.** Since the appearance of the first edition, the Solemn League and Covenant had been restored (March 5). Ejected ministers had, in many cases, been reinstated. Lambert, now an unyielding republican, had been sent to the Tower, and Colonel Overton had been discharged from the command of Hull. All disaffected officers had been removed by General Monk. The engagement (see note on 10. 28) had been expunged (March 13). The old qualifications (see note on 21. 20) debarring Royalists from Parliament had been rendered harmless (March 13) by the addition of a saving clause, 'unless he or they have since manifested his or their good Affection to this Parliament.' Finally, the council of

state had been authorized (March 15) to apprehend 'such Persons as they shall find dangerous to the Peace and Safety of the Commonwealth' (*Com. Journ.*). Besides these official measures, so obviously taken to prepare the way for the coming of Charles, there were the almost universal clamor of the people for a king, and the certainty that the Parliament about to meet would be overwhelmingly Royalist. All this Milton interpreted as an 'absolute determination to enslave.' 'Our liberties,' cried he in utmost anxiety, 'will be utterly lost in the next parliament, without some powerful course taken, of speediest prevention' (*Brief Del.*: Bohn 2. 106).

9. 27. **Lent.** 'The period including 40 weekdays extending from Ash-Wednesday to Easter-eve, observed as a time of fasting and penitence, in commemoration of Our Lord's fasting in the wilderness' (*New Eng. Dict.*).

9. 28. **Shroving-time.** Shrove-tide was a period of confession preparatory to Lent. It extended from the Saturday evening before Quinquagesima Sunday to Ash-Wednesday morning. On Shrove-Tuesday Catholics were wont, after confession, to spend the rest of the day in sports, and to feast on pancakes or fritters. It is to this extra indulgence in freedom just before entering upon the forty days' Lenten fast that Milton alludes.

9. 28a. **to speak freely.** The 'supreme senate' under whose 'protection' Milton had enjoyed 'this liberty of writing' (see note on 9.20) was no longer in being. The council of state had been empowered to suppress seditious pamphlets, and to call their authors to account. A warrant was issued for the arrest of Livewell Chapman, Milton's publisher, on March 28. On April 9 Whitelock (*Memorials*) records that 'the council discharged Needham [Milton's intimate friend and fellow-journalist] from writing the weekly intelligence.' Milton therefore had good cause in April, 1660, to bespeak a little further indulgence for his bold and contemptuous pen.

9. 30. **through haste.** The auspicious approach of the mysterious General Monk in the first days of February had inspired innumerable politicians with a feverish desire to proffer

advice. Milton, along with the rest, made all possible haste to lay before that grim sphinx the one and only way to effect a settlement. Hence the main body of the first edition was probably composed with great rapidity. The sudden change in Monk's attitude toward the Rump, however, brought the work to a standstill. But upon Monk's restoring the secluded members, and calling them and God to witness his intention of settling the government upon commonwealth-foundations, Milton again set busily and anxiously to work upon his pamphlet. There was a chance that it might yet accomplish much good if it could be placed in the hands of Parliament before adjournment, now only two or three weeks away. It is highly probable, therefore, that the preface was written, and the treatise completed and placed in the hands of the printer, with all possible expedition. Cf. note on 9. 30b.

9. 30a. **many faults.** See Appendix A. 4.

9. 30b. **many books were suddenly dispersed.** According to Anthony Wood, copies of the treatise were in circulation before the end of February (see *Intro.*, p. xii), although the Thomason copy is dated March 3. The haste upon the part of Milton, the publisher, and all concerned was due to the discussion just then going on in Parliament as to the time of adjournment. On Feb. 27 'a Bill for dissolving this present Parliament was read the First time' (*Com. Journ.*); and on March 1 it was resolved that this should occur 'at or before the Fifteenth Day of this instant March.'

9. 32. **to revise and somewhat to enlarge.** See Appendix A. 3.

9. 33. **especially that part which argues for a perpetual Senat.** It will be observed that Milton took occasion to amplify this argument by the addition of two solid pages of matter. The causes of this extra labor were probably the tireless arguments of the Rota-men (see *Intro.*, p. xlviii), and the appearance (March 26) of a pamphlet entitled *The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's Book* (see Appendix B, p. 173).

10. 1. **great number of the people.** London (containing about one tenth of the entire population of England), and the South and East in general, were strong for the Parliament at

the beginning of the war. But a far smaller proportion of the people were ready to go the length of abolishing kingship. Cf. note on 9. 11.

10. 5. **burdensom, expensive, useless and dangerous.** This is obviously Milton's slightly inaccurate recollection of the acts of the House of Commons, Feb. 6 and 7, 1649, which declared the House of Peers 'useless and dangerous,' and kingship 'unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous.' The revised edition has it exactly right: 'unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous.' Cf. note on 10. 7.

10. 7. **abolishd it.** '*Resolved*, etc. That it hath been found by Experience, and this House doth declare, that the Office of a King in this Nation, and to have the Power thereof in any Single Person, is unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the Liberty, Safety, and publick Interest of the People of this Nation; and therefore ought to be abolished: And that an Act be brought in to that Purpose' (*Com. Journ.*, Feb. 7, 1649). The act was finally passed March 17.

10. 7a. **free Commonwealth.** In the government that was set up after the abolishing of monarchy, the executive power was vested in a council of state, consisting of forty-one members, chosen by the House for a term of one year. There was to be no such thing as a lord president in this body, but it was soon found necessary to elevate Bradshaw to that position. All but ten of its members were chosen from the Parliament, which itself now averaged but fifty-six in attendance; so that council of state and Parliament were practically one. The judiciary and all minor offices of state remained about as they had been before.

10. 8. **admiration and terror of our neighbours.** See Glossary. Contemporaneous with the English contest between Parliament and king was a very similar struggle in France between the people and their Parliament, upon the one hand, and the court-party, as represented by the queen-mother, Anne of Austria, and her prime minister, Mazarin, upon the other. In August, 1648, the royalist side attempted to overawe Parliament by arresting two of its leaders, Broussel

and Blancmesnil. But the bold move unchained a popular fury. Men, women, and children flew to arms, shouting: 'Down with your Mazarin! Broussel! Broussel!' The queen-regent, although vowing that she would first strangle him with her own hands, was forced to yield, and order the release of Broussel. The tumults continued, and in January, 1649, war was declared. The queen, taking with her the young king, and her court as well, fled from Paris to the castle of St. Germain on the night of Jan. 5, 1649. She absolutely refused to depose Mazarin. "'I should be afraid," she said to Madame de Motteville, "that, if I were to let him fall, the same thing would happen to me that happened to the King of England [Charles I had just been executed], and that, after he had been driven out, my turn would come"' (Guizot, *Hist. of France* 5. 361). Peace was declared in April, and the queen returned to Paris. But the rebellion spread to other parts of France. 'Bordeaux was the focus of the insurrection; . . . riots were frequent in the town; the little king, with the queen and the cardinal, marched in person upon Bordeaux' (*ibid.* 5. 365).

The rebellion of the Fronde ended in failure; but 'the attempt had been the same in France as in England. . . . It was the same yearnings of patriotism and freedom, the same desire on the part of the country to take an active part in its own government' (*ibid.* 5. 382). Mazarin himself 'compared the Parliament to the House of Commons, and the coadjutor to Cromwell' (*ibid.* 5. 365).

10. 11. **not bound . . . to any former covenant.** The Solemn League and Covenant was taken by the House of Commons September 25, 1643. The section here referred to is as follows: 'III. We shall with the same sincerity, reality and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour with our estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defense of the true religion and liberties of the Kingdoms, that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have

no thoughts or intentions to diminish His Majesty's just power and greatness' (Gardiner, *Const. Documents of Pur. Rev.*, p. 269).

10. 11a. **light of nature or religion.** The law of nature (see notes on 10. 33a and 10. 40), revealed in human consciousness, and the law of God, or divine law, as found in the revealed Word. In Milton's opinion, these were identical.

10. 12. **many forfeitures.** See note on 10. 20.

10. 16. **They covenanted.** See note on 10. 11. This is a repetition of an argument already used against Salmasius: 'But you omit upon what terms they promised it; to wit, if it might consist with the safety of their religion and their liberty' (*Defense*: Bohn 1. 193).

10. 18. **to bring in upon our consciences a Popish religion.** It should be remembered that Charles really desired the preservation of episcopacy. But he desired even more to regain his crown and kingdom, and scrupled not to use the aid of Catholics as a means to this end. Queen Henrietta negotiated with the pope for an army of French troops, to be supported by the clergy; and Glamorgan's treaty with the Catholics of Ireland pledged the king to such concessions as the pope's nuncio should demand in return for 10,000 Irish troops; but this latter treaty was disavowed by the king (*Camb. Hist.* 4. 338). However, Milton probably refers to episcopacy itself; for in an earlier and more complete indictment we read: 'Besides, he bore extreme hard upon the consciences of good men, and compelled them to the use of ceremonies and superstitious worship, borrowed from popery, and by him re-introduced into the church' (*Defense*: Bohn 1. 200). Cf. notes on 10. 20, 16. 15, and 36. 28.

10. 20. **his occasioning . . . the Irish massacre.** Again and again Milton recurs to this charge against the late king. Charles was 'found to have the chief hand in a most detested conspiracy against the parliament and kingdom, as by letters and examinations of Percy, Goring, and other conspirators came to light; that his intention was to rescue the Earl of Strafford, by seizing on the Tower of London; to bring up the English army out of the North, joined with eight thousand

Irish papists raised by Strafford, and a French army to be landed at Portsmouth against the parliament and their friends' (*Eikonok.*: Bohn 1. 334). Of the English Protestants in Ireland no fewer than '154,000 by their own computation' were massacred. Charles was 'ever friendly to the Irish papists, . . . and, like a kind of pope, sold them many indulgences for money.' Till the 'very burst of that rebellion,' a committee of Irish Papists were with him and the queen in close conference, and in 'great favour, at Whitehall' (*Eikonok.*: Bohn 1. 409). He 'gave them his peculiar right to more than five Irish counties, for the payment of an inconsiderable Rent.' This gift Milton thinks was to the end that they might come quickly and obliterate Parliament. At all events, these very beneficiaries were soon found to be 'the chief rebels themselves.' From these facts, Milton concludes that 'no understanding man could longer doubt who was "author or instigator" of that rebellion' (*ibid.* 1. 411). 'These projects not succeeding, he sent over one Dillon, a traitor, into Ireland with private instructions to the natives, to fall suddenly upon all the English that inhabited there' (*Defense*: Bohn 1. 201). As to the 'Articles of Peace made by the late king with his Irish rebels,' Milton says: 'He hath sold away that justice so oft demanded . . . for the blood of more than two hundred thousand of his subjects, that never hurt him, never disobeyed him, assassinated and cut in pieces by those Irish barbarians, to give the first promoting, as is more than thought, to his own tyrannical designs in England' (*Observations*: Bohn 2. 183).

Milton, having been in the very centre of the terrific fury of resentment in England over these outrages, naturally exaggerates their horror and the king's complicity. But there is at least some foundation of fact in the charges. Strafford is said to have reported to Charles: 'You have an Army in Ireland you may employ here to reduce this Kingdom.' It is certain that Charles refused to disband these Irish forces, and secretly commissioned the Earls of Ormonde and Antrim to swell their numbers to twenty thousand. Undoubtedly it was his game to call them in against the Parliament.

But quite distinct from all this, a long-planned, independent



rebellion of the Irish was brewing ; and this finally broke out over Ulster on Oct. 23, 1641. The Catholics, who longed to put an end to Laud and Strafford's reign of 'Thorough,' joined the rebels, and had part in the tumults that followed. Charles' part in it all seems to have been his attempting to manipulate the Irish forces as a weapon against Parliament (*Camb. Hist.* 4. 522).

10. 23. **his refusing more then seven times, propositions.** 'Seven times over' is the corresponding expression in *Eikono-klastes*. Such were the Nineteen Propositions (June 1, 1642), the Oxford Propositions (Feb. 1, 1643), the Uxbridge Propositions, presented Nov. 24, 1644, the Newcastle Propositions (July 13, 1646), upon the part of the English Parliament ; numerous overtures by the Scotch Presbyterians ; and the joint proposals in 1648.

It is hardly surprising that Charles refused such, for example, as the Newcastle Propositions, which demanded, in part, that he take the Covenant and permit its general enforcement ; that there be national Presbyterianism ; and that Parliament have not only the appointing of all important officers, but also the control of army and navy for twenty years.

10. 26. **with no difference between a king and a god.** The Covenant avoids mention or recognition of the so-called divine right of kings. It is 'the King's Majesty's *person and authority*,' his '*just power and greatness*,' that are, under certain conditions, to be defended (see note on 10. 11).

10. 28. **solemn ingagement.** 'Resolved, &c. That every Member that now doth, or shall at any time hereafter, sit in this House, shall subscribe his Name to this Engagement ; *viz.*, "I do declare and promise, That I will be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as the same is now established, without a King or House of Lords" (*Com. Journ.*, Oct. 11, 1649). On Dec. 25, 1649, it was proposed 'that it be referred to a Committee, to consider of a Declaration to be published, to satisfy the People, That the Engagement is not against the former Protestation and Covenant.'

10. 30. **the protestation before.** This was the protest

of May 3, 1641, wherein the Parliament, after complaining of recent 'Designs of Priests and Jesuits,' of 'Endeavors to subvert the fundamental Laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce the Exercise of an arbitrary and tyrannical Government,' of a 'Popish Army levied in Ireland, and Two Armies brought into the Bowels of this Kingdom, to the hazard of His Majesty's Royal Person,' declared as follows:

'I A. B. do, in the Presence of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, as far as lawfully I may, with my Life, Power, and Estate, the true reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popish Innovation within this Realm, contrary to said Doctrine, and according to the duty of my Allegiance, I will maintain and defend, His Majesty's royal Person and Estate' (*Com. Journ.*).

10. 33. **serve two contrary maisters.** From the Middle Ages descended the principle that allegiance to rulers is always subordinate to the higher laws of God and nature. See *Introd.*, p. xlii, and note on 10. 33a.

10. 33a. **that more supreme law.** Milton elsewhere makes clear his meaning: 'But if you insist to know, "by what right, by what law"; by that law, I tell you, which God and nature have enacted, viz. that whatever things are for the universal good of the whole state, are for that reason lawful and just' (*Defense*: Bohn 1. 15). Cf. note on 10. 40.

10. 35. **They knew the people of England to be a free people, themselves the representers of that freedom.** Cf. *Commons Journals*, Jan. 4, 1649: 'Resolved, &c. That the Commons of *England*, in Parliament assembled, do *Declare*, That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power: and do also *Declare*, that the Commons of *England*, in Parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the Supreme Power in this Nation.' Cf. note on 21. 32.

10. 37. **many were excluded.** See notes on 9. 4 and 11. 21. Milton saw fit to justify this exclusion, and in very strong language: 'No question but it is as good and necessary to expel rotten members out of the house, as to banish delin-

quents out of the land : and the reason holds as well in forty as in five. And if they be yet more, the more dangerous is their number. They had no privilege to sit there, and vote home the author, the impenitent author, of all our miseries, to freedom, honour and royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not destructive, concessions' (*Observations*: Bohn 2. 195).

10. 37a. **as many fled.** At the beginning of the Civil War a large part of the commons, and most of the lords, withdrew to form a Royalist Parliament at Oxford. 'About 175 members followed the King's flag, while nearly three hundred remained at Westminster. Rather more than thirty peers threw in their lot with the popular party, while about eighty supported the King, and about twenty took no part in the struggle' (Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 69).

10. 37b. **so they pretended.** The *Eikon Basilike*, for example, so argues ; but Milton and his party interpreted the flight as a desertion.

10. 38. **a sufficient number.** See note on 10. 37a. Besides the Royalist defection in 1642, and the exclusion of 140 (*Camb. Hist.* 4. 354 ; but cf. notes on 9. 4 and 11. 21) members by Pride's Purge in 1648, there was a further falling away upon the execution of the king ; so that the average attendance in 1649 was reduced to 56. The Barebone Parliament, which met July 4, 1653, consisted of 140 members. But this body likewise suffered a considerable reduction (Sept. 12, 1654) from Cromwell's test on fundamentals.

10. 40. **law of nature.** Milton himself furnishes both interpretation and source : 'For the law, says Cicero in his *Philippicks*, is no other than a rule of well-grounded reason, derived from God himself, enjoining whatever is just and right, and forbidding the contrary' (*Defense*: Bohn 1. 71). This 'true law . . . conformable to nature, universal, unchangeable, eternal,' whose author is 'God himself,' cannot be contradicted by any other law,' and 'needs no other interpreter than our own conscience' (Cicero, *De Repub.*, tr. Barham, 3. 270). 'I am of opinion,' said Milton to Salmasius, 'that the law of God does exactly agree with the law of nature' (*Def.*: Bohn 1. 108). Plato (*Laws* 4. 713 ; 6. 767) and Aristotle (*Politics*

3. 16) show the earlier sources of this idea. The thought that God, operating in human consciousness as 'right reason,' is to be obeyed before every other authority, furnished a complete justification for the doctrines of resistance to tyrants, and tyrannicide, especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Milton's interpretation agrees with Selden's: 'I cannot fancy to myself what the law of nature means, but the law of God' (*Table Talk*).

II. 4. **church reformation.** Milton had hoped for much from the Presbyterian reformation; but he was disappointed, and was soon saying, 'New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large.' Cf. *Declaration of Parliament*, May 7, 1659: 'They are resolved . . . to . . . vigorously endeavor the carrying on of Reformation so much desired; and so often declared for; to the end there may be a godly and faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in these Nations, to the Glory and Praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the Upright in the Land' (*Com. Journ.*).

II. 5. **evangelic rules.** Those of the primitive Christian church. Milton was unalterably opposed to a state-church, and its forced maintenance by tithes—ideas which the Presbyterians were very busy in fostering at this time. Just the previous August he had published his *Hirelings*, a pamphlet on this very subject; but for politic reasons he here holds his resentment within bounds. Cf. *Hirelings* (Bohn 3. 40): 'Heretofore in the first evangelic times, (and it were happy for Christendom if it were so again), ministers of the gospel were by nothing else distinguished from other Christians, but by their spiritual knowledge and sanctity of life, for which the church elected them to be her teachers and overseers, though not thereby to separate them from whatever calling she then found them following besides; as the example of St. Paul declares, and the first times of Christianity.'

II. 5a. **ecclesiastical canons.** 'The canon law is a body of Roman ecclesiastical law relative to such matters as that church either has, or pretends to have, the proper jurisdiction over. This is compiled from the opinions of the ancient Latin

fathers, the decrees of general councils, the decretal epistles and bulls of the holy see' (Blackstone, *Comm.* 1, Intro. 82). But as here applied to the Church of England, the expression refers to 'the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical' agreed upon by Convocation, and ratified by King James I under the Great Seal in 1603.

II. 7. **positive laws.** Laws arbitrarily laid down by human authorities, as opposed to the law of nature.

II. 9. **if others of thir number, in these things were under force.** This has particular reference to the Parliament's vote of No-Addresses (Jan. 3, 1648). Milton's argument was called forth by L'Estrange's *Reply to Plain English*, just out in April. In this pamphlet, L'Estrange directly charges that the Parliament (then Presbyterian as well as Independent) was under a force, and explains what it was: 'They were under a Force.—Upon a Debate in the Commons House, concerning the Answer to the 4. Bills, presented to him Dec. 24, 1647 and debated Jan. 3. Commissary Ireton delivered himself after this manner: "The King hath denied safety, and protection to his People by denying the 4. Bills. . . . That it was now expected, after so long patience, they should shew their Resolution, and not desert those valiant men who had engaged for them, beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, *unless the Parliament forsook them first.*"

'From hence naturally results the menace of the Army, in case the Parliament should forsake them. . . . After some more debate Cromwell urged,—"that it was now expected, the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom, by their Own Power and Resolutions; and not teach the People any longer, to expect safety and Government from an Obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened, . . .—lest Despayr Teach them to seek their safety by some other means than adhearing to you; . . . how destructive such a Resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think and leave you to Judge."

'This Speech, concluded the debate; and the better to Impress his meaning, he laid his hand upon his sword, at the

end of it. If this be not a Force, what is? The Power and Inclination of the Army, being the only moving Arguments to obtain the Vote. The Question was then put, and Carried for no more Addresses' (*Tracts*, p. 126). See note on II. 21.

II. 11. **a power which they could not resist.** The army (see notes on II. 9 and II. 21).

II. 12. **they were not therefore to leave the helm.** Milton's fervent and unwavering support of this tenacious 'fag end' of a Parliament won for him the distinctive title of 'The Goose-quill Champion of the Rump.' He could see nothing in its actions but courage, wisdom, a high sense of duty; whereas to most people the Rump had come to stand for tyranny, love of power, greed, and personal ambition.

II. 14. **anarchie and confusion.** The phrase is a happy one, and remains the aptest description of conditions as they existed in England during the interval between the death of Cromwell and the Restoration.

II. 15. **so many of their members left them.** See note on IO. 37a.

II. 16. **three estates.** Lords spiritual, lords temporal, and commons.

II. 16a. **The best affected.** Those most favorably disposed toward the commonwealth which the Independents instituted in January, 1649. The core of this 'best affected' class of the people was the army.

II. 20. **when the house divided upon main matters.** This refers to the opposite positions taken by the Presbyterians and Independents, particularly in the vote of Dec. 5, 1648, with reference to the king's Newport concessions (see note on II. 21) and the question of bringing him to trial.

II. 21. **fear or perswasion.** Cromwell and the army were on hand in December, 1648, to see that the Parliament brought the king to justice. On its voting (140 to 104) on Dec. 5 that Charles' Newport concessions were satisfactory, the army at once called upon all 'faithfull Members' who were 'innocent of these Votes' to 'acquit themselves . . . by Protestation . . . that they' might 'be distinguished,' and forthwith excluded the Presbyterian majority by force. Walker characterizes the

intimidated Parliament as 'a meer Free-Schoole, where *Crommel* is Head-school-master,' and '*Ireton* Usher' (*Hist. Ind.* 2. 30). The account continues: 'They seized upon 41 Members of Parliament, . . . secluded above 160, and frighted away at least 40 or 50 more, leaving only . . . 40 or 50 thriving Members sitting to unvote in a thin House under a force, what had been voted in a full and free House. To vote down the Kingly Office and House of Peers, to vote the Supreme Authority to be in the People, and in the House of Commons as their Representative' (see note on 10. 35). These three votes occurred on Jan. 4. 'The *Diurnall* tells you, *there was not a Negative Voice*: this shews under what a terror they sit, when in (things so apparently untrue) no man durst say, *No*' (*ibid.* 2. 57). Cf. note on 11. 9.

II. 23. **intentions of them that voted.** During the years of the Civil War there was a widespread belief that certain leaders in Parliament were corrupt. Clement Walker, in his *Mystery of the two Juntos* (1648), openly accuses the grandees of both the Independent and Presbyterian factions of conspiring together to enrich themselves from the public revenues: 'There hath been lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived at) at least 300,000 l. in money, besides rich Offices, Employments in money Committees, Sequestrations, and other advantages. . . . Most of these Grandees are reported to have, for their retreat, houses in the Low Countries, richly furnished with Sequestered Plate, Linnen, and Stuff, and great store of money in bank for their shelter. . . . This is called robbing of the Egyptians.' Milton seems to share to some extent in this general mistrust and suspicion. Some acted 'perhaps to bad ends.' But nevertheless, whatever their motives, they accomplished a good work in disposing of Charles, and abolishing kingship.

II. 26. **suppose bad intentions, etc.** The meaning of this clause and the following is obscured through condensation. They may be expanded as follows: suppose the Independent leaders, in putting Charles to death, had been moved by motives of personal ambition, or desire to enrich themselves;

it was a good thing they did, nevertheless ; and it was supported everywhere by all people who thought it to be such, regardless of the motives of those who did it.

II. 29. **Iscariot.** Christ's betrayer. See John 13. 3.

II. 29a. **Simon the magician.** A magician of Samaria who by his arts had acquired great reputation among the people. He was so impressed by the miracles of Philip that he asked for, and received, baptism. Afterward he offered Peter a sum of money for the power of conferring the Holy Ghost. See Acts 8. 9—24.

II. 32. **the better counsels.** That it was useless to negotiate longer with the king, and that it was not only just but necessary to bring him to trial for his misdeeds—the position of the Independents.

II. 32a. **bad ends.** See notes on II. 23 and 20. 19.

II. 33. **the worse.** Further temporizing and conceding, with a view to saving the life of Charles and the institution of kingship.

II. 33a. **best intentions.** The Presbyterian party in the Parliament, until forcibly excluded, endeavored to thwart the inexorable determination of the Independents to bring the king to justice. Milton is not quite willing to impugn their motives in their support of kingship ; indeed, he is fair enough to admit the base motives of certain leaders on the other side.

II. 34. **they were not to learn.** They knew. Cf. Camden, *Hist. of Eliz.*, p. 377 : 'If she had any other aims, they were levell'd chiefly at these marks, the gaining the Affections of her Subjects, the Dread of her Enemies, and the Esteem of all the World : For she *was not to learn*, that those have a very sure and stable Foundation which are begun with Deliberation, and carry'd on with Industry and Care.' Cf. note on 36. 22.

II. 34a. **and yet they were not to learn,** etc. The whole passage is rather obscure, and may be interpreted as follows : 'and yet [= moreover ; besides] they ['the best affected . . . and best principl'd of the people'] were not to learn [= knew ; were not ignorant] that a greater number [= the majority] might be corrupt [as were (?) the Presbyterians who were



ready to vote the king back into power, and were actually conspiring to bring in a Scotch army to suppress the Independents] within the walls of a Parliament as well as of a citie [as London, whose 'rabble' had assaulted Westminster in the days of the Purge and were even now (1660) clamoring for a king]; wherof [= of which state of corruption] in matters of neerest concernment [that is, when it is a matter of being voted back into slavery, and—as in the case of the Independents—of personal safety, or of life itself] all men will be judges [= will have a decided opinion]; etc.

II. 37. **the odds of voices.** Milton believed in the rule of the wisest and best. 'Nothing is more agreeable to the order of nature,' he declared, 'or more for the interest of mankind, than that the less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and in virtue' (*Sec. Def.*: Bohn I. 265). Cf. note on 19. 7. At first a believer in kingship, he could never tolerate the opposite extreme, an 'unbridled democracy,' or be willing to 'submit all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude' (cf. note on 26. 21). The thought seems to have been derived directly from Guicciardini, *Aphorismes* (1606), a book of which Milton made diligent use (see note on 15. 16a). Both writers, however, were probably influenced by Cicero's statement, 'the greatest number, should not have the greatest weight (*ne plurimum valeant plurimi*)' (*De Repub.*, tr. Barham, 2. 226), and by Plato's (see note on 34. 13).

II. 40. **if others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels.** Milton is here attempting to reconcile his defense of Pride's Purge in 1648 with his denunciation of Lambert's similar high-handed exclusion of the Parliament in 1659. He argues that the very lives of the Independents were in danger in 1648. The expression may also contain a veiled censure of Cromwell, although Milton nowhere openly expresses any disloyalty to him.

12. 5. **the treatie.** This was the so-called treaty of Newport, which began Sept. 8, 1648, and was broken off on Oct. 27 by the Parliament's rejection of the king's concessions. See notes on 12. 6a and 12. 7.

12. 6. **seven years warr.** This takes account of the first

Bishops' War (1639), the second Bishops' War (1640), the Civil War from 1642 to 1646, and the second Civil War (1648).

12. 6a. **securitie for twenty years.** One of the king's concessions in the treaty of Newport was that all military control should be given over to Parliament for a period of twenty years.

12. 7. **reformation in the church for three years.** During the Newport negotiations Charles was finally brought to accept Presbyterianism, but with toleration, for a term of three years.

12. 8. **our vanquishd maister.** Charles.

12. 10. **an inquisition for blood.** The full title of this pamphlet, which was published anonymously in July, 1649, is *An Inquisition after Blood, to the Parliament and the Army*. It was written by James Howell, author of the *Epistolæ Holiæ*. Clement Walker refers to the High Court of Justice, set up by the House of Commons Jan. 6, 1649, for the trial of the king, as a 'Spanish Inquisition' (*Hist. Ind.* 3. 42), 'an Arbitrary, Extrajudiciall conventicle of Blood, Cromwell's New Slaughterhouse' (*ibid.* 3. 44).

12. 11. **bishops not totally remov'd,** etc. Milton's position is precisely that taken by Parliament at the time, and expresses the same misgivings. Cf. *Commons Journals*, Oct. 27, 1648: 'Resolved, & . . . That the King's Answer is not satisfactory. . . . 1. The King doth not utterly abolish the Function and Power of Bishops ; . . . but only suspendeth the Exercise of their Function as to Ordination, for the Term of three Years, and no more. . . . 2. That, during the Term of Three Years, the King may make Bishops in the old Manner ; and, at the End of Three Years, the Exercise of their Function, as to the Point of Ordination in the old Manner, is revived in such of the old Bishops as shall be then living ; and in such other new Bishops as the King hath or shall make. 3. Thirdly, That the Form of Church Government, presented to the King by the Houses, is, by his Answer, limited only to the Term of Three Years ; and that, at the End thereof, Provision is only made for Ordination in a Way different from what the Houses have proposed ; and no certain Way settled for any other Thing concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline and Government,

which will be as necessary to be provided as that of Ordination. And this, the Houses do judge, at the End of the Three Years, will expose the Kingdom to new Distractions.' The king's reply even as late as Nov. 23 asserts that 'his Majesty by his former Answer hath totally suspended Episcopal Government for three years, and after the said time, limited the same in the Power of Ordination and Jurisdiction, and that the primitive Office of a Bishop only is by him endeavoured to be preserved, and that the Bishops Lands are heavily charged with Leases for 99 years, and the Deans and Chapters, and other their Dependents taken away' (Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* 7. 1334).

12. 13. **thir lands alreadie sold.** The sale of the Bishops' lands to private individuals, especially to army-men, had been one of the chief sources of revenue during the Civil War (see note on 14. 22).

12. 14. **call'd sacrilege.** This is a reference to the king's answer to one of the Newcastle propositions during the negotiations at Newport. It was, in part, as follows: 'As to these particulars, his Majesty doth again clearly profess, that he cannot with a good Conscience consent to the total Abolition of the Function and Power of Bishops, nor to the intire and absolute Alienation of their Lands, as is desired, because he is yet perswaded in his Judgment that the former is of Apostolical Institution, and that to take away the latter is Sacrilege' (Rushworth, *Hist. Coll.* 7. 1334). Cf. also Milton, *Eikonok.* (Bohn 1. 407): 'That other, which he calls sacrilege, of taking from the clergy that superfluous wealth, which antiquity as old as Constantine, from the credit of a divine vision, counted "poison in the church," hath been ever most opposed by men, whose righteousness in other matters hath been least observed.' The section (xi) of the *Eikon Basilike* to which Milton is here replying contains the following: 'If the straitness of my conscience will not give me leave to swallow down such camels as others do of sacrilege and injustice both to God and man, they have no more cause to quarrel with me than for this, that my throat is not so wide as theirs.'

12. 14a. **delinquents.** On March 27, 1643, the House

interpreted the term as 'any Person or Persons, Ecclesiastical or Temporal, as have raised, or shall raise, Arms against the Parliament, or have voluntarily contributed or shall contribute' to the support of the Royalist cause. On Dec. 8, 1646, it voted thus: 'That if any Person or Persons whatsoever, shall, from henceforth, raise Arms, or maintain Arms, against both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or their Forces, that every such Person and Persons shall die without Mercy: And that his and their whole Estates shall be confiscated' (*Commons Journals*). The king, of course, was the grand delinquent. Cf. note on 33. 37.

12. 15. **accessories punished.** The two most notable examples were Archbishop Laud and Strafford, the latter paying the extreme penalty May 12, 1641, the former, Jan. 10, 1644.

12. 15a. **the chief author.** Laud and Strafford had relentlessly and consistently carried out the policy of 'Thorough' in church and state respectively; but they had been merely faithful instruments. The chief member of the triumvirate was, of course, the king. Milton arraigns him, not only as the prime mover in the long series of civil and ecclesiastical oppressions, but particularly as the chief author of the rebellion in Ireland (see note on 10. 20), and of the Civil War at home. His attitude is precisely that of Cromwell's grim three-days' prayer-meeting at Windsor Castle in April, 1648, which adopted the 'joint resolution' that it was their duty, if ever the Lord brought them back again in peace, 'to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations' (Wm. Allen, *Faithful Memorial: Somers Tracts* 6. 501).

12. 17. **not to give, but to receive laws.** Charles even during his trial refused to recognize the authority of the tribunal, or to answer its questions. The presiding officer, John Bradshaw, had frequently to remind the prisoner at the bar of his position. Cf. Walker, *Hist. Ind.* 2. 92: 'Bradsh.—Sir, . . . your way of Answer is to interrogate the Court, which beseems not you in this condition. You have been told of it twice or thrice.'

12. 17a. **besought, treated with, ... thanked for his gracious concessions.** This was the attitude of the Presbyterians especially. They had been very zealous in beginning and prosecuting the war, but were unwilling to follow the Independents in abolishing kingship, and executing their royal foe. They were ready at all times to submit propositions looking to the restoration of Charles to his dignities. They were willing to accept Charles' final concessions at the Isle of Wight, and, on Dec. 6, even voted them to be a satisfactory basis for settlement, only to be thwarted and turned out of the House by the resolute Independents. 'They had no privilege to sit there, and vote home the author, the impenitent author, of all our miseries, to freedom, honour, and royalty, for a few fraudulent, if not destructive concessions' (*Observations* : Bohn 2. 195).

12. 19. **If this we swore to do.** In taking the Covenant. See note on 10. 11.

12. 20. **bring . . . the whole sea of blood-guiltiness upon our own heads.** Milton goes into the question of blood-guiltiness in the *Eikonoklastes*, and finds that 'whether purposely or unaware, he [Charles] hath confessed both to God and man the blood-guiltiness of all this war to lie upon his own head' (Bohn 1. 449). Assuming this to be true, he argues in the present treatise that any leniency, any deviation from the stern course of justice toward such a manifold murderer, would have been at the peril of bringing down upon their own heads all this blood.

12. 23. **suggested fears and difficulties.** Royalist writers kept the public ear well filled with alarming prophecies as to what could be expected under any form of commonwealth. Complete paralysis of trade, enormous taxes, a corrupt and tyrannical Parliament, perpetual anarchy, illiteracy, and irreligion—these were some of the evils which only monarchy could cure.

12. 27. **these who deferr us.** See Glossary. An allusion to the dictatorship of Monk.

12. 28. **neither so subtle nor so awefull.** If only kingship, with its attendant deep-rooted traditions and prestige, could

be kept out, the people might be trusted to free themselves from any lesser tyranny; as, for example, the dictatorship of Monk.

12. 29. **our actions . . . both at home and abroad.** The achievements of the English commonwealth, both in arms and in diplomacy, were indeed noteworthy. The swift and complete subjugation of Ireland and Scotland; the wresting of naval supremacy from the Dutch; commercial treaties with Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal, and the far-reaching Navigation Act of 1651; persuasion of Mazarin into an alliance against Spain in 1657; and the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz the same year—these were some of the vigorous and splendid accomplishments under Cromwell that raised the new republic, not only in the opinion of Milton, but in the eyes of all Europe, to the very front rank of prestige and power.

12. 33. **several writings.** During the Civil War and commonwealth, ink flowed almost as freely as blood. Thomason records more than 23,000 publications that belong to this brief interval. People in general found relief in innumerable petitions. The army handled sword and pen with equal facility. Its specialty was constitutions; as, for example, the 'Instrument of Government' (1653), and the models of 1655, '57, and '59. Milton's pen was seldom idle, his themes being religious, domestic, and civil liberty.

12. 34. **a spirit in this nation no less noble and well fitted to the liberty of a Commonwealth,** etc. Already in the *Commonplace Book* (p. 177) Milton says that some live best under monarchy, others otherwise—'the form of state' should 'be fitted to the peoples disposition'; and that the Romans 'after thire infancy were ripe for a more free government then monarchy, being in a manner all fit to be Ks.' And even in the present treatise he reluctantly admits that possibly 'monarchie of it self may be convenient to som nations.' A republic, then, is a government for adult nations only—for men who possess the justice and fortitude to rule, and the balance and self-control to obey. Such were the ancient Romans and Greeks, and such Milton believed the English—

excepting the ignorant rabble—to be. It was 'a nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit ; acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to' (*Areop.*: Bohn 2. 90).

12. 36. **Nor was the heroic cause**, etc. Milton dexterously inserts *his* part in the glorious action, partly because he thought well of his effort (see notes on 12. 37 and 13. 1a), but mainly on account of fresh attacks from the critics (see Appendix A. 2).

12. 37. **defended to all Christendom**. The cause of the Parliament sorely needed a defender during the months succeeding the execution of the king, and no one but Milton was deemed equal to the task. Immediately upon the death of Charles appeared what purported to be the king's book, the *Eikon Basilike*, which worked powerfully and dangerously upon the sympathies of the people in behalf of the royal martyr. Against this, Milton directed his *Eikonoklastes* (Oct., 1649), which undertook to counteract its pernicious influence and to vindicate the action of the regicides. Salmasius, reputed to be the foremost scholar in Europe, now came forward with a defense of the king. Milton replied in the magnificent *Defense of the People of England*, completely crushing—even mangling—his distinguished antagonist (see note on 12. 38). As to the success of the *Defense*, Toland records that 'that excellent Critic monsieur Baile,' and 'the unanimous suffrage of foreners,' agree '*that he defended the republican Cause with a world of address and wit*'; 'there could be no dispute about the victory he obtained over his adversary' (*Life of Milton* 1. 82, 84). Milton himself says that it 'sufficed some years . . . to convince and satisfie the unengaged of other nations in the justice' of their 'doings' (*Hirelings*: Bohn 3. 2). 'And this I can truly say, that, as soon as my Defence appeared, and had begun to excite the public curiosity, there was no public functionary of any prince or state then in the city, who did not congratulate me when we accidentally met, who did not desire my company at his house or visit me at mine' (*Sec. Def.*: Bohn 1. 278).

12. 38. **a famous and thought invincible adversarie.** This was Salmasius, or Claude de Saumaise (1588—1653), a celebrated French classical philologist, who succeeded Scaliger in 1632 as professor in the University of Leyden. His reputation rests mainly upon his discovery of the Greek *Anthology* of Kephalas at Heidelberg (1606), and upon such works as *Plinianæ Exercitationes in Solinum* (1629), *De Lingua Hellenistica* (1643), and *De Re Militari Romanorum* (pub. 1657). But the book that drew down upon him Milton's terrific, annihilating rejoinder was his *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I* (1649). In this same year Salmasius was invited to the court of the learned young Christina of Sweden; and it was precisely here, in the midst of extravagant homage, that Milton's fierce *Defensio* fell upon him. For Milton's own exultant account of his 'complete and glorious victory' over 'that fierce advocate of despotism; till then reputed invincible in the opinion of many, and in his own conceit,' see the *Second Defense*. Milton takes no small pleasure in recording his opponent's 'loss to his reputation,' which began to 'wither in neglect,' and even finds a sort of grim satisfaction in the thought, 'there are some, who impute his death to the penetrating severity of my strictures.' 'Il avoit une érudition immense, mais superficielle' (H. Hauser, *La Grande Encycl.*).

13. 1. **superstition and tyrannie.** These stand, of course, for episcopacy and kingship respectively.

13. 1a. **a written monument, likely to outlive detraction.** Milton was not without an adequate opinion of himself and of his works, and his deliberate judgment was that the *Defense of the People of England* would endure. He was 'handling almost the greatest subject that ever was'; and he was determined 'not to be at all wanting . . . to this most noble cause, and most worthy to be recorded to all future ages.' To this end he made use of all his classical learning, all his ability in argumentation, all his fiery patriotism, and all his boundless resources of satire and invective. The result was such a masterpiece of its kind as had never before been written. It not only laid bare to astonished Europe the shallow sophistries of the renowned Salmasius, his poor logic, bad Latin, unsound



learning, and domestic troubles; but it so defended and exalted the recent actions of the English republic as to win the profound respect of sovereigns themselves. All this, Milton felt, constituted good grounds for believing that the 'monument' would not soon be destroyed.

13. 2. **covinc'd or silenc'd not a few of our detractors.** Salmasius, although he returned from Sweden breathing slaughter against Milton, seemed reluctant to grapple again with 'that English mastiff.' His counter-attack remained unfinished at his death in 1653. Milton's *Defensio* produced a tremendous impression abroad. In Paris it was publicly burned. In Holland and Sweden it was eagerly read and discussed. Milton seems proudest of all that it won the approval of Christina, the 'Serene Queen of Sweden,' who declared that he 'had not written a word against kings, but only against tyrants, the spots and pests of royalty.' This, Milton gratefully acknowledges, 'served to efface the unfavorable impression' against him 'at other courts, and to rescue' him 'from the evil surmises of other sovereigns' (*Sec. Def.*: Bohn I. 248-9). See also Masson, *Life of Milton* 4. 316-20.

13. 5. **many years possessd.** Since the pulling down of bishops, lords, and king in 1649.

13. 6. **those unhappie interruptions.** These were the various interferences of the army with Parliament, and particularly that one of the preceding October, when Lambert placed soldiers at the doors of the House of Commons, and prevented the members from assembling (see *Introd.*, p. xviii). There had been many arbitrary purgings and exclusions under Cromwell, which Milton had defended (see notes on 10. 37 and 20. 17). But, during the few months of Richard's crumbling dictatorship, the army became increasingly meddlesome and domineering. In April, 1659, officers Fleetwood and Desborough completely overawed Richard, and compelled him to dissolve Parliament. On April 22 a council of officers assumed the government, and instituted the reign of the sword. On May 7 the Rump was set up again in a make-believe authority. Finally, when Lambert turned it out once more in October,

Milton denounced the 'scandalous' behaviour of the army in the strongest terms (see *Intro.*, p. xviii).

13. 7. **now the third time.** This was the second restoration, or third assembling, of the original Rump Parliament. On April 20, 1653, Cromwell had almost literally stamped it out of existence. Upon the downfall of Richard this famous remnant had been restored by the army, May 7, 1659, only to be barred out again by Lambert in October. The army-*régime* soon collapsing, the Rump was recalled to supreme authority Dec. 26, 1659. This last deliverance from the rule of the sword seemed to Milton truly providential.

13. 8. **our old Patriots, the first Assertours of our religious and civil rights.** During the protectorates of Oliver and Richard, many of the original Rumpers, including most of the regicide-members, refrained from having any part in the Oliverian innovation. A considerable number, however, had not scrupled to sit in the protectorate Parliaments; so that the House which came again into power in 1659 was far from being a restoration of uncompromising republicans. However, it did contain many 'old Patriots' and 'first Assertours'—men who had resolutely abolished kingship, episcopacy, and the House of Lords in 1649. Cf. notes on 20. 27 and 20. 29.

13. 10. **certain hopes.** The reassembling of the old Parliament in December, pledged as it was to immediate action and republican principles, seemed almost to justify 'certain hopes' that a free commonwealth was about to be realized. The overwhelming of this little body in February by the re-admission of the secluded members made such hopes quite absurd; but, as if unwilling to acknowledge this, the sentence is allowed to stand unchanged in the second edition.

13. 14. **to creep back so poorly as it seems the multitude would.** It was one of Milton's chief purposes in this treatise to stem the mad infatuation of the people with kingship. Accordingly, he describes the proposed move as an abject and voluntary exchange of freedom for slavery—an action comparable only to the base creeping back of a beaten cur to the feet of its insolent master.

**13. 18. though don by som to covetous and ambitious ends.** See notes on 11. 23, 11. 26, and 13. 22.

**13. 22. mixture of bad men.** The avarice and personal ambition of certain leaders in Parliament and the army are accepted by Milton as deplorable facts. A clique of grandees, of both Presbyterian and Independent factions in Parliament, was accused on all hands of corruption (see note on 11. 23). In handling, through loose and irresponsible committees (see note on 26. 38), the vast revenues collected during the Interregnum, it could hardly be otherwise than that some hands were defiled. As to political ambitions in army-leaders, the Fleetwood-Lambert conspiracy and usurpation in October, 1659, are typical of the almost constant intrigues among the superior officers. Milton, however, never loses faith in the integrity of the rank and file of both bodies, and will therefore not desert their cause.

**13. 31. a strange degenerate corruption.** Nothing short of an infectious disease could account for this abnormal clamor for kingship upon the part of a liberty-loving people—'which low dejection and debasement of mind in the people, I must confess, I cannot willingly ascribe to the natural disposition of an Englishman' (*Eikonok.*: Bohn 1. 313).

**13. 33. a scorn and derision to all our neighbours.** England, in welcoming kingship again, might well expect the scorn of the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the commonwealths of Italy; and still more, the derision of those monarchies—France especially—that had been made to tremble by its summary vengeance upon Charles in 1649. There were many such appeals to national pride and sense of shame. 'How are we become the tail, and not the head, a hissing, yea a scorn to the basest of nations' (Wm. Allen, *Faithful Memorial: Somers Tracts* 6. 502). 'The world admires and derides our causeless confusions. . . . If we look into our neighbour nations, we are the subjects of their mirth, and the song of the scornful' (*Awake O England: Harl. Misc.* 1. 276).

**13. 35. that foolish builder.** See Luke 14. 28—30.

**14. 3. be another Rome in the west.** Rome had once

banished its kings (see note on 26. 18a), and had towered aloft as a republic for five hundred years. Just so 'the glorious rising Commonwealth' of England, so auspiciously begun in 1649, had aspired to stand as a tower 'to overshadow kings and be another Rome in the west.'

**14. 5. confusion, not of tongues, but of factions.** The Parliament during the Civil War was composed of two principal factions—Presbyterians and Independents (see Clement Walker's *Mystery of the two Juntos*, and *History of Independency*). The Independents, at first but a handful, rose to an equality in strength with the Presbyterians, and were left in control of the House at Pride's Purge; but the Presbyterians regained the ascendancy upon the readmission of the secluded members in 1660. Besides these main factions, there were numerous others—Oliverians, anti-Oliverians, Fifth-Monarchy men, etc. (see note on 20. 19, and *Introd.*, pp. xx–xxii).

**14. 9. look on our neighbours the United Provinces.** It was natural that Milton should turn often and admiringly toward the Netherlands, which was an exemplification and working model, under the very eyes of England, of all or most of the ideas he was championing. Its government was a confederation of sovereign units; utmost liberty of conscience prevailed; the people were courageous, diligent, and prosperous beyond any other nation of Europe (see note on 14. 14).

**14. 12. greater difficulties.** When, after the sacking of Antwerp by the Spaniards (Nov. 4, 1576), 'the States of Brabant, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, and other countries on the one hand, and those of Holland and Zeeland with their confederates on the other hand, mutually agreed (Nov. 8, 1576) to unite with each other for expelling the Spaniards and other foreigners out of the country, and afterwards to promote the calling together and assembling of the States General to the end that they might regulate the affairs of the nation' (Bor, *Oorspronck*, 1621, 9. 191; in Barker, *Netherlands*, p. 96), they were undertaking to throw off the yoke of the mightiest nation in the world. The odds were soon made more appalling

by the withdrawal of the Spanish-Catholic states, Artois, Hainault, and Douay. Yet the Protestants quickly bound themselves together by the Union of Utrecht (Jan. 23, 1579), and successfully maintained their independence.

14. 14. **potent and flourishing Republic.** The United Provinces not only threw off the yoke of Spain, but also quickly robbed her of world-wide supremacy. During the first half of the seventeenth century, Holland possessed the largest fleet and the finest army in Europe. Through her fisheries, manufacturing, and commerce she became the richest nation in the world. Cf. Owen Felltham, *Brief Character of the Low Countries* (1652): 'There hardly is upon earth such a school of martial discipline. It is the Christian world's academy for arms, whither all the neighbour-nations resort to be instructed. . . . Their merchants are at this day the greatest of the universe. . . . Want of idleness keeps them from want; and it is their diligence makes them rich. . . . You would think being with them, you were in old Israel, for you find not a beggar among them. . . . As they on the sea, so the women are busy on land in weaving of nets, and helping to add to the heap.' Felltham records that they had 800 fish-boats, 1600 large ships, and an army of 60,000 men. See also Howell, *Familiar Letters* 1. 199 (ed. Bennett).

14. 16. **Besides this,** etc. Here begins the enormous sentence of the treatise. Masson makes the best of it by saying that its length 'indicates the glow and rapidity of the dictation.' Certainly Milton does here rise to a prophetic mood and vision. Cf. Stern, *Milton und Seine Zeit* 2. 233: 'Er sah indessen ein, dass diese akademischen Gründe im damaligen Augenblick nicht genügen konnten. Er appellierte an das Gefühl und an die Berechnung seiner Landsleute, und dabei steigert sich sein Pathos nicht selten zur Höhe prophetischen Schmerzes.'

14. 16a. **soon repent, as undoubtedly we shall.** The words were prophetic. Upon the Stuarts' return the flood-gates of every sort of vice were thrown wide open—cause sufficient in itself soon to bring about a repentance. More immediately

effective, however, was the fact that Popery began at once to flourish in England. Along with these unpopular innovations, came the attack upon municipal charters. The general dissatisfaction was only deepened by the elevation of James to the throne in 1685; for James was as vicious as Charles and far less popular, and, besides, was a professed Catholic. The rebellions of Argyll and Monmouth followed. And when finally in 1688 an invitation is extended to William of Orange to land in England, it recites 'that the greatest part of the nobility and gentry are as much dissatisfied as themselves [the seven patriots]; that nineteen out of every twenty are desirous of a change; that very many of the common soldiers do daily show such an aversion to the Popish religion that there is the greatest probability they would desert; and amongst the sea-men there is not one in ten who would do James any service' (Hale, *Fall of the Stuarts*, p. 130).

14. 19. **which must necessarily proceed from king and bishop united.** The pernicious effects of such union had come under Milton's personal observation at the time when Laud and Charles had been at one in putting through their policy of 'Thorough.' The tyranny of king or bishop was galling enough, but of both united, unendurable—the 'forcers of conscience' and the power of the sword constituting a perfect monopoly of oppression. Milton's prose works are strewn with denunciations of this union of church and state. In the first place, it is ruinous to the church: 'For when the church without temporal support is able to do her great works upon the unforced obedience of men, it argues a divinity about her. But when she thinks to credit and better her spiritual efficacy, and to win herself respect and dread by strutting in the false vizard of worldly authority, it is evident that God is not there, but that her apostolic virtue has departed from her' (*Reason of Ch. Gov.*: Bohn 2. 489). 'Neither is it unknown, or by wisest men unobserved, that the church began then most apparently, to degenerate, and go to ruin, when she borrowed of the civil power more than fair encouragement and protection; more than which Christ himself and his apostles never required' (*Observations*: Bohn 2. 185).

It is bad for the state—even for kingship. In the *Reformation* (Bohn 2. 393), Milton scouts the idea, 'no bishop, no king,' and undertakes 'to prove that episcopacy with that authority which it challenges in England is not only not agreeable, but tending, to the destruction of monarchy.'

Moreover, it means oppression for all under their sway. The prelates, those 'illiterate and blind guides' (*Reformation* : Bohn 2. 411), having come from 'a mean and plebeian life on a sudden to be lords of stately palaces' (*ibid.* 2. 382), are certain to be 'Egyptian task-makers of ceremonies' (*ibid.* 2. 377). 'What numbers of faithful and free born Englishmen, and good Christians, have been constrained to forsake their dearest home, their friends and kindred, whom nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter from the fury of the bishops' (*ibid.* 2. 399). Milton's advice is to leave the state to men 'thoroughly tried,' to 'leave the church to its own government; . . . no longer suffer two powers, so different, . . . to commit fornication together, and by their mutual and delusive aids in appearance to strengthen, but in reality to weaken and finally to subvert, each other' (*Sec. Def.* : Bohn 1. 293).

The testimony of the *Commonplace Book* proves that Milton's idea of the separation of church and state found confirmation in Dante. A large passage is excerpted from the *Purgatory*, Cant. 16, wherein Dante laments that 'the sword is joined to the crozier,' and declares that 'the two together must perforce go ill, because, being joined one fears not the other.'

14. 21. **forc'd perhaps to fight over again.** See note on 14. 16a.

14. 22. **and spend over again all that we have spent.** The following items are selected from 'A General Abstract of Money raised in England by the Long Parliament, from November 3, 1640, to November, 1659,' which, in its entirety, reaches the sum of £95,303,095 1s. 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d.:

	l.	s.	d.
Subsidies . . . . .	600,000		
The armies . . . . .	32,780,721	13	
Tonnage and poundage . . . . .	5,700,000		
Sale of Irish Lands . . . . .	1,322,500		
Sequestration of estates . . . . .	6,044,924	17	
Composition for court of wards . . . . .	1,000,000		
"    " estates . . . . .	1,277,226		
Sale of English lands . . . . .	25,380,687	3	11½
Compound with Irish delinquents . . . . .	1,000,000		
To the house of Commons, 14 years, comes to	745,472		
Free gifts to the saints, viz.			
in money . . . . .	679,800		
in offices . . . . .	306,110		
in estates, per an. . . . .	189,365		

(*A Letter to a new Member of the House of Commons: Harl. Misc. 6. 319.*)

14. 27. **signal assistances from heaven.** 'You are not ashamed to rob Oliver Cromwell himself,' said the authors of the *Censure*, 'and make use of his canting, with signal assistances from heaven, and answering condescensions' (Appendix B, p. 177). The charge, of course, is absurd, so far as any robbery is concerned; but it is interesting to note the common stock of pious terms employed by the two great Puritans. Cromwell speaks of Dunbar as 'one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England.' He writes Admiral Blake, June 10, 1657, that the 'mercy' in God's 'assisting' him 'is very signal.' Other favorite phrases are: 'gracious Dispensation,' 'remarkable providences,' 'appearances of the Lord,' 'mercy vouchsafed,' 'deliverances.' It is apparent that Milton's terms are Cromwell's, and that both held the same underlying conception of God's working with and for men in the cause of right. 'God himself,' says Milton, 'condescends, and works with his own hands to fulfil the requests of men' (*Apol.*: Bohn 3. 150).

14. 30. **regal concessions.** See note on 16. 31.

15. 5. **all Scotland.** Having completely subdued the rebellious Irish, Cromwell entered Scotland in July, 1650, upon



a similar mission. On Sept. 3 he defeated Leslie at Dunbar, and one year from that day completely shattered the Scotch forces under Charles in the battle of Worcester. By the following year the conquest was practically complete, and Scotland, now under the Cromwellian policy of union, free trade, and law-reform, was turned over to the guardianship of General Monk. The Restoration did mean, as Milton predicted, the loss of all that Cromwell had instituted in Scotland, and not until 1707 were the ideas of union and free trade again realized, while the 'abolition of hereditary jurisdictions' was delayed almost a century (1746) (Firth, *Cromwell*, p. 299).

15. 6. **which never any of our kings could conquer.** Cf. *Sec. Defense* (Bohn 1. 287): 'In about the space of one year you entirely subdued, and added to the English dominion, that kingdom which all our monarchs, during a period of 800 years, had in vain struggled to subject.' Buchanan, with whose *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579) Milton was familiar, asserted with pride that Scotland had been free from foreign domination for two thousand years.

15. 9. **our late miraculous deliverances.** A very great number of events that were accounted such by the Puritans might be reckoned up, including the 'deliverances' from kingship, lords, and bishops. But the immediate reference here is to the sudden and complete collapse of the army-rule in December, 1659. The downfall of Fleetwood, Lambert, and other officers followed immediately a succession of events (see *Introd.*, p. xviii) that seemed nothing short of miraculous. Milton's thankfulness is the greater because this put an end to the fears and rumors of a deep conspiracy to set up Lambert as king, or at least as a sort of Duke of Venice (see note on 29. 5).

15. 14. **wisest men in all ages, etc.** Among these were Moses and Samuel, who warned against kingship; Plato, who projected an ideal republic; Aristotle, who in the *Politics* assumed 'that a condition of more independence is preferable to one of less,' and declared that 'it is the principle of reciprocal equality which is the preservation of states'; Lycurgus and Solon, the wise lawgivers of Sparta and Athens;

the Romans, who banished their kings; Augustine, who held that men should not have dominion over men, but over beasts (see note on 19. 14), and that they who rule are but servants; Machiavelli, who declared that 'God himself never made but one government for men,' and that this 'was a commonwealth'; Calvin, who 'will not deny that either the government of the chiefest men, or a state tempered of it and common government, far excelleth all other'; Bodin, who placed all sovereignty in the people unless voluntarily surrendered, and professed to fashion his politics after 'the best lawes and rules of the most flourishing common weals'; Sir Thomas More, who in his *Utopia* scorned 'bondage to Kynges'; Sir Thomas Smith, Mariana, Hotman, Guicciardini, Sir Thomas Fortescue, and a multitude of voices that were heard in the century of the Reformation, as also in Milton's, insistently speaking in praise of freedom, and specifically advocating a commonwealth, either wholly popular or under a merely nominal prince.

15. 16. **due libertie.** Sir Walter Raleigh was of the opinion that 'where Liberty aboundeth, there confusion and disorder follow' (*Cabinet Council* 25. 107); and Milton, who published this treatise in 1658, occupies substantially the same position. His ideal lies midway between absolute monarchy, on the one hand, and a 'licentious and unbridled democracy, on the other. The Greeks and the Romans 'ruined themselves with their own excessive power.' 'The main reason urged why popular assemblies are to be trusted with the people's liberty, rather than a senate of principal men, . . . is by experience found false.' In the *Second Defense* (Bohn 1. 288) he declared that 'nothing in the world is more pleasing to God, more agreeable to reason, more politically just, or more generally useful, than that the supreme power should be vested in the best and wisest of men.' In short, he is for an aristocracy of the wise and good. See notes on 11. 37 and 34. 13.

The reasons for Milton's aristocratic ideas of government are to be found in his unique conception of liberty, and his supreme contempt for the rabble. Of the latter point he says to Salmasius: 'Then you inveigh against the Common People,

as being *blind and brutish, ignorant of the art of governing*; you say there's *nothing more empty, more vain, more inconstant, more uncertain than they*. All of which is very true of yourself, and it's true likewise of the rabble.' In the *Second Defense* he defines freedom: 'To be free is the same thing exactly as to be pious, wise, just, temperate, self-providing, abstinent from the property of other people, and, in fine, magnanimous and brave.' All this the rabble is not, and therefore it is not fit to be free, or to enjoy the right of free suffrage. 'For why should any one then assert for you the right of free suffrage, or the power of electing whom you will to Parliament? . . . Should one entrust the commonwealth to those to whom nobody would entrust a matter of private business? . . . It is a thing ratified by law and nature herself that whosoever cannot manage himself, whosoever through imbecility or phrenzy of mind cannot rightly administer his own affairs, should not be in his own power, but should be given over as a minor to the government of others; and least of all should such an one be preferred to influence in other people's business or in the commonwealth.' Cf. the following note.

15. 16a. **proportiond equalitie.** There were two conceptions of equality current among political theorists of the seventeenth century: equality in an arithmetical sense, man to man, by right of birth; and an equality proportioned to rank, wealth, and personal merit. Milton was strongly in favor of this latter idea (see note on 19. 7), which is fully set forth by Guicciardini (*Aphorismes* 4. 24), as follows: 'The name of Equality truly understood, is one of the most just and profitable things that is in a State: namely, when it is taken in a Geometricall sense and proportion. For as in a matter of tax or imposition, the best levy is not by the pole, but according to every mans hability; and as in conferring of dignities and offices, the best choise is according to every mans worth and sufficiency for the place: So in the deliberation of State affaires and decision of doubts of greatest consequence the soundest judgement should bear the greatest stroke: and voyces should be considered, not by the number, but by the weight.'

The resemblance between this passage and certain expressions in *The Ready and Easy Way* is most striking; and we know from the *Commonplace Book* that Milton read, and took notes from, Guicciardini.

15. 17. **most cherishing to vertue and true religion.** 'This Cola,' says Machiavelli, 'took occasion in all his Discourse . . . to magnify their Felicity, whose Fortune it was to be borne and brought up in a Commonwealth, affirming, that all famous men had their Education, not under Princes, but Republicks; the latter preferring them as vertuous, the others destroying them as dangerous' (*Hist. of Florence: Wks.*, p. 155). And, speaking for himself, he says: 'As for Asia, it has not produced many extraordinary men, because that Province was wholly under a Monarchy. . . . In Africa it was the same, by reason of the Carthaginian Republick: for Commonwealths do furnish the World with more brave men than Kingdoms; because in States, virtue is many times honoured and advanced; in Monarchies and Kingdoms it is suspected; from whence it proceeds that in the one it is encouraged, in the other exploded' (*Art of War: Wks.*, p. 464).

That Milton's thought here was derived from Machiavelli's, or at least was colored by the passage quoted above, is rendered extremely probable by their striking similarity, and by the fact that the *Commonplace Book* (p. 177) contains the following direct quotation: 'Respub-regno potior:—perche delle repub. escano piu huomini eccellenti, che de regni: per che in quelle il piu delle volte si honora la virtù, ne regni si teme, &—*Macchiavel. arte di guerra. l. 2, p. 63.*' Cf. note on 30. 24.

15. 19. **planely commended or rather enjoind by our Saviour.** See Mark 10. 42–5; Luke 22. 25–7.

15. 21. **brand of Gentilism upon kingship.** See Appendix B, p. 177.

15. 24. **Christ apparently forbids.** See Appendix B, p. 177.

15. 34. **That he speaks of civil government.** Milton here 'wrests Scripture most unmercifully,' as his critics affirmed (see Appendix B, p. 177), or else ignores the fact that the

Oriental mind deals in analogy and symbol rather than in strict logic. See the following note.

15. 35. **infers the other part to be, etc.** Logically necessitates the other part to be, etc. Christ's thought seems to be: among the Gentiles, greatness is measured by lordship; among you, it shall be measured by service. Milton's remarkable inference is that inasmuch as Christ speaks of civil government in the first sentence, he must perforce be speaking of civil government in the second sentence!

16. 4. **perpetual servants and drudges to the publick.** Milton's whole life exemplifies his theory of the duty and the dignity of service. Conscious of his peculiar powers, he early resolved upon 'laborious days,' and dedicated himself to the high service of men in song. But, led by the same ideal, he freely laid aside his art at the beginning of the Civil War, to serve with all his time and energy the more immediate and pressing needs of the commonwealth—as champion of civil and religious liberty, as Latin secretary, and as defender of the whole English nation; and in the present pamphlet he ventured 'at all hazard' to speak. Finally, in the closing years of his life, with his 'singing robes' once more about him, he rendered the world the noblest service of all.

Milton found this ideal of service at the very heart of the Gospel—the central ideal of Christianity; but its application to governmental obligations he read in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (19. 16): 'Si in principatu politico aliqua est servitus, magis proprie servus est qui præest quam qui subest.' See also note on 19. 14.

16. 5. **at thir own cost and charges.** 'Sir, know that my hands were never soiled with the guilt of peculation; and that I never was even a shilling the richer by those exertions' (*Sec. Defense*: Bohn i. 243). As Latin secretary, however, Milton did receive a fairly good salary (£288 13s. 6<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>d. a year). This, however, was as nothing compared with the princely salaries of those about him. For example, Major-General Lambert received approximately £6500; Mr. John Thurloe, secretary of state, 'a vast income'; Major-General Desbrow, approximately £3200; Lieutenant-General Fleet-

wood (Cromwell's son-in-law), approximately £6600; Lord Whitelock, commissioner of the treasury, £1000; General Blake, of the navy, £1095; etc. (*A Narrative of the late Parliament: Harl. Misc.* 3. 449).

16. 9. **ador'd like a Demigod.** Cf. Plato, *Laws* 4. 713: 'Cronos knew . . . that no human nature invested with supreme power is able to order human affairs and not overflow with insolence and wrong. Which reflection led him to appoint not men but demigods, who are of a higher and more divine race, to be the kings and rulers of our cities.'

Milton has only the utmost scorn for kings who pretend to any sort of divinity peculiar to themselves. The king is always 'a mortal man.' The *Commonplace Book* has many notes justifying this view; as: 'Augustus imperii formatur ne dominum quidem dici se volebat, et hoc enim Dei est cognomen; dicam plane imperatorem dominum, sed quando non cogor ut dominum, dei vice dicam; cæterum liber sum illi, dominus meus deus unus est, &c. Tertull. apologet. p. 31, edit. rigalt. qui pater patriæ est, quomodo dominus est? ibid.'

16. 10. **dissolute and haughtie court.** Cf. *Eikonok.* (Bohn 1. 340): 'Gentlemen indeed! the ragged infantry of stews and brothels; the spawn and shipwreck of taverns and dicing houses.'

16. 11. **vast expence.** Milton, like all the pamphleteers of the day, makes free use of the argument of expense, for hardly any other was so effective with the common people. Kingship, he affirms, is 'burdensome,' 'expensive,' 'chargeable.' If the people turn again to the king, to their 'own cost' they shall find it. 'A new royal-revenue must be found; a new episcopal.' There is sure to be a dissolute court 'of vast expence' and luxury, and that 'on the publick revenue.' They may look for new and 'heavy impositions on all men's purses.' Besides, 'could the folly be paralleled,' after the 'expense of so much blood and treasure'? Cf. note on 16. 29.

While there was undoubtedly in Milton an admiration for economy and thrift, yet he was by no means willing to 'set to sale religion, libertie, honour, safetie, all concernments divine or human to keep up trading.' One can not agree with Dr.

Johnson that Milton 'never gave any better reason' for his being 'an acrimonious and surly republican than that a popular government was the most frugal.'

16. 11a. **masks and revels.** The courts of James and Charles had given the utmost encouragement to such diversions. Henrietta Maria herself had taken a part in the rehearsal of *The Shepherd's Pastoral* in 1632, and Charles in like manner dignified Carew's *Calum Britannicum* in 1634. More than £21,000 was expended upon Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* the same year. All the mechanical genius of Inigo Jones, all the musical talent of Henry Lawes, and all the poetical powers of Jonson, Shirley, and Carew were lavished upon these fantastic and gorgeous productions. Milton himself had written, in *Comus*, the very finest of masques. See Glossary.

16. 11b. **to the debauching of our prime gentry both male and female.** Milton was thoroughly familiar with the following precedent from Machiavelli's *History of Florence* (*Wks.*, p. 43). 'Many persons of French extraction repair'd to him [the Duke of Athens], and he preferr'd them all, as the most faithful of his friends; so that in a short time Florence was not only subject to the Frenchmen, but to the French customs and garb; all People, Men as well as Women, without respect of indecency or inconvenience, imitating them in all things. It troubled them to see honest conversation corrupted, and civil modesty despised: But that which was incomparably the most displeasing, was the violence he and his Creatures us'd to the Women, without any regret.' It was just such a general imitation of French looseness and gaiety among the gentry of England that Milton feared would result from the coming in of Charles, half French by blood, and wholly so by education and disposition.

16. 15. **a queen . . . outlandish and a Papist.** See Glossary. Charles, like his father, had some difficulty in selecting a bride. As for Protestant princesses, he would have none of them. Cardinal Mazarin refused him one of his nieces. Personally, he preferred the Spanish Infanta; but he finally decided to take Catherine of Portugal, who brought with her considerable wealth. The marriage occurred May 21, 1662. Milton proved to be correct in both surmises.

16. 16. **a queen mother such alreadie.** See notes on 10. 18 and 36. 28.

16. 17. **a royal issue.** Charles died without legitimate offspring, but not without a numerous bastard progeny.

16. 19. **bred up then to the hopes not of public, but of court offices.** Even so holy a man as George Herbert found in the glitter and fascination of the court his supreme life-struggle. See his poem *Affliction*.

16. 20. **stewards, chamberlains,** etc. Milton's profound contempt for courts and court-employments urges him here to the verge of coarseness. Cf. note on 16. 10.

16. 25. **French court.** This was the court of Louis XIV, which, under the influence of that elegant young monarch, was soon to become the most magnificent in Europe. At this time, however, it was still presided over by the queen-regent, Anne of Austria, over whom Cardinal Mazarin, her prime minister, exercised unlimited control. Mazarin was shrewd, unscrupulous, and designing. It is said that his financial agent, Fouquet, 'bought every one who was worth buying.' After the political power of the Huguenots had been broken by Richelieu, a policy of conciliation was inaugurated, which Mazarin, by every art of blandishment and bribery, consistently continued throughout his ministry.

16. 29. **the burden of expence.** Milton's fellow-journalist, Marchamont Needham, warned the people of 'the yet unknown taxations which must needs be established to satisfy the forlorn brethren of the sword, and . . . maintain the pomp and pride of a luxurious court.' He continues: 'If ye think ye shall be eased of excise, taxes, &c. by letting him in, ye will be miserably mistaken: for these vast charges will presently ensue: 1. A large expence for maintaining the splendors of a royal court; which must be had by resuming king, queen, and princes lands [which was done]; . . . or else drained perpetually out of the peoples purses. 2. There must be a course taken to find a reward for foreigners, if any come in (as 'tis past question they will . . .); and if they should not come, yet Charles's followers and leaders, the younger brothers, with the sons of fortune, and the brethren of the blade, must all



be provided for. . . . 3. Besides the publick debts of the nation, which must be paid, the young man hath innumerable vast debts contracted by himself beyond sea ; those must be paid too. . . . The necessities would so increase, by Charles, that they must, upon his coming in, be trebled to what they are now upon you' (*Interest will not Lye*: Harris, *Life of Charles I*, p. 290). See note on 16. 11.

16. 31. **which we are now so greedily cheapning.** From the moment that Monk turned against the Rump in favor of a free Parliament, it was a foregone conclusion that the king was to come in. 'The question seemed only to be upon what terms they should admit him' (Clarendon, *Hist.* 16. 160). The cavaliers and Old Royalists generally were for unconditional restoration ; the Presbyterians were anxious about their church, their estates, and their personal safety, and were therefore anxious to drive the best possible bargain with the exile. It was Monk's policy to insist upon 'the most rigid propositions' (*ibid.* 16. 160) when in conference with Royalists, and yet secretly to arrange for an unconditional restoration. He was in constant communication with Charles after March 17, but he took good care to keep all dark to his Presbyterian council of state. He submitted his 'humble Advice, that his Majesty should prevent their Fears, by declaring a free and general Pardon to all his Subjects . . . except such as should be exempted by the Parliament. And that he would consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament, that should be presented to him for the Settlement of publick Sales and Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Soldiers, and others ; and the Payment of the Soldiers Arrears : As also for Toleration of Liberty of Conscience to all his Subjects ; and that none should be punished for Differences in Matters of Religion who should not disturb the publick Peace' (Baker, *Chron.*, p. 605) Charles adopted, in part, these suggestions in his Declaration of Breda, April 14, and submitted the rest entirely to the discretion of the Parliament. Monk now felt it safe to come out openly for unconditional recall ; whereupon a Presbyterian move in Parliament to rejuvenate the Newport propositions and concessions was abandoned.

16. 37. **pageant himself up and down.** The figure is derived from the pageants, or double-decked, movable vans, which served as dressing-room and stage in the enacting of the old mystery-plays. Machiavelli, describing such a scene of pomp and servility, says: 'They who had never been accustom'd to any Regal pomp . . . could not without sorrow behold the Duke environ'd with his Guards both on foot and on horseback. But their destruction being in his hands, they were necessitated to dissemble and to court and honour him outwardly whom they hated at their hearts' (*Hist. of Florence: Wks.*, p. 43). Buchanan also—and perhaps first—called to Milton's attention the custom of a king to appear 'at his levee dressed, for idle show, like a girl's doll, in all the colours of the rainbow, and surrounded with vast Parade by an immense crowd' (*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*).

17. 5. **a late court-Poet.** A search through the court-poets has not revealed the lines referred to. Evidently the reference does not go back as far as to Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* 1. 2. 6-9:

and therefore, like a cipher,  
Yet standing in rich place, I multiply  
With one 'We thank you,' many thousands moe  
That go before it.

The figure was a very common one. Cf. Bodin, *Repub.*: 'To whom nothing was left but the bare name of a prince, standing but for a cipher'; Butler, *Characters*: 'A Huffing Courtier is a Cypher, that has no Value himself, but from the Place he stands in.' We know that some of Butler's satire was afloat before the Restoration, but he would hardly be classed as a 'late Court-poet.'

17. 9. **a mischief, a pest, a scourge.** Such Milton had considered the late king, who had 'offered at more cunning fetches to undermine our liberties, and put tyranny into an art, than any British king before him'; and nothing better was to be expected of his son.

17. 10. **not to be remov'd.** Milton is writing from observation and experience, as well as from a knowledge of historical precedent. The long and bitter war by which Charles

had been overthrown and brought to justice is freshly before him. He knew that kingship strikes its roots deeply into English life and character, and, strengthened by centuries of tradition, is 'not to be remov'd' without the universal upheaval of society. He is the more anxious, therefore, that this heroic work, already accomplished, shall not have been in vain.

17. 14. **any governour or chief counsellour.** In a commonwealth such officers are merely servants, delegated by the people as their temporary representatives. No superstitions of divinity or prerogative hedge them about. At any time they are subject to impeachment, trial, and removal at the hands of those who set them up, in whom sovereignty resides.

17. 17. **must needs be madd or strangely infatuated.** Why a people whose spirit was 'no less noble and well-fitted to the liberty of a commonwealth, then in the ancient Greeks and Romans'; who were normally liberty-loving; and who were already in possession of hard-won freedom, should voluntarily renounce it all, and cry out 'as one man' for a king, Milton could only explain by such terms as 'degenerate contagion,' 'infatuation,' 'epidemic madness.' Ten years before, he had described such a condition as something inconceivable: 'Nay after such a fair deliverance as this, with so much fortitude and valour shewn against a tyrant, that people that should seek a king claiming what this man claims, would show themselves to be by nature slaves and arrant beasts, not fit for that liberty which they cried out and bellowed for, but fitter to be led back again into their old servitude, like a sort of clamouring and fighting brutes, broke loose from their copyholds, that know not how to use or possess the liberty which they fought for' (*Eikonok.*: Bohn i. 482).

17. 18. **build the chief hope . . . on a single person.** We learn from Needham (see note on 16. 29) that the people expected by the return of kingship to be 'eased of excess, taxes, &c.,' and thought that 'if Charles Stuart . . . were brought in and settled; then all things would settle too' (*Interest will not Lye*). The author of *England's Confusion* says that they were 'crying to God in secret' that he would 'at length restore unto England

. . . kings and nobles as at first, . . . making it a quiet habitation, which . . . hath been so long a howling wilderness full of birds of prey and beasts that do devour.' The writer continues: 'Let me tell you the time is now come; for, having tried all other ways, insomuch that we are going round again where we first turned aside, you see no foundation to build upon but our ancient one. Strive therefore for the restoring of King, lords, and commons, that you may enjoy them and be happy.' Royalists were now exulting, and praying for a good wind from Flanders. Cf. notes on 9. 9a and 18. 7.

17. 19. **if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man.** Milton admits 'there may be a good king.' But, with Hotman, he is always of the opinion that 'a king as well as any private person is a mortal man.' Although a bad king has 'power to do more evil . . . then millions of other men,' he does not concede that the same high station carries with it a corresponding power to do good.

17. 23. **a full and free Councel of their own electing.** This seemed expedient to Milton because it required only perpetuating the existing Rump. But it was also in harmony with his aristocratic ideas of government, and seemed the wisest middle course between monarchy and democracy. Moreover, it was supported by 'the wisest men in all ages' (see note on 15. 14), and was even then to be seen in successful operation in the United Provinces, Switzerland, and Italy. 'There must be a body which convenes the supreme power in the polity; viz. the Commons. It is sometimes called a Preliminary Council, but more usually where the government is a popular one, a Council' (Aristotle, *Politics* 7. 8). 'The Florentines new modell'd their City, choosing Twelve principal Magistrates to continue in Authority only for two months (*Buoni Huomini*). Next to them they constituted a Council of 80 Citizens, which they call'd *La Credenza*: after which, 180 were chosen out of the people, which with the *Credenza*, and the 12 *Buoni Huomini*, were call'd the General Council' (Machiavelli, *Hist. of Florence: Wks.*, p. 27). The Venetians, too, 'created a Council of 100 to deliberate and order all publick Matters' (*ibid.*, p. 174). 'At a certain Time of the

Year a publick Council of the whole Nation should be held ; in which Council, whatever seem'd to relate to the whole Body of the Commonwealth, was appointed and establish'd' (Hotman, *Franco-Gallia*, tr. 1738, p. 2). 'Even so a multitude of men ought not to be ruled and govern'd by one single Person, who perhaps understands and sees less than several others among them ; but by many select Persons, who, in the Opinion of all Men, are both very prudent and eminent' (*ibid.*, p. 67). This was Milton's idea exactly. Finally, Bodin, whom he quotes later as authority, declares : 'There is nothing that giveth greater credit and authoritie unto the lawes and commandements of a prince, a people, or state, or in any manner of Commonweale, than to cause them to passe by the advise of a grave and wise Senat or Councell' (*Repub.*, p. 254).

17. 24. **where . . . reason only swaves.** The law of nature, which was recognized as supreme, was generally defined as 'right reason' (see note on 10. 40) ; hence the tendency of anti-royalists to exalt the authority of reason. In the council of state instituted in 1649, no official head, such as lord president, was to be allowed. However, it soon became expedient to modify the reign of reason by placing Bradshaw in the chair.

Cicero particularly lauds the rule of reason, in political as well as in private affairs (see note on 10. 40).

18. 1. **we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active vertue and industrie.** 'The happiness of a nation consists in true religion, piety, justice, prudence, temperance, fortitude, and the contempt of avarice and ambition. They in whomsoever these virtues dwell eminently, need not kings to make them happy, but are the architects of thir own happiness ; and whether to themselves or others are not less than kings' (*Eikonok.* : Bohn I. 455).

18. 3. **Go to the Ant.** Solomon's injunction was well heeded by commonwealth-writers of the seventeenth century. Milton and Harrington and Felltham thought they had found in the humble pismire the natural justification and perfect model of a commonwealth (see note on 18. 13). Thomas Hobbes concedes that 'certain living creatures, as Bees, and Ants, live sociably one with another' (*Leviathan* 2. 17), but

sees no force in the analogy usually insisted upon. The royalists, on the other hand, were rather partial to the bee, as affording a natural illustration of kingship. Even the quails, they said, were 'under a Captain'; and the cock had 'both cocks and hens under him.' Cf. Milton's indignant reply in the *Defense* (Bohn I. 115).

18. 7. **they who think the nation undone without a king.** These were, of course, the large body of Old Royalists, the royalized Presbyterians, and the majority of the nondescript rabble, whose favorite sports now were rump-roasting and the mobbing of republicans. Meanwhile, the fervor of the mob was kept at white heat by Royalist pamphlets and haranguing demagogues. 'Have you ever seen quiet or settlement since the King was inhumanly murdered at his own gate, and our ancient government by King, lords and commons changed?' (*England's Confusion*). 'My subjects can hardly be happy if I be miserable, or enjoy their peace or liberties while I am oppressed' (*Eikon Basilike* 21. 3).

18. 13. **a frugal and self-governing democratie.** Owen Felltham, in his *Brief Character of the Low Countries*, had likened the frugal and diligent Hollanders to a nation of pismires: 'For providence, they are the pismires of the world, and having nothing but what grass affords them, are yet, for almost all provisions, the storehouse of whole Christendom. . . . Every one is busy, and carries his grain.' Cf. note on 14. 14.

18. 18. **pretend right over them as thir lord.** Milton was a staunch defender of the right of the wise and virtuous to rule; and he had earlier conceded specifically that kings may justly rule by right of superior virtue. The change made in the revision, viz. 'right' to 'hereditarie right,' removes the inconsistency. See note on 19. 26.

18. 19. **conclude.** See Glossary.

18. 21. **and thir leaders especially.** This thought was added as a thrust at Monk.

18. 26. **admirable.** See Glossary.

18. 30. **unwise in thir counsels.** It is not courage, but wisdom, in which his countrymen are deficient; and it is this

defect that Milton labors to correct. He points out a 'readie and easie way.' It shall not be said that the nation fell back upon kingship for want of a definite plan.

18. 32. **ten or twelve years prosperous war.** See note on 12. 6.

19. 2. **an ignominie.** The ignominy of backsliding as a nation from high republican professions and principles filled the great idealist with such shame and indignation as perhaps no other Englishman of the day was able to feel; for few indeed could have been capable of such lofty conceptions of freedom, or of such sublime devotion to a hopeless ideal. But of course Milton entertained an exaggerated idea of the slavery of kingship, and was incapable of seeing the utter hopelessness of any republican solution under existing conditions. A very similar contemporary statement is the following: 'It is very rarely observ'd in the whole course of history, that ever kingly government was suddenly restored in any country, after it had been once cashier'd by the people' (*Anglia Liberata*: Harris, *Life of Charles II* 1. 107).

19. 5. **that part of the nation which consents not with them.** This contingent consisted of Milton; the Rump; a scattered and dwindling body of republicans; Lambert and a part of the army; a few Quakers, Fifth-Monarchy men, and miscellaneous sects. 'I perswade me of a great number,' says Milton, meaning rather to persuade others; for he himself well knew that they of the good old cause were become a negligible remnant.

19. 7. **far worthier.** Milton was a firm believer in the theory of geometric proportion (see note on 15. 16a), and in the right of the wise and good to rule. In the *Second Defense* (Bohn 1. 265) he says: 'You everywhere concede, that "the independents were superior, not in numbers, but in discipline and in courage." Hence I contend that they well deserved the superiority which they acquired; for nothing is more agreeable to the order of nature, or more for the interest of mankind, than that the less should yield to the greater, not in numbers, but in wisdom and in virtue. Those who excel in prudence, in experience, in industry and courage, however few

they may be, will, in my opinion, finally constitute the majority, and everywhere have the ascendant.' For the sources of this idea, see note on II. 37. This, then, was the end to which he trusted the remnant was reserved. In the present instance Milton seems almost to sound a call to arms among the few yet faithful—and, indeed, armed resistance *was* shortly attempted by Lambert and a few Fanatics. The whole passage is suppressed in the second edition. The omission is eloquent: it is almost as if Milton would say, 'God *hath* . . . quenched the spirit of libertie among us.'

19. 10. **God hath yet his remnant.** This idea of being God's chosen band was a firm conviction with the Puritan Independents, especially with Cromwell, Milton, the army, and the Rump. It is based, of course, upon Old-Testament conceptions. "'This People," saith God [Isa. 43. 21], "I have formed for Myself, that they may show forth my praise." I say, it's a memorable passage; and, I hope, not unfitly applied.' These were the words of Cromwell, addressing the Barebone Saints assembled in Parliament July 4, 1653. Cromwell says further: 'You very well know, it pleased God, much about the midst of this War, to winnow (if I may so say) the Forces of this Nation; and to put them into the hands of other men of other principles than those that did engage at the first, . . . that he might raise up a poor contemptible company of men . . . into wonderful success! Simply by their owning a Principle of Godliness and Religion. . . . Truly you [the Parliament, as well as the army] are call'd by God, "as Judah was," to "rule with Him," and for Him. . . . I say, own your call; for it is of God' (Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* 3. 256). Such was the astounding assurance of the typical Independent and saint.

But Milton, in giving expression here to the current conception, doubtless has in mind also the following passage: 'And it shall come to pass in that day, that the remnant of Israel, and such as are escaped of the house of Jacob, shall no more stay upon him that smote them; but shall stay upon the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. A remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God.'



For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return' (Is. 10. 20—2). Cf. note on 32. 6.

It is just possible, too, that Milton here defiantly hurls back the Duke of Ormond's words in 1649 concerning Parliament: 'There remains only a small number, and they the dregs and scum of the house of commons, picked and awed by the army, a wicked remnant, left for no other end, than yet further if it be possible to delude the people, with the name of a parliament' (*Ormond to . . . Governor of Dublin*, March 14, 1648: Bohn 2. 171). This hypothesis furnishes an excellent reason for the suppression of the sentence in the second edition; for the remnant, if the Rump, no longer existed.

19. 12. **so plane, so rational.** Milton had so convinced himself of the desirability and absolute justice of freedom that the general defection of the people seemed downright madness. It was all so 'plane' and 'rational' that kings and bishops meant slavery, and that merely perpetuating the Rump as a grand council was the 'readie and easie way' to avoid it! It must be admitted, too, that consistency—if not practicability—was on Milton's side. But, alas, it was neither 'plane' nor 'rational' to any one else that an aristocratic tyranny might not be the very worst slavery of all; nor were most men able to see any other practicable expedient than kingship after the utter failure of so many popular experiments.

19. 14. **true principles of justice and religion.** Those of justice would restrain him from every shade and species of tyranny; those of religion, teach him humility and service. Cf. note on 16. 4, and Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* 19. 14—5: 'Even those who rule serve those whom they seem to command; for they rule not from a love of power, but from a sense of the duty they owe to others—not because they are proud of authority; but because they love mercy. He did not intend that His rational creature should have dominion over anything but the irrational creation—not man over man, but man over the beasts.'

19. 18. **every way equal or superiour.** An early fondness for this idea is seen in the following entry in the *Commonplace Book*: 'ad subditos suos scribens, Constantinus Magnus non alio nomine quam fratres appellat.' Milton is here reasserting the opinions expressed in the *Franco-Gallia* and the *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. The latter book makes much of the old Aragonian coronation formula: 'We, who are as good as you and are more powerful than you, choose you as king,' etc. (Dunning, *Pol. Theories* 2. 54). Cf. Dr. Johnson's comment: 'He who told every man that he was equal to his King, could hardly want an audience' (*Lives*).

19. 22. **kingdom of Christ . . . is hid to this world.** Milton here retrieves himself from the attempt a little before to force upon Christ's injunctions a purely temporal significance. Cf. notes on 15. 34 and 15. 35.

19. 26. **hath left no vicegerent.** The doctrine of vicegerency had its origin in the words of St. Paul, Romans 13. 1: 'Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God.' It completely satisfied the mediæval instinct for unity, and was asserted throughout the Middle Ages, either by the emperor, as in the case of Charlemagne, or by the pope, as Gregory VII. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the theory of the divine right of kings rested upon this assumption of vicegerency.

We find that Milton's attitude toward vicegerency changes from acceptance to positive rejection. In the *Reformation* (Bohn 2. 408) he extols the government of England 'under the sovereign prince, Christ's vicegerent, using the sceptre of David.' But by the time he sets about the *Defense*, he has completely rejected the idea: 'If it is by God that kings nowadays reign, it is by God too that the People assert their own liberty; since all things are of him and by him. . . . Be this right of kings, therefore, what it may, the right of the people is as much from God as it' (*Defense*: Bohn 1. 48). Still more emphatic is his quotation from Chrysostom: 'What? is every prince then appointed by God to be so? I say no such thing' (*ibid.* 1. 71).

19. 33. **as the Pope pretends.** An excellent statement of the papal claim of vicegerency is furnished by Thomas Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum* I. 14: 'In order, therefore, that the spiritual be kept separate from the earthly, the office of this kingdom is committed not to earthly kings but to the priests, and above all to the chief priest, the successor of Peter, the vicegerent of Christ, the Roman bishop, to whom is due the subjection of all kings of the Christian people, even as to the Lord Jesus Christ himself' (tr. Poole, *Illus. Hist. Med. Thought*, p. 241).

20. 3. **I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me.** Yet he knew very well that Bodin and many other writers of authority had preferred a mixed government, or modified form of kingship (see note on 24. 3). He himself had expressed the opinion in the *Commonplace Book* that governments should be popular, monarchical, or mixed, according to the nature of the people. And as for single-person rule, that of Cromwell had found no more loyal supporter than Milton.

20. 4. **a free Commonwealth without single person or house of lords.** This is a reaffirmation of the position taken by Parliament in 1649: 'Be it declared and enacted, . . . that the people of England . . . are, and shall be, and are hereby constituted, made, established, and confirmed to be a Commonwealth and Free State, by the supreme authority of this nation, the representatives of the people in Parliament, . . . and that without any King or House of Lords' (Gardiner, *Const. Doc.*, p. 388). This was the position taken by the army, too, in its engagement drawn up in celebration of Lambert's victory of August, 1659.

20. 6. **We have all this while, say they, bin expecting it.** See Glossary for 'expecting.' The one unanswerable argument of the Royalists was that the republicans, although given the opportunity, had been unable to institute and maintain a stable government in England (see note on 18. 7). Even a Commonwealth-man was forced to liken the situation to that of a drowning man laying hold of 'straws and help-

less twigs' (see *Intro.*, p. xxviii). And Milton is admittedly writing amidst 'anarchy and confusion.'

20. 10. **the people might have soon bin satisfi'd and delighted.** Milton's sanguine faith in a commonwealth was based, of course, upon many and well-known precedents, and was immensely strengthened by the flourishing condition of the republic of the Netherlands. Such expressions of confidence, however, were common among the republicans. Sir Henry Vane, in his *Healing Question*, points out 'how suddenly might harmony, righteousness, love, peace, and safety unto the whole body follow hereupon, as the happy fruit of such a settlement' as he proposes (see *Intro.*, p. xxx). And the writer of *A Letter of Advice to his Excellency Lord General Monk* (*Harl. Misc.* 8. 625) 'cannot but assign' 'those good days . . . to the democratical part of the government.'

20. 13. **this care of timely setting a new government, . . . too much neglected, hath bin our mischief.** This seems to have been the universal feeling among the republicans. 'Well, but now says the Protectorian Family, O that we had set up the equal Commonwealth! So say broken Parliaments and Statesmen; so say the sadly mistaken Sectarys; so say the Cashiered Officers; so says he that would have no nay, but Oligarchy was a good word; and so will more say after these, except they learn to say after another, *aut reges non exigendi fuerunt, aut plebi re, non verbo, danda libertas*; either the Kings ought not to have driven out, or the People to have their Liberty not in word, but in deed: but that is Heathenism, that's Cicero' (Harrington, *The Ways and Means Whereby an Equal and Lasting Commonwealth may be suddenly introduced*, Feb. 6, 1659).

20. 17. **frequent disturbances, interruptions and dissolutions.** It is interesting to note Milton's change of attitude toward these disturbances. Again and again he justifies the grand exclusion of 1648 (see note on 10. 37). In his panegyric upon Cromwell in the *Second Defense* (Bohn 1. 288), he defends the protector's high-handed dissolution of Parliament in 1653: 'But when you saw that the business was artfully

procrastinated, that every one was more intent on his own selfish interest than on the public good, that the people complained of the disappointments which they had experienced, and the fallacious promises by which they had been gulled, that they were the dupes of a few overbearing individuals, you put an end to their domination.' But when in October, 1659, the army again pulls down the Parliament, Milton is horrified (see note on 13. 6). And now, a few months later, he attributes the failure of Parliament to its interruptions by the army. There is in this not only a change of attitude toward the army-leaders, but even an implied censure of Cromwell himself, the prince of disturbers, interrupters, and dissolvers.

20. 18. **partly from the impatient or disaffected people.** Parliament had long been bombarded with petitions from the disaffected people of London and elsewhere, all praying for a full and free Parliament. This, of course, was only one way of asking the existing Parliament to get out, and naturally inclined the members to sit still more tightly in their comfortable seats—at least to put off the evil day as long as possible. Dr. Denton writes to Sir Ralph Verney, even as far back as Aug. 10, 1659: 'The only thing that looks like countenancing Sir George [Booth] is the intended petition of the city for a free parl<sup>t</sup> as they say'; and on Jan. 26, 1660: 'Young Robert Pye brought a petition yesterday directed to the Speaker. . . . They say 'tis a cutter' (*Verney Memoirs* 3. 457).

But by this time the people were resorting to more effective means of intimidation. Insults, and even assaults, now daily fell upon and disconcerted the members of the Rump, while acts of vandalism were perpetrated upon their property. Barebone's windows were shattered (see note on 9. 9a). Dr. Denton reports, Feb. 13: 'The Speaker (who sat late) in his march homewards affronted, his men beaten, his windows broken. A Rumpie in a chayre rosted at his gate.' Meanwhile the Royalists kept the Rumpers' ears full of risings and plots to cut throats. It is not at all surprising that a body so distracted and unsettled itself found it im-

possible to advance the great business of settling the government.

20. 19. **some ambitious leaders.** The army, which, upon the whole, had stood for principles dear to Milton, was vitiated by the personal ambitions of its leaders. The factions that sprang up under the *régime* of Richard were the Commonwealth-men, under the leadership of Colonel Lilburn; the Wallingford-House party, led by Fleetwood and Desborough, whose design it was to retain Richard as their figurehead and tool; and a third smaller group under Ingoldsby, who joined the council in supporting Richard. First came the petition presented to Richard in October, 1658. In November there were further suggestions and presumptions. In the Parliament of 1659 the army-faction, or republicans, finding themselves outnumbered and outvoted (198 to 125) by the court-faction, began to intrigue with army-leaders against the Parliament itself. Richard proved to be but a reed shaken by the wind: at first he defended Parliament; then he suddenly turned and dissolved that body (April 22), and cast in his lot with the army. The army-officers now forced Richard to abdicate, and again set up the Rump. In October, 1659, Lambert executed his famous *coup d'état* (see Introd., p. xviii). The officers declared in a letter to the people that they had been 'necessitated to obstruct the sitting of the Parliament for a time,' and would assume control themselves. There was talk of Lambert's setting up as protector, or even as king. Milton indignantly called upon the army to 'find out the Achan amongst them.' And now, last of all, Monk was acting the tyrant over Parliament. Pepys says (March 3): 'He [Lord Oliver St. John] told me he feared there was new design hatching, as if Monk had a mind to get into the saddle.' See the following note.

20. 20. **much contrarie . . . to the . . . Armie it self.** The rank and file of the army were staunchly republican, and, normally, well disposed toward the Parliament. When the Rumpers marched back to their seats on Dec. 26, the soldiers 'stood in ranks and made Acclamations.' In his *Letter* (Oct. 20) Milton says: 'For neither do I speak this in reproach

of the army, but as jealous of their honour inciting them to manifest and publish, with all speed, some better cause of these their late actions than hath hitherto appeared; and to find out the Achan amongst them, whose close ambition in all likelihood abuses their honest natures against their meaning to these disorders.'

20. 22. **and thir other Commanders.** Fleetwood alone, of the seven army-commissioners, openly supported Lambert's bold exclusion of the Rump. In fact, Fleetwood, Haslerig, and Morley were the only ones present in London at the time. Morley attempted to defend the House with soldiers, but his troops deserted at night. Of those absent, Ludlow was neutral, and Monk outspokenly in favor of the Rump; while the inferior officers generally were antagonistic to the ambitious leaders.

20. 22a. **when they were once undeceivd.** After they had seen anarchy prevailing under the tyranny of Fleetwood, Lambert, and others, and had been jeered at and pelted by the citizens of London.

20. 24. **small number of those remaining.** There were thirty-six members present at the reassembling of the Rump on December 26, 1659; and during the remainder of its existence the attendance never exceeded fifty-three.

20. 25. **by-word of reproach.** 'The Rump.' The *New English Dictionary* furnishes several explanations as to the origin of this term: 'Now if you ask who nam'd it Rump, Know 'twas so stiled in an honest Sheet (call'd *The Bloody Rump*) written before the Tryall of our late Sovereign of Glorious Memory: but the Word obtain'd not universal notice till it flew from the mouth of Major General Brown at a Publick Assembly in the daies of Richard Cromwell' (*Rump Songs*); 'Which word *Rump* had it's name first from Mr. Clem. Walker in his History of Independency printed in 1648 and was given to those . . . members that strenuously oppos'd the King' (Hearne, *Collect.*); 'This fagge end, this Rump of a Parliament with corrupt Maggots in it' (Walker, *Hist. Ind.*). But see also *Introd.*, pp. xiii and xxiv.

20. 27. **faithfull worthies.** Walker (*Hist. Ind.* 4. 40) enumerates the forty-two Rumpers who reassembled in May,

1659. Among them were 'William Lenthall, Esq., their tender conscienced Speaker,' Whitelock, Ludlow, Haslerig, Ingoldsby, Fleetwood, and Sir Henry Vane.

A tribute is paid them (Nov. 1, 1659) in *The Humble Representation*: 'Is it not to be considered, that this parliament, notwithstanding they could not but see that they must sit again under great difficulties and disadvantages, because the treasure was exhausted, vast debts were contracted, and the soldiers and seamen unpaid; yet, being invited, how did they break through these discouragements, and undertook *difficillimam provinciam*' (Harris, *Life of Charles II* 1. 241). See notes on 20. 29 and 20. 30.

20. 29. **constant to thir trust.** This whole passage is a reflection of the language uttered in the House of Commons upon the reassembling of the Rump the previous summer—an event in which Milton felt the keenest interest and satisfaction. Upon that occasion 'the Officers of the Army, . . . calling to mind, that the same Parliament, consisting of the Members which continued to sit until the Twentieth of April 1653, were Assertors of the good Old Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them; and were signally blessed in that Work, did adjudge it their Duty . . . to invite the aforesaid Members to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust' (*Com. Journ.*).

The Parliament, on its part, 'being assembled at Westminster the Seventh of May 1659, found it a Duty incumbent upon them not to neglect this Opportunity, which the wonderful, and (as they hope) the gracious Providence of God hath held forth unto them, for the Prosecution of what yet remains of their great Trust' (*ibid.*). Cf. note on 20. 30.

20. 30. **they have declar'd.** Cf. *Commons Journals*, May 7, 1659: . . . 'All which the Parliament taking into their Consideration, do declare, That they are resolved (through the gracious Assistance of Almighty God) to apply themselves to the faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a Foundation, as may assert, establish, and secure the Property and Liberties of the People, in reference unto all, both



as Men and as Christians ; and that without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.' See also note on 20. 29.

20. 35. **to free the people from slavery.** To achieve civil and religious liberty. Kingship will mean episcopacy and intolerance upon the one hand, and the assertion of the royal prerogative upon the other ; whereas the nation is now, and may continue, free from both.

21. 2. **contest . . . between prerogative and petition of right.** The Stuarts had always been sticklers for prerogative. It was this insistence that drove the people to the *Petition of Right* in 1628, and the struggle finally culminated in the Civil War. In theory, the king's prerogatives still include personal irresponsibility for crime, exemption from taxation, right to dissolve Parliament, the veto-power, command of the army and navy, exclusive authority to coin money and grant charters to corporations, headship of the judiciary and of the church, etc. But practically, these powers have long since passed into the hands of the ministers.

21. 3. **now is the opportunitie.** This argument was a general favorite. The army, in May, had promised the Rump its 'utmost Assistance . . . to sit in Safety, for improving the present Opportunity for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Commonwealth.' The Royalists also were urging upon the people that 'the time' was 'now come.' The opportunity that Milton thought he saw at the beginning of February did seem an auspicious one. The Rump was sitting, and Monk was at hand to defend it. They had but to perpetuate themselves as a grand council, and the work would be done—a rare opportunity, if the people at large had only gone in for an aristocracy, and been pleased with Milton's selection of rulers !

21. 7. **voted to fill up their number.** This was the Rump's scheme of self-perpetuation—to issue writs, and prescribe such qualifications as would keep out all but kindred spirits. During January they had held to their customary tactics of resolving and procrastinating. It was so much better—for them—as it was ! But finally, on February 4, apparently as a pledge of good faith to Monk, who had just arrived, they

voted to swell their numbers to four hundred (see *Introd.*, p. xiv). Even then, election-writs were not agreed upon until Feb. 16.

21. 9. **keepers of our libertie.** Prynne had boldly declared that the writs should be issued in the name of 'King Charles.' It was decided, however, to send them out in the name of the 'Keepers of the Liberties of England.'

21. 10. **summon a free Parliament.** The champion of freedom could hardly do less than acquiesce in the calling of a free Parliament, although he had advocated perpetuating the old one. He knew well that 'free' would mean 'Royalist,' and could not resist a little sarcastic play upon the word.

21. 19. **Knights and Burgesses.** Members of Parliament elected by the people, the former representing counties or shires, the latter, boroughs, towns, and universities.

21. 20. **just and necessarie qualifications.** On Jan. 5, 1660, the restored Parliament reaffirmed the disabling acts of 1648 and 1649, and 'provided that none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family, and Government' (Baker, *Chron.*, p. 594). During February, as their case grew more desperate, qualification-acts multiplied, and grew more and more rigorous. On Feb. 8, all Papists and abettors of the Irish rebellion were debarred. On Feb. 11, all such as had 'engaged in any Plot, Conspiracy, or Design, on behalf of Charles Stuart, or any of the Line of the late King James' were excluded. On Feb. 13, the disabling act was further extended to include all who had 'advised, promoted, or abetted any Single Person to the Supreme Magistracy.' It was further decreed that all eligible to election must be 'Persons fearing God and of good Conversation'; and that none should sit who had married a Papist wife or given a son or daughter to a Papist, or should 'deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God; . . . no common Profaner of the Lord's Day; no profane Swearer or Curser, no Drunkard, or common Haunter of Taverns or Alehouses' (*Commons Journals*). Just as Milton was finishing his treatise, on Feb. 14, the Rump, upon receiving Monk's peremptory orders, retaliated by disabling all sons of sequestered Royalists

except such as had 'borne Arms for the Parliament and continued faithful to the Parliament.'

21. 28. **general Council of ablest men.** This is the central proposal in Milton's scheme of a republic. While there had been various ancient examples of a partially representative council, it was from the mediæval church, and its conception of popular sovereignty, that the idea of a grand council representative of all the people was handed down to the seventeenth century (see *Introd.*, pp. xliii–xliv). Milton accepted it with fervor, but also with characteristic modifications as to tenure and suffrage. His council, while virtually an aristocratic institution, was still, in theory, representative of all the people, and open to every man whose virtue and abilities were sufficient to enable him to achieve it.

More immediate influences in predisposing Milton to favor government by council, although of course derivative from ancient and mediæval precedent, were the theory and practice of modern politicians and states. Machiavelli had spoken much and favorably of the councils of Venice and Florence (see note on 17. 23). 'Francis Hottoman,' says Milton in the *Defense* (Bohn i. 107), 'proves out of very ancient chronicles of that nation, that the whole affair was transacted in the great council of the kingdom.' Milton is thinking of the *Franco-Gallia* (see note on 17. 23). Even Bodin thought 'a grave and wise Senat or Councell' indispensable.

This weight of authority, ancient and modern; its partial, but successful, application in the constitutions of Venice, Switzerland, and the Netherlands; and the traditions of the English Parliament itself—all these influences unitedly found expression in England in 1649 when the House of Commons boldly abolished kingship and the House of Lords. From this single-chamber rule it was but a step—or hardly a step—to Milton's perpetual grand council of ablest men.

21. 31. **must have the forces by sea and land.** Cf. Barker, *Hist. Rise and Decline of the Netherlands*, p. 162: 'The French ambassador in the Netherlands, the celebrated President Jeanin, perhaps the ablest diplomat of his age, . . . repeatedly recommended the improvement of the Dutch constitution by

the creation of an elected central authority possessed of greater executive power, . . . a national council entitled to decide on peace, war, alliances, financial matters, and taxation.'

21. 32. **not transfered, but delegated only.** See Introd., p. xxxv, and cf. *Tenure* (Bohn 2. 11) : 'It being thus manifest, that the power of kings and magistrates is nothing else but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust from the people to the common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of their natural birth-right.' Cf. notes on 10. 35, 19. 26, and 31. 3.

22. 1. **some inspectors deputed.** Plato (*Laws* 6. 761) furnishes the source of this idea : 'Every judge and magistrate shall be liable to give an account of his conduct in office, except those who, like kings, have the final decision.' But this was a popular slogan in Milton's day. Cf. *The Case of the Army truly stated*, which explicitly demanded 'that faithful persons be chosen to receive accounts in every part of the kingdom, especially considering that former Committees for accounts were constituted in a time when corrupt men overpoured the Parliament,' . . . and . . . that all without distinction, as well parliament men as others, may be equally accountable to persons chosen for that purpose.'

22. 3. **or propose.** The words are added because of the referendum-idea which was introduced in the second edition. The people were to have the deciding voice.

22. 8. **Council of State.** This was already in operation. A council of state consisting of thirty-one members, only ten of whom were not members of the House, had been elected the preceding May. Another was organized on Dec. 30. This was, of course, supplanted by a third on Feb. 21. The advantage of having a small, select inner council, to act quickly and secretly in a diplomatic or executive capacity, had been very well understood in other republics (see note on 17. 23).

22. 10. **conceit of successive Parliaments.** See Introd., p. xxxii.

22. 12. **should sit perpetual.** Cf. *Defense* (Bohn i. 144): 'We do not deny, that "governors are not likely to be changed"; . . . but that, therefore, they ought never to be changed upon no occasion, whatsoever, that does not follow by no means.'

22. 16. **prevent or answer.** Forestall or deal with.

22. 20. **The ship of the Commonwealth.** The figure has been popular with political writers from Aristotle to the present. It probably sprang from the picturesque etymology of the term 'govern' itself: Gr. κυβερνᾶν, L. *gubernare*—to steer (a vessel). The various derivatives in Greek, Latin, and modern languages—*gubernaculum*, government, etc.—retain the original idea of 'piloting,' and, in consequence, the metaphor of the ship. A few of the very many occurrences of this figure are the following: Aristotle, *Politics* 3. 4: 'Now different citizens have different functions, like sailors on board ship; but they have a common end, which, in the case of the sailors, is the safety of the ship, in the case of the citizens, the salvation of the state'; Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, tr. Langhorne:

Seize, seize the helm, the reeling vessel guide:  
With aiding patriots stem the raging tide;

Cicero, *Pro P. Sextio Oratio* 9. 20: 'Quis enim clavum tanti imperii tenere, et gubernacula reipublicæ tracta rein maximo cursu ac fluctibus posse arbitraretur hominem emersum subito ex diuturnis tenebris lustrorum ac stuprorum, vino, ganeis, lenociniis, adulteriisque confectum?'; Machiavelli, *Hist. Florence* (*Wks.*, p. 212): 'When Times are tempestuous, and the Ship of State has need of the help and assistance of the Subject, there are but few will expose themselves'; Bacon, *Advancement of Learning* (*Essays*, ed. 1900, p. 186): 'Never caring in all tempests what becomes of the ship of estates, so that they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortune'; Cromwell, Sept. 4, 1654: 'It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbour'; *Clarendon State Papers* 3. 695: 'the Ship of the Commonwealth being at this ready to sink.'

22. 24. **both foundation and main pillar.** Cf. Bodin, *Repub.*, p. 492: 'For as the hookes and hinges whereupon great burdens rest, must of themselves be strong and unmoveable; even so the Senat of the Areopagi, and of other Commonweales also, were as most strong and sure hinges, whereupon as well all the mutable officers as the whole waight of the Estate and Commonweale rested & reposed themselves.'

22. 29. **much likelier . . . to unsettle.** Milton probably has in mind Bodin's teaching: 'The Genowaies use every yeare to change their great Counsell of fowr hundred, and Senat of three score. . . . Whereas the great Counsell of Geneva, the Senate, and privie counsell are once chosen for ever; . . . whereby it commeth to passe, that the Commonweal of Geneva is more firme, and lesse subject unto alteration or seditious innovation than is that of Genua' (*Repub.*, p. 233).

22. 32. **all mindes are suspense.** Note the obsolete usage—almost the Latin *suspensus*, pp. of *suspendere*. Milton frequently uses 'suspense' as an adjective. Cf. *P. L.* I. 2. 417–8:

and expectation held  
His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd.

23. 6. **But if the ambition, etc.** The passage seems clearly to be a reflection of Bodin's thought: 'But if the desire of honour bee so great, as that the citisens cannot otherwise be satisfied, except they all by turnes may have place in the Senat, we must then imitat that which Solon did; who in the Popular estate of the Athenians by him framed, appointed a mutable Senat of foure hundred citisens every yeare to be changed' (*Repub.*, p. 277).

23. 11. **by som lately propounded.** See note on 23. 19.

23. 12. **everie two or three years, etc.** See *Introd.*, p. lviii.

23. 13. **annually (or if the space be longer), etc.** Milton partially accedes to the scheme of rotation, although against his judgment. But if he cannot obtain a perpetual senate, he will advocate as long a tenure as possible.

23. 17. **prevent the setting of too absolute a power.** Milton

seems to be replying to the recent *Censure of the Rota* (see Appendix B, p. 181).

23. 19. **which hath bin already thought on heer.** The chief advocate of rotation was, of course, James Harrington, of the Rota Club. His ideas are elaborately set forth in the *Oceana* (1656). A brief statement of his rotation-scheme is afforded by the petition presented to Parliament by Harrington, Neville, and others, July 6, 1659. Section 3 reads: 'That the free People of England, in their respective divisions at certain days and places appointed, shall for ever annually choose one third part to each Assembly, to enter into their Authority, at certain days appointed: the same days, the Authority of a third of each of the said Assemblies to cease, only in the laying the first Foundation in this Commonwealth's Constitution: the whole number of both the Assemblies to be chosen by the People respectively, viz. one third of each Assembly to be chosen for one year, one third for two years, and one third for three years.'

But there had been earlier rotation-schemes than Harrington's. Perhaps the most interesting example is the plan evolved and put into rhyme by George Wither, entitled *The Perpetual Parliament* (1653):

Thus one *moneth* some; and *moneth* by *moneth* for ever,  
 Let each *twelfth part*, still orderly persevere  
 To take a *turn*, till ev'ry share hath had  
 A *moneth* in ev'ry year; and having made  
 Their *choise*, let them still *enter* and *withdraw*  
 Successively, by a *perpetuall Law*,  
 No man a *place of trust*, supplying there,  
 At one *election*, longer than one year.

(Wither's *Miscel. Wks.*: Spenser Soc. Pub.,  
 3d Coll., p. 52.)

23. 20. **and done in other Commonwealths.** The principle had been applied to some extent in Athens, Venice, Florence, Genoa, Switzerland, and the United Provinces; but nowhere so thoroughly as Harrington now proposed doing.

23. 22. **this wheel.** Cf. *L. rota*, wheel.

23. 24. **wheel of fortune.** Fortuna was the Roman god

ness of good luck. Her emblem was a wheel. Cf. Carew, *Cælum Britannicum* (Wks., ed. Hazlitt, p. 218):

See, where Dame Fortune comes; you may know  
Her by her wheele.

23. 27. **raw, unexperienc'd.** This objection had been strongly urged by Bodin, Milton's main authority on perpetuation. See *Introd.*, p. lxii.

23. 32. **militia.** The body of citizen-soldiery, as opposed to the standing army, or professional soldiers. The militia was, and still is, recruited from the different counties, according to apportionment of Parliament. Enlistment may be made compulsory, but is generally voluntary.

23. 32a. **have thir arms in thir own hands.** A reassurance of those who feared that a perpetual council would grow tyrannical. It is hardly consistent with Milton's previous argument that the grand council 'must have the forces by sea and land committed to them.'

23. 34. **just conviction of som crime.** An improvement in definiteness over the previous wording.

23. 36. **I forejudge not.** It was no time to stand upon trifles. The Restoration was at hand. Any sort of commonwealth would be better than kingship.

23. 39. **another way.** See 37. 24, and note thereon.

24. 3. **counted the more safe and durable.** Cf. Bodin, *Republic*, p. 413: 'But afterwards . . . it was by long experience found out, That Monarchies were more sure, more profitable, and more durable also, than were the Popular estates, or Aristocracies; and amongst the Monarchies, them also which were founded in the succession of the next heires male.'

24. 7. **for that.** For the reason that.

24. 14. **Sanhedrim.** The supreme legislative and judicial assembly of the Jewish nation. It consisted of seventy-one members, chosen from the different classes of society,—priests, elders, scribes, and other learned men,—and was presided over jointly by the high priest and ruling prince, as at the trials of Jesus and Paul. The Sanhedrim traced its origin to the



seventy elders appointed by Moses (see Num. II. 16-7). The qualifications for election to this body were rigorous. The candidates had to be 'perfect men : learned, courageous, strong and modest ; . . . of tall stature, dignified, of advanced age,' etc. (Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*).

24. 14a. **Areopagus.** The Areopagus was the supreme court of Athens. It was founded under the kings, and was further exalted by Solon. It was composed of ex-archons, who were chosen for life. To it was entrusted the safeguarding of the state's most sacred traditions. It was absolutely irresponsible, and had power to summon before it any individual whatever. From its decisions there was no appeal. At the time of the battle of Salamis it was entrusted with the entire conduct of affairs. Under Pericles it lost much of its ancient dignity and power.

24. 15. **Lacedæmon.** Laconia, the southeasterly district of Peloponnesus. The name was also applied to Sparta, the capital.

24. 15a. **the Ancients.** This assembly, instituted by Lycurgus, consisted of thirty members, not less than sixty years of age, elected by the people for term of life from the three orders of society. It constituted the supreme authority in the state, and rendered decisions as a court in cases of life and death. The two kings sat as members, but had no further distinction in the body than that of presiding.

24. 15b. **in Rome the Senat.** The Roman senate originated in the council of the early kings. After their expulsion it rapidly grew in importance, and by the third century B. C. had attained to the position of supremacy in the state. It was composed of ex-magistrates, and its members were appointed by the consuls to serve for life.

24. 20. **as that of six.** There were several councils in the government of Venice. Bodin mentions four 'beside the Senat and Great Councill.' The Duke was assisted in his executive function by a council of six, chosen for terms varying, at different times, from a few months to one year. Cf. Bodin, *Repub.*, p. 277 : 'For which selfe same reason, and that moe of the citisens also might be partakers of that honour, they

have decreed, That the six counsellors of estate, assistants unto the duke, shall not be but two moneths in that so honourable a charge ; to the end that the custome to commaund should not breed in them a desire still to continue the same as also to aspire higher.'

24. 20a. **the full Senate.** This cannot refer to the senate, for its members were chosen annually ; but rather to the great council, a permanent, self-perpetuating body formed of the whole aristocracy. Cf. Bodin, *Repub.*, p. 158: 'The great Councill (which is the assemblée of all the gentlemen of Venice) hath the power of soveraigntie, containing the Senat, and all the rest of the magistrates, within the power of the command thereof.'

24. 23. **United Provinces.** The original seventeen were as follows: 'Brabant, Limburg with the land across the Meuse, Luxemburg, Guelders with Zutphen, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, Namur, Lille with Douay and Orchies, Tournay with Tournaisis, Mechlen, Friesland, Utrecht, Overysse with Drenthe, Lingen, and Westerwolde, and Groningen' (Blok, *Hist. Peop. Neth.* 2. 263). But see note on 14. 12.

24. 23a. **the States General.** This supreme national assembly of the United Provinces consisted of deputies sent from the estates of the various provinces to deliberate on affairs concerning the nation. It had no power to decide upon any measure without the unanimous concurrence of the towns and provinces. It was therefore unable to meet emergencies by prompt and vigorous action. This defect Milton proposed to avoid in his commonwealth.

24. 26. **Provincial States.** The supreme provincial assemblies.

24. 27. **States of every citie.** The chief governing assemblies of every city. These were aristocratic and permanent boards, composed of twenty, twenty-four, twenty-eight, thirty-six, or forty members, chosen for term of life. Cf. Cérissier, *L'Histoire Générale des Provinces-Unies* 4. 138: 'L'administration municipale est entre les mains d'un Sénat, établi dans toutes les villes au nombre de 40, 36, 28, 24 ou 20

membres, tous à vie, tous choisis par le Sénat lui-même & parmi les plus notables Bourgeois.'

24. 32. **they who write of policie.** Jean Bodin, author of the *De la République* (1576). See Introd., p. lxii.

24. 33. **these reasons.** See Introd., p. lxii.

25. 9. **the fick'lness which is attributed to us.** The idea that islanders and seashore-folk in general are fickle, shrewd, and avaricious seems to have originated with Plato. Cf. *Laws* 4. 704: '*Cleinias*. I should imagine, Stranger, that the city of which we are speaking is about eighty stadia distant from the sea. . . .

*Athenian*. Then there is some hope that your citizens may be virtuous: had you been on the sea, and well provided with harbours, and an importing rather than a producing country, some mighty saviour would have been needed, and lawgivers more than mortal, if you were ever to have a chance of preserving your state from degeneracy and discordance of manners. But there is comfort in the eighty stadia; although the sea is too near, especially if, as you say, the harbours are so good. Still we may be content. The sea is pleasant enough as a daily companion, but has indeed also a bitter and brackish quality; filling the streets with merchants and shopkeepers, and begetting in the souls of men uncertain and unfaithful ways—making the state unfriendly and unfaithful both to her own citizens, and also to other nations.'

Bodin, following Plato, affirms (*Repub.*, p. 564): 'As for the inhabitants of the Sea coast, and of great townes of traf-fique, all writers have observed, That they are more subtile, politike, and cunning, than those that lie farre from the sea and traffique. . . . For which cause Plato forbids them to build his Commonweale neere unto the sea. . . . And it seemeth that the proverbe which sayeth, *That Islanders are commonly deceitfull*;—should be applied to this that we have spoken.'

Selden glances at the idea in his *Birthday of our Saviour* (5. 1433, fol. 1726): 'And therefore also he [Cardan] makes that comet which in 1533 appeared in *Aries* under the northern part of the milky way, and was (as he supposes) of martial,

jovial, and mercurial quality; to denote the schisms and change of religion which soon fell in this Kingdom under Henry VIII. For to Aries (says Ptolemy) is this island subject, as to a tutelar sign.'

Milton may perhaps allude to the following passage, found in *A Seasonable Speech made by a Worthy Member* [Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper] *in the House of Commons* (*Harl. Misc.* 3. 490), March, 1659:

'Mr. Speaker;

'This day's debate is but too clear a proof, that we Englishmen are right Islanders, variable and mutable like the air we live in. For, Sir, if that were not our temper, we should not be now disputing, whether, after all those hazards we have run, that blood we have spilt, that treasure we have exhausted, we should not now sit down, just where we did begin.'

25. 10. **good education and acquisite wisdom.** Bodin was famous for his masterful consideration of climate and situation in their relation to national character; and Milton is here following him rather than Plato, who also recommended education as a corrective. Having spoken of the fickleness of islanders (see note on 25. 9), Bodin immediately suggests: 'But he that would see what force education, lawes, and customes, have to chaunge nature, let him looke into the people of Germanie' (*Repub.*, p. 565). It is apparent that Milton reproduces not only the substance but also the sequence of Bodin's ideas.

25. 16. **Senat of four or five hunderd.** Draco established a council of 401 members. Solon reduced it to 400, 100 from each tribe. Cleisthenes set up a senate of 500, 50 from each of the ten tribes (*Aristotle, Constitution of Athens*).

25. 16a. **the Ephori.** Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*: 'Though the government was thus tempered by Lycurgus, yet soon after it degenerated into an oligarchy, whose power was exercised with such wantonness and violence, that it wanted indeed a bridle, as Plato expresses it. This curb they found in the authority of the Ephori, about a hundred and thirty years after Lycurgus.'

Plato, in the *Laws* (3. 692), says: 'But your third

saviour, perceiving that your government was still swelling and foaming, and desirous to impose a curb upon it, instituted the Ephors, whose power he made to resemble that of magistrates elected by lot.'

The Ephori consisted of five men, annually and popularly elected. Aristotle (*Politics* 5. 11) says that 'royalty is preserved by the limitation of its powers,' and instances Theopompus and his 'establishment of the Ephoralty': 'He diminished the power of the kings, but established on a more lasting basis the kingly office. There is a story that when his wife once asked him whether he was not ashamed to leave to his sons a royal power which was less than he had inherited from his father, "No indeed," he replied, "for the power which I leave to them will be more lasting."' This story reappears in Buchanan's *De Jure*, p. 156.

25. 17. **the Tribunes.** After the expulsion of the kings, the tyranny of the aristocracy became unbearable. Accordingly, the plebeians seceded from Rome. By way of compromise they were at this time (495 B. C.) accorded the privilege of choosing annually two tribunes, to whom they might at any time appeal for protection against insolent patricians. This number was later increased to five, and, in 457 B. C., to ten.

25. 17a. **the event.** The final outcome.

25. 19. **in fine.** In the end; at last.

25. 28. **one Consul.** Upon the banishment of the Tarquins in 510 B. C., the regal power was invested in two consuls, who were, of course, patricians. By the Licinio-Sextian laws (367 B. C.), it was provided that at least one consul must be a plebeian.

25. 29. **Censors and Prætors.** It was the functions of the Roman censors to assess property and impose taxes, and to exercise supervision over public morals. The Roman prætor was originally identical with the consul, but after 366 B. C. became a consular subordinate. The censorship was first attained by plebeians in 350 B. C., the prætorship in 337.

25. 31. **Marius.** Caius Marius (c. 157-86 B. C.), a famous Roman general, sprang from the humblest of plebeian ranks, but rose, through his military genius and championship of the

common people, to be seven times consul of Rome. He completely annihilated the Teutones in the battle of Aquæ Sextiæ (Aix) in the year 102 B. C., and the Cimbri at the battle of Vercellæ the year following, thus saving Rome from the barbarians. During the Social War in 88 he was banished from Rome by his rival, Sulla; but he returned in the year 86, was elected consul for the seventh time, and set on foot a merciless slaughter of all his foes.

25. 33. **Sylla.** L. Cornelius Sulla (138—78 B. C.) was a brilliant Roman general, consul, dictator, and leader of the patricians. He began his military career under Marius, but, quickly equaling the great plebeian general in achievements and in reputation, he became his lifelong and bitter foe. During his prosecution of the Mithridatic Wars, Marius, whom he had driven from Rome, returned, was elected consul (86 B. C.), and put to death many of Sulla's friends, as well as confiscated his property. But in this year Marius died, and Sulla, when all was ready, returned to Rome, to take ample vengeance upon his enemies. Conquering the large forces sent against him, he entered Rome (82 B. C.) as absolute master. Long lists of his foes were posted from time to time in the Forum. These persons were then put to death wherever found, two talents per head being the reward paid to any one carrying out the execution. A reign of terror prevailed. In the year 81 Sulla was made absolute dictator of Rome—an office which he resigned in 79, after his thirst for vengeance had been thoroughly satisfied.

25. 36. **as is lately propounded.** See note on 23. 19.

26. 1. **in their motion.** In their transportation to and from the place of meeting.

26. 3. **unable in so great a number,** etc. Bodin was of the same opinion: 'As for the number of Senators it cannot be great, considering the perfection requisit in a Counsellour of estate.' There is danger, also, in large numbers; 'for beside the manifest daunger, which is for revealing of counsell communicated to so many persons: it giveth also occasion unto the factious for troubling of the state' (*Repub.*, p. 260).

26. 5. **sit a whole year lieger in one place.** To reside, or remain stationary, a whole year, in one place. See Glossary.

26. 6. **hold up a forrest of fingers.** Cf. Bodin, *Repub.*, p. 308: 'Election is made either by lively voyce, or by holding up of hands (which the auntient Greekes called *Χειροτομία*), a thing yet used among the Swissers.' Cf. note on 26. 7.

26. 7. **bean or ballot.** Both were used at Athens. Cf. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, tr. Poste, pp. 101-2; Bodin, *Repub.*, p. 308: 'The manner and forme for the choice ... of magistrates ... is of three sorts: For either it is done by election, or lot; or by a mixture of both together. Election is made either by lively voyce, or by holding up of hands ... or else by tables or billets, by beanes or stones, and that in two sorts, viz. by open, or by secret suffrages.' Milton's remarks are reminiscent of this passage, but they are aimed directly at the Rota-men (see *Introd.*, p. 1).

26. 16. **Tarquins.** Tarquinius Priscus, fifth of the legendary kings of Rome, reigned from 616 to 578 B. C., and left the kingdom to Servius Tullius. This latter was murdered by the elder Tarquin's son, Tarquinius Superbus, in 534 B. C., who, together with kingship, was banished from Rome in the year 510.

26. 18. **Patricians.** Originally these were those families who constituted the Roman state and people, and who alone possessed political rights and authority. Later they were compelled to share these privileges with the plebeians, but they remained the aristocratic class of Roman citizens.

26. 18a. **expulsion of thir kings.** According to the legend, the immediate cause of the expulsion was the outrage committed by Tarquin's son, Sextus, against the wife of Collatinus. This noble matron, Lucretia, having called her father and husband, pledged them to revenge, and then stabbed herself. Her body was exhibited in the market-place. The people rose and drove out the sons of the king, and barred the gates against Tarquin himself when he hastily returned from the siege of Ardea. Thus ended the tyranny of the kings (510 B. C.).

26. 20. **wel-qualifie and refine elections.** Election-reform was greatly needed (see note on 35. 21). But here

Milton seems to be concerned rather with making the exercise of suffrage more intelligent than with correcting flagrant abuses. Since the people must be continually electing and rotating public officials, the only safeguard lay in perfecting the method of choosing. See 26. 25, and note thereon.

26. 21. **the noise and shouting of a rude multitude.** The allusion is to the Spartan manner of election, of which Plutarch, in his *Life of Lycurgus*, furnishes the following description: 'The manner of the election was this: when the people were assembled, some persons appointed for the purpose were shut up in a room near the place; where they could neither see nor be seen, and only hear the shouts of the constituents: for by them they decided this and most other affairs. Each candidate walked silently through the assembly, one after another according to lot. Those that were shut up had writing tables, in which they set down in different columns the number and loudness of the shouts, without knowing whom they were for; only they marked them as first, second, third, and so on, according to the number of the competitors. He that had the most and loudest acclamations, was declared duly elected. Then he was crowned with a garland, and went round to give thanks to the gods.'

26. 25. **third or fourth sifting.** Milton's sifting-process is almost precisely Plato's (see *Laws* 6. 753), which provided for the election of thirty-seven magistrates from a previously selected one hundred, this one hundred to be chosen from a body of three hundred elected by vote of the military class.

26. 28. **mend our corrupt and faulty education.** Milton, in his *Tractate on Education* (1644), declares that educational reform is 'one of the greatest and noblest designs that can be thought on, . . . for the want whereof this nation perishes' (Bohn 3. 462). Among the most glaring defects he mentions the waste of time—'seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year'; and the needlessly long vacations in schools and universities. He declares that the sequence of studies is unnatural, and sketches a curriculum of classics, science, philosophy, modern languages,



theology, art, law, economics, and physical training, upon the basis of the ancient schools of Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, etc., all to be accomplished between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. 'Nor shall we then,' he says, 'need the monsieurs of Paris to take our hopeful youths into their slight and prodigal custodies, and send them over, back again, transformed into mimics, apes, and kickshaws.' In the *Hirelings* (Bohn 3. 27), Milton advocates erecting 'in greater number, all over the land, schools, and competent libraries to those schools.' He himself essayed the rôle of a schoolmaster, but, according to Dr. Johnson, never turned out any remarkable scholars.

26. 37. **this several ordinarie assemblies.** Precisely the Dutch idea, except that in the United Provinces municipalities, however small, were absolutely independent. See note on 24. 27.

26. 38. **odious power and name of Committies.** The business of the Long Parliament was transacted largely through committees. Walker, in *The Mystery of the Two Juntos*, furnishes an excellent description—and arraignment—of the system: 'Another ambitious aym of those Junto-men is, their devise of referring all businesses of moment to *Committees*. For the active speaking men by mutual agreement naming one another of every Committee . . . do thereby forestall and intercept the businesses of the House, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the House with what glosses, additions, detractions, and advantages they please; whereby the House . . . oftentimes mis-judgeth, and if it be a businesse they are willing to smother, the Committees have infinite artificial delays to put it off. . . By this means the remaining part of the House are but Cyphers to value, and Suffragans to ratifie what is forejudged by the said Comittees. . . . These Committee-men are so powerful that they overawe and overpower their fellow Members, contrary to the nature of a free Parliament. . .

'How frequently the Countrie Committees act contrary to the Laws of the Land; how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet; . . . transgress all Orders . . . of Parliament, and break our Solemn League and Covenant; turn well affected

men out of their free-holds and goods, imprison and beat their Persons, . . . nay murder them. . . . Nothing is now more Common than an accusation without an accuser, a sentence without a Judge, and a condemnation without a hearing. . . . The people are now generally of opinion, They may as easily find Charity in Hell, as Justice in any Committee, and that the King hath taken down one Star Chamber, and the Parliament hath set up a hundred.' See also note on 22. 1.

Only a few months before, however, Milton had advocated 'well-order'd committees of their faithfulest adherents in every county,' which should 'give this government the resemblance and effect of a perfect democracy' (*Letter*, Oct. 20, 1659).

27. 4. **going on by degrees to perfection.** Milton again follows the counsels of Bodin: 'The wise politician in government of the estate is to imitate the works of God in nature who by litle and litle bringeth great things to perfection' (*Repub.*, p. 475).

27. 9. **abolishing that name.** The term 'Parliament,' which in its original meaning savoured of kingship, might well be abolished in favor of a more democratic word. Also, as Masson suggests, Milton knew that the nation could not be brought to think of a perpetual Parliament, in view of the odium which rested upon the existing body by reason of its long continuance in power.

27. 10. **parlie . . . with thir Norman king.** Since the days of the Witenagemot, English kings have always been assisted by a council of some sort. But not until after the Norman Conquest did the French term *Parlement* begin to be applied in England. William the Conqueror advised with his 'Wise Men' at Gloster in 1085. Shortly after, he 'summoned all the landholders of England . . . to meet him at Sarum' (Powell, *England to 1509*, p. 68), and made them swear allegiance. Stephen, the last of the Norman kings, held a similar 'great council' at Winchester in 1141, at which 'the Londoners' were present (*ibid.*, p. 83). In the following century the word 'Parliament' began to come into general use, occurring for the first time in English statutes in the preamble to the Statute of Westminster (1272). In 1295 Edward called the

Great Parliament, at which were duly present the three estates; this became the model for all Parliaments thereafter.

27. 18. **these nations.** England, Scotland, and Ireland.

27. 18a. **little cause to fear.** It was a firm conviction of many members of the Long Parliament that they were the chosen of God, called to rule in His name, and favored with a special Presence in all their deliberations (see note on 20. 29). With others, the love of power, or even of plunder (as enemies of the Rump declared), operated with equal effect. Certainly no Parliament ever clung to authority more tenaciously than did the Rump in 1660. Abjuration-oaths, engagements, and rigorous qualifications were its means of self-preservation. And even after Monk's edict for its dissolution had gone forth, there were strenuous efforts—notably in a pamphlet entitled *A Perpetual Parliament*—in behalf of perpetuation. It was with 'sad pangs & groanes' that it finally dissolved on March 16. It is evident, therefore, that the nation had good cause to 'fear' and 'suspect' them. Walker says that 'about this time, the whole Nation of England began to grow sick of the abhorred fag end of a Parliament, endeavouring to make head against them in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hartford, Hereford, Gloucester, Bristol, Cheshire' (*Hist. Ind.* 4. 55).

27. 22. **entreat them.** See note on 20. 29.

27. 28. **so many faithful and experienc'd hands.** See note on 20. 24. Lenthall was speaker, Haslerig leader, and Scot, the regicide, secretary of state.

27. 33. **persons untri'd,** etc. Charles and his supporters.

28. 3. **most easie, most present and only cure.** This medical conceit was in high favor about 1660. Sir Henry Vane, being moved with a desire 'to apply Balsame to the Wound before it become incurable,' gently proffered *A Healing Question*. Wm. Prynne resorted to more heroic measures in *A short, legal, medicinal, useful, safe, easy Prescription*, etc. Cf. *Brief Notes* (Bohn 2. 354): 'He [Dr. Griffith] . . . moves cunningly for a licence to be admitted physician both to church and state; . . . lays before you his drugs and ingredients: "Strong purgatives in the pulpit, contempered of the myrrh of mortification, the aloes of confession and con-

trition, the rhubarb of restitution and satisfaction ;" a pretty fantastic dose of divinity from a pulpit mountebank . . . undertaking to "describe the rise and progress of our national malady, and to prescribe the only remedy."

28. 12. **even to the coming**, etc. Until the Judgment Day. See Matt. 24. 30; Mark 13. 26. The idea is that of indefinite duration. Milton did not share the Fifth-Monarchy men's conviction that their generation would behold the institution of the Messianic reign. From Plato to Harrington and Milton, proposers of ideal constitutions were accustomed to exult in the indestructibility of the governments that they projected.

28. 14. **only worthy**. Milton did agree with the Fifth-Monarchy men, however, that Christ was the only rightful king. The present statement contains an implied denial of the right of Charles to rule. Cf. *Defense* (Bohn 1. 54): "'The Messias is a King." We acknowledge him so to be and rejoice that he is so; and pray that his kingdom may come, for he is worthy: nor is there any other equal, or next to him.'

28. 16. **the only by him anointed**. See note on 19. 26. Cf. *Ref.* (Bohn 1. 46): 'I deny, that there ever were any such kings in the world, that derived their authority from God alone.'

28. 20. **obsolete**. This is the term in Toland's edition. The Bohn edition has 'absolute.' The former is probably correct, as Milton seems to use antithetically the ideas of newly-coined terms on the one hand, and 'obsolete' terms—such as Harrington's *Phylarchs*, *archons*, etc.—on the other.

28. 20a. **exotic models**. Such as the Venetian ballot, agrarian laws, etc., which Harrington proposed to introduce.

28. 22. **native liberty**. Cf. *Tenure* (Bohn 2. 8): 'All men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself.' The writer goes on to explain that bondage came through Adam's transgression. This is characteristically mediæval.

28. 24. **I say again**. Despite the critics. Ever since the appearance of the first edition, they had made merry with Milton's title (see Appendix B, p. 175).

28. 26. **no perilous . . . circumscription**. Harrington's

scheme provided for circumscribing individual ownership of property, and for the confiscation of all in excess of the prescribed amount (see note on 28. 30).

28. 28. **temporal and spiritual lords remov'd.** See note on II. 16. Milton is a good way removed from his attitude in 1644. Cf. *Ref.* (Bohn 2. 409): 'Then shall the nobles possess all the dignities and offices of temporal honour to themselves, sole lords without the improper mixture of scholastic and pusillanimous upstarts; the parliament shall void her upper house of the same annoyances,' etc.

28. 30. **Agrarian law.** This was one of the three fundamental proposals made by Harrington in his *Oceana*. But it goes back, of course, to the *leges agrariae* of Rome. The first of these land-laws, proposed by Spurius Cassius in 486 B. C., was as follows: all public land was to be surveyed; one half was to be rented; the other half was to be divided among the poor plebeians (Taylor, *Const. Hist. of Rome*, p. 69). Other similar laws were passed from time to time. In 133 B. C. Tiberius Gracchus gave up his life in securing an agrarian law whereby the state resumed ownership of land held in excess of 500 jugera, or, in case there were sons, of 1000 jugera. All such reclaimed land was redistributed in allotments of 30 jugera to poor citizens and allies, and made 'heritable, inalienable, and subject to a small rent' (*ibid.*, p. 240). Harrington's agrarian proposal provided that every man who possessed 'an estate exceeding the revenue of £2000 a year' should leave the same so divided among his children that no son should have above £2000 a year, and no daughter above £1500 a year; that no one should be permitted to acquire an estate exceeding £2000 a year; and that all holdings in land in excess of that amount should be forfeited to the uses of the state.

28. 31. **cause . . . of sedition.** Milton has in mind the case of Tiberius Gracchus (see note on 28. 30).

28. 31a. **only where it began . . . with first possession.** This was true, of course, in the case of the Flaminian laws of 232 B. C., which provided for the distribution among the poor of lands recently won from the Gauls.

28. 35. **as by some friviously.** The mildness of the expression indicates that Milton is replying to some good-natured sport at his expense among republicans—probably in the Rota Club. At all events, the satirical remarks about his *Ready and Easy Way* were made before the treatise was completed, and evidently by some one in close touch with the writer. Cyriack Skinner may have taken Milton's dictation, and carried a report to the Rota. Or perhaps Marchamont Needham, a somewhat frivolous but intimate friend of Milton's, may have been favored with advance information.

29. 5. **something like a duke of Venice.** The Dutch republic retained a single person at the head of the state. The English commonwealth had also accepted a protector. There was now, in the spring of 1660, much talk of setting up a single person again. During the previous autumn, Lambert had been suspected of such an ambition. The chief officers, Fleetwood and Desborough, 'would have left the Protector Richard a Duke of Venice for his father's sake.' On March 2 Pepys says: 'Great is the talk of a single person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard again.' But in February suspicion rested mostly upon General Monk, who, as Pepys heard, was supposed to be hatching a design 'to get into the saddle.' It was Clarendon's opinion also that Monk's original ambition was to 'see a commonwealth established, in such a model as Holland was, where he had been bred, and that himself might enjoy the authority and place which the Prince of Aurange possessed in that Government' (*Hist. Reb.* 16. 134).

29. 8. **to lurch a crown.** Note the strengthening word in the second edition. See Glossary, and cf. note on 29. 5.

29. 9. **ingag'ment to . . . house of Nassau.** The allusion is to the compact, or union, of Utrecht, proposed by William, Prince of Orange, of the house of Nassau, and agreed to by the Seven Provinces in 1579. Thus was founded the Dutch republic. The engagement provided for a division of power between the States-General, the Provincial States, and the Stadholder (William himself).

29. 22. **Council of State left sitting.** Cf. Introduction,

p. xxxv. At least that much of Milton's plan was followed. From March 16 to April 25 the government was in the hands of Monk and the council of state.

29. 24. **as seldom as may be.** The very week Milton's pamphlet appeared, Monk expressed similar misgivings (see note on 31. 25).

29. 32. **endless tugging.** Although Charles II and his Parliament made common cause against Puritanism, and so maintained a degree of harmony, nevertheless Milton's prophecy came true within a generation. James came to the throne with all the exaggerated and arrogant notions of royal prerogative characteristic of the earlier Stuarts, and he was soon intimidating the judiciary, attempting to pack the House through the manipulation of charters to corporations, maintaining an army of 20,000 men in time of peace, levying customs and excise-duties without consent of Parliament, setting up, in 1686, a high court of ecclesiastical commission directly against the act of Parliament in Charles I's reign, expelling the fellows of Magdalen College for refusing to elect his own Catholic nominee, and commanding his Declaration of Indulgence to be read in all the churches.

Against this tyranny the people finally rose in rebellion, and placed William and Mary on the throne. In a Bill of Rights they declared that (1) the suspending power, (2) dispensing power, (3) ecclesiastical courts, (4) maintaining a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament, (5) levying money by pretense of prerogative, were all illegal; (6) that all elections should be free; and (7) that Parliaments should be frequent.

29. 34. **negative voice, militia, or subsidies.** The veto-power, the control of the militia, and the claim to revenues customarily granted by Parliament to the Crown to meet emergencies, had been among the main contentions of the late king. These were all revived by Charles II and James (see note on 29. 32). Even under William the negative voice was used very freely, not less than four bills being vetoed from 1692 to 1696 (Macaulay, *Hist. Eng.* 3. 219—20, 410; 4. 49, 148). But, with the exception of the Scotch Militia Bill in

1707 (Medley, *Const. Hist.*, p. 315), this was the last use ever made in England of the royal prerogative of the negative voice. 'The last of the king's dangerous prerogatives went when the Act of Settlement (1700) took from the Crown the power of dismissing the judges at pleasure' (*ibid.*, p. 80).

30. 2. **only true representatives of the people.** See note on 10. 35.

30. 3. **mingl'd with a court-faction.** The Restoration Parliament did indeed prove to be extremely servile: it gratified the king with huge appropriations, and excelled him in severity against his unpardoned foes.

30. 8. **temporal and spiritual lords.** See note on 11. 16. A few lords assembled of their own accord at the meeting of Parliament, April 25, 1660. At the Restoration they were established upon their old footing. The act disabling all in holy orders from exercising temporal jurisdiction was annulled, and on Nov. 20, 1661, the bishops took their seats again in the House of Lords.

30. 13. **soon dissolv'd, or sit and do nothing.** The prerogative of the king to dissolve Parliament was a favorite weapon of the Stuarts. Cromwell also again and again angrily dissolved do-nothing Parliaments. Perhaps Milton, while writing these words, was thinking of Cromwell's reasons for the dissolution on Jan. 22, 1654: 'You have wholly elapsed your time, and done just nothing.' Cf. note on 20. 17.

30. 15. **Council of State shall not be chosen by the Parliament.** Milton's scheme provided that it should be. Councils of state originated in the advisory privy councils of kings. Their appointment remained, under kingship, a part of the royal prerogative.

30. 20. **I denie not,** etc. Probably some one had urged against Milton Bodin's definition of 'a good and just king'—'such an one as is always readie to bestow his goods, his blood, and life, for the good of his people' (*Repub.*, p. 211). But Milton's own writings show that he had once admired good kings. Thus in the *Commonplace Book* he refers to 'noble King Alfred,' and 'Rex nobilissimus Alfredus,' and quotes Sir Thomas Smith's definition of a good king — one who



'doth seeke the profit of the people as his owne.' Cf. *Tenure* (Bohn 2. 18): 'Look how great a good and happiness a just king is, so great a mischief is a tyrant'; also see note on 31. 23.

30. 24. **this rarely happ'ns**, etc. Milton's thought is colored by Bodin's. Cf. *De Repub.* (*Wks.*, p. 414): 'Neither ought it unto any man to seeme straunge, if there have bene but few princes for their vertues famous: for if every where there be such a scarcitie of good and valiant men, and that kings are not chosen out of the number of such: and that they to whome their kingdoms come by succession, commonly have their education polluted with so many vices, as that hard it is to say which of them is the greatest: it is almost a myracle if one of them shall bee able to get out of such a gulfes of all maner of vices.'

But we know that Machiavelli was also a certain source of this idea, for Milton transcribes into the *Commonplace Book* a passage from the *Discorsi* (I. 2) of which the following is a translation: 'But by degrees their Government coming to be Hereditary, and not by Election, according to their former way, those which inherited degenerated from their Ancestors, and neglecting all virtuous actions, began to believe that Princes were exalted for no other end but to discriminate themselves from their subjects, by their pomp, luxurie, and all other effeminate qualities, by which means they fell into a hatred of the people, and by consequence became afraid of them . . . and began to meditate revenge.' See also note on 15. 17.

31. 1. **joy to serve**. This, of course, is a popular appeal, calculated to arrest the mad rush of the multitude toward kingship. Personally, Milton's highest ideal was service (see note on 16. 4). It is not service, but serving a king, that he abhors.

31. 3. **pretended law of subjection**. This law, which Milton repudiates, is made very clear by Bodin: 'For the people or the lords of a Commonweale, may purely and simply give the soveraigne and perpetuall power to any one, to dispose of the goods and lives, and of all the state at his pleasure:

and so afterward to leave it to whome he list: like as the proprietarie or owner may purely & simply give his owne goods, without any other cause to be expressed, than of his own meere bountie. . . . If such absolute power bee given him purely and simply, . . . it is certain that such a one is, and may call himselfe a Sovereigne Monarch: for so the people hath voluntarily disseised and dispoyled it selfe of the soveraigne power, to sease and invest another therein, . . . in which case such a perfect donation admitteth no conditions' (*Repub.*, p. 88).

31. 5. **Aristotle, our chief instructor.** Milton is speaking in the last days of the schoolmen's reign in the universities; that is, just before the founding of the Royal Society, and the general scientific awakening. Philosophy and theology, with the seven liberal arts (grammar, logic, and rhetoric—the Trivium; and arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music—the Quadrivium), constituted the regimen of the scholar. In many of these Aristotle was the supreme authority, and instruction in general much affected the Aristotelian method (see Masson, *Life* i. 264). Milton himself, in his college oration (*Exercise III*), says: 'Let your master in all this be that very Aristotle who is so much delighted in, and who has left almost all these things scientifically and exquisitely written for our learning.'

31. 6. **Sectarian.** Milton was particularly sensitive over this matter, for he himself had been twitted with the title, 'Founder of a Sect' (see App. B, p. 178). And such, indeed, he was. In the queer old volume, *Heresiography* (ed. 1654), by Ephraim Pagitt, we find Milton's sect duly catalogued, and condemned, as follows: '*Divorciers*. Those I term Divorciers, that would bee quit of their Wives for slight occasions, and to maintain this opinion, one hath published a Tractate of Divorce, in which the bonds of Marriage are let loose to inordinate Lust, putting away Wives for many other causes besides that which our Saviour only approveth, namely in case of Adultery, who groundeth his error upon the words of God, *Gen.* 2. 18,' etc.

31. 7. **third of his Politics.** Cf. *Politics* 3. 15 (tr.

Jowett) : 'The first governments were kingships, probably for this reason, because of old, when cities were small, men of eminent virtue were few. They were made kings because they were benefactors, and benefits can only be bestowed by good men. . . . The ruling class soon deteriorated and enriched themselves out of the public treasury; riches became the path to honour, and so oligarchies naturally grew up. These passed into tyrannies and tyrannies into democracies; for love of gain in the ruling classes was always tending to diminish their number, and so to strengthen the masses, who in the end set upon their masters and established democracies.'

Milton tactfully ignores Aristotle's foremost reason for the change. The sentence omitted above is as follows: 'But when many persons equal in merit arose, no longer enduring the preëminence of one, they desired to have a commonwealth, and set up a constitution.'

31. 21. **not comparably sufficient.** That is, in comparison with the 'able and worthy men united in Counsel.' Milton had deemed the Rump 'abundantly sufficient so happily to govern.'

31. 23. **admitt, that monarchy, etc.** Milton must needs admit it, for he had once written: 'The form of state to be fitted to the peoples disposition: some live best under monarchy, others otherwise' (*Com. Bk.*). But he is probably conceding something to Bodin, who says that 'it was by long experience found out, That Monarchies were more sure, more profitable, and more durable also, than were the Popular estates, or Aristocracies' (*De Repub.*, p. 413).

31. 25. **cannot but prove pernicious.** Milton here pauses in his argument for a commonwealth, to set before his countrymen—especially delinquent republicans—a truly alarming array of evils consequent upon a return to kingship. The passage is greatly enlarged in the second edition. Having failed in his appeal to conscience and reason, he would try what force there is in selfish fear. One is astounded to find that prince of dissemblers, General Monk, even as late as Feb. 21 almost outdoing Milton himself in ve-

hement protests and fearsome predictions (see Introd., p. xxxiii).

31. 27. **will be sure to fortifie.** So it turned out. Monk's army was left intact, and new forces were added from time to time. By June, 1666, Charles had at his command an army of 20,000 men (*Camb. Hist.* 5. 113). King James, in time of peace, maintained an equally large standing army.

31. 30. **narrowly watch'd and kept so low.** Milton had long before come across this idea in Guicciardini, and made a note of it: '*Tyranni armorum studium in populo extinguere conantur.* I re passati temendo del impeto de popoli havevano atteso a disarmargli et alienargli dagli essercitii militari' (*Com. Bk.*). He was familiar, also, with Mariana's *De Rege*, which gives the following picture of a restored monarch: 'Ergo ut in principio nihil est humilior adulator, ita postquam opes suas firmavit, nihil est in eo insolentius, . . . in omnia vitiorum genera delabatur. . . . Ardet libidine, æstuat cupiditatibus, sævitiam ostentat, opes publicas & privatas domum avertit, ut solus in omnium fortunis dominati, solusque alieno nomine regnare videtur, omnia denique ad suum commodum refert, nulla cura publicæ salutis' (*De Rege*, ed. 1611, p. 175). The argument was much used by Buchanan and Machiavelli, and by practically all the writers against tyrants.

Cf. Marchamont Needham, *Interest will not Lye*: 'It shall be counted reason of state to keep you poor and low.' See note on 31. 25.

31. 32. **would never so fain.** Would never so gladly do so.

32. 4. **God's known denouncement.** See 1 Sam. 8. 18.

32. 4a. **gentilizing.** Desiring to have a king, and 'be like all the nations.'

32. 5. **Commonwealth of God's own ordaining.** Cf. Machiavelli, *Works*, p. 534: 'Whosoever reads attentively the Historical part of the Old Testament, shall find that God himself never made but one Government for men, that this Government was a Commonwealth, (wherein the Sanhedrim or Senate, and the Congregation or popular Assembly had their share) and that he manifested his high displeasure when the rebellious would turn it into a Monarchy.'

32. 6. **his peculiar people.** Cf. Deut. 14. 2: 'For thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth.' Cf. note on 19. 10.

32. 7. **misgovernment of Samuel's sons.** See 1 Sam. 8. 5.

32. 8. **no more a reason,** etc. An implied rebuke to the deserters of the republican cause.

32. 9. **Eli's sons.** See 1 Sam. 8. 5.

32. 19. **new gilded Yoke.** The old yoke newly gilded.

32. 20. **new royal-revenue.** Many of the ancient and hereditary sources of royal income had, of course, been abolished. Tonnage and poundage, for two hundred years an unquestioned prerogative of the crown, ship-money, income from the sale of titles, or alternative fines by way of 'composition,' fines based upon old forest-laws, income from the sale of patents on soap, salt, spirits, etc., all of which had been resorted to by Charles I, no longer existed. Besides, the large revenues from crown-lands had been cut off by the sale of these lands to supporters of the commonwealth. The same was true of the bishops' lands and chapter-lands of the church.

32. 20a. **for those are individual.** They were now accruing to private individuals. See note on 32. 20.

32. 24. **general confusion to men's estates.** Among the first acts of Parliament was the restoration of the crown-lands and the queen's jointure. A bill providing for the satisfaction of the purchasers of public lands failed to pass. Newcastle, Buckingham, and others were reinstated in all their former possessions by special vote; while estates in general which had been sold by the late government reverted to the original owners, without compensation to present holders. Church-lands to the value of £2,400,000 were also restored.

32. 26. **worst and ignoblest.** Cavaliers and court-followers generally.

32. 27. **ministers of court riot and excess.** This probably should read, 'ministers of court-riot and excess'; for the following 'it' seems to refer to a single antecedent idea, viz., court-extravagance—'riot and excess.'

32. 30. **revenges.** This only too well-founded argument

was much used by Milton and other republicans. The most notable example, perhaps, is the *News from Brussels*, a pamphlet probably instigated by Praise-God Barebone, and written by Milton's fellow-journalist, Marchamont Needham. It purports to be 'from a near Attendant on His Majesty's Person.' The pamphlet 'casually became publick' in London on March 31. 'This rebellion first began in presbyterian pulpits,' declares the pseudo-cavalier writer. He continues: 'T is a romance to think revenge can sleep. . . . Canst fancy that our master can forget he had a father, . . . how he lost his crown and life, and who the cause thereof? . . . Ne'er fear it, there's fire enough in his father's ashes . . . to burn up every adversary. . . . The presbyter will give up the fanatick, a handsome bone to pick at first. . . . Thus half the beard they shave themselves, let us alone with t'other: Drown first the kitlings, let the dam that littered them alone a little longer. . . . Fret not, . . . for we resolve the rogues that left the Rump shall feel the scourge that loyal hearts lash rebels with; . . . a roundhead is a roundhead; black and white devils look all alike to us.—Thinkest thou that we can breathe in peace while we see a little finger left alive that hath been dipt in royal blood? or his adherents? No, a thought of mercy is more hateful than hell: But cooks may be conquerors, and a plate [poison] perform equal execution with a pistol, and with less report. . . . Get arms, but buy them not in such suspicious numbers,' etc. Cf. note on 33. 1.

No wonder that John Evelyn rose from a sick-bed to offset this dangerous appeal, and that the Royalist gentry made haste to publish the following reassurance: 'We do disclaim and with perfect detestation disown all purpose of revenge, or partial remembrance of things past,' etc. Charles himself declared from Breda, April 14: 'We do grant a free and general pardon . . . to all our subjects . . . who, within forty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour, . . . excepting only such persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament' (Gardiner, *Const. Doc.*, p. 465).

Parliament proved to be more implacable than the king. By its order the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton

were dug up and hung at Tyburn ; many of the regicides (see note on 32. 35a) were hung, and some even hacked to pieces. 'The presbyterians,' says Mrs. Hutchinson, 'were now the white boys, and according to their nature fell a thirsting, then hunting after blood, urging that God's blessing could not be upon the land, till justice had cleansed it from the late king's blood' (*Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson* 2. 245). Milton himself went into hiding, but was finally arrested ; and it was only through the good offices of Davenant and Marvell that he escaped hanging.

32. 35. **though perhaps neuters**, etc. See Glossary. A very similar foreboding is quoted by Walker, and branded as 'a canting lye.' Cf. *Hist. Ind.* 4. 53: 'Whatever fair pretences may be made use of by the common Enemy, . . . yet should they prevail, no man that hath been of a party against them heretofore, yea no man that hath been a meer Neuter, but must expect that his private Estate, as well as the Publick Liberty, shall become a prey to a desperate crew of ravenous and unreasonable men.'

32. 35a. **if not to utmost infliction, yet . . . banishment**. Thirteen of the regicides were executed—ten of these being hanged, drawn, and quartered ; twenty-five were imprisoned for life ; and others, like Goffe and Whalley, found refuge in America.

32. 37. **disfavour**. Colonel Hutchinson may be taken as the type of an upright, conscientious consentor to the king's death. Upon his first appearance in the hostile House, being expected to say something in his own defense, he calmly and firmly declared that he had acted according to conscience, and was ready to abide the consequences. Through the utmost endeavors of his wife and friends, his sentence was reduced to this : 'to be discharged from the present parliament, and from all office, military or civil, in the state for ever' (*Memoirs* 2. 251).

33. 1. **new royaliz'd presbyterians**. The Presbyterians had been foremost in instituting and carrying on the Civil War, and had tried to force Charles to take the Covenant and set up national Presbyterianism ; but when the Independents, in 1649, went about bringing him to trial, they did all they could to save his life, and to restore him to the throne. Hence

Milton's attempt to scare them into repentance met with no success. Cf. Needham's similar warning: 'What can you of the Presbyterian judgment expect, but certain ruin to your way and your persons? . . . Consider the animosity naturally inherent in the royal party, and their head, against you. Be not so weak, as to sooth yourselves, that you shall fare better than others: . . . it is ground sufficient for his hatred, that you bandied against his father, and the prerogative. . . . Again, consider, that he hath a most particular antipathie against your party, as the old enemies of his family. . . . Trust him, then, if you please; and bring him in if you dare' (*Interest will not Lye*: Harris, *Life of Charles II* i. 290).

33. 4. **the pacification.** A secret treaty was entered into by Charles with the Scots Dec. 26, 1647, in which he agreed to the following demands: maintenance of the Covenant; establishment of Presbyterianism in England; the disbanding of armies. In turn, the king was to be confirmed in his control of the militia and the power of veto over Parliament.

33. 6. **diabolical forerunning libells.** See Appendices A, p. 167; B.

33. 6a. **the faces, the gestures.** See Glossary. The general feeling of exultation expressed itself in demonstrations of loyalty, especially in taverns. 'Everybody now drink the king's health,' observed Pepys.

33. 11. **hell.** The term is to be taken, primarily, in its ordinary sense. But it doubtless possessed an additional pungency for the Londoners of Milton's day, inasmuch as there flourished at that time, near Westminster, a rather notorious tavern called 'Hell.' Clarendon says that the Presbyterians arrested at Pride's Purge in 1648 were confined in 'that place under the Exchequer which is commonly called Hell; where they might eat and drink at their own charge' (*Hist. Reb.* ii. 207). Noble records that on Jan. 17, 1649, 'it was observable that it was also ordered, that "all back doors from the House, called Hell, should be shut up during the king's trial"' (*Lives of Eng. Regicides*, Introd.). The existence of this resort, together with the unrestrained health-drinking



then going on among Royalists, probably suggested to Milton the comparison.

33. 11. **infernal pamphlets.** The Royalists expressed similar opinions of Milton's pamphlets. L'Estrange calls him a 'Pamphlet Merchant,' and adds: 'The heart of the Design was almost broken: and yet they would not leave their Pamphleteering. Particularly Milton put forth a bawling piece against Dr. Griffith' (*Tracts*, p. 157).

33. 13. **not for want of licence.** In the *Areopagitica*, Milton had made 'a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing.' But shortly after his entering the Latin secretaryship in 1649, he himself was induced to undertake the censorship of the newspaper-press. His influence, however, went rather to mitigate the stringency of press-regulations, such as the Bradshaw Press Act of 1649 and 1651, which forbade the writing, publication, or sale of 'any Book or Pamphlet, Treatise, Sheet or Sheets of news whatsoever, unless licensed.' Cromwell's council passed a similar measure in 1655, which lodged the censorship in the hands of the secretary of state. But these acts were not strictly enforced. Especially now, in April, 1660, were Royalist pamphleteers pouring forth their printed vituperations with little hindrance (Dr. Griffith's case excepted) from Monk and the council. But it was very different with the republican pamphleteers. A warrant had been issued against Milton's publisher, Livewell Chapman. Needham fled early in April. Milton fully realized what his own pamphlet might bring upon him.

33. 14. **traduce others by name.** See Appendices A, p. 167; B.

33. 15. **intend . . . more wicked deeds.** See note on 32. 30.

33. 18. **tigers of Bacchus.** The bull, the lion, and the panther were most prominent among the animals sacred to Dionysos (Bacchus), the Greek god of wine. Sometimes he was pictured as riding an ox, and again as driving a team of lions, or a lion and a panther (Roscher, *Lex. Griech. und Rom. Myth.* 1. 1095). In modern art he is sometimes represented as riding in a chariot drawn by tigers, as in Titian's painting,

Bacchus and Ariadne. The tiger-feature may have been imported into the myth from the worship of the Phrygian Magna Mater (Pauly, *Real-Encycl. der Class. Alterthumswiss.* 5. 1041).

Cf. Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale*:

Away! away! for I will fly to thee,  
Not charioted by Bacchus and his pards.

33. 18a. **fanatics**. These were the militant religious enthusiasts, such as the Fifth-Monarchy men. But in the spring of 1660 the term came to be applied by Royalists to all, of whatever sect or faction, who steadfastly opposed the return of the king. Milton, Needham, Livewell Chapman, Lambert, and those who rallied about Lambert in April, were among the chief Fanatics. Thus Pepys, *Diary*, April 15, says: 'I hear that since Lambert got out of the Tower, the Fanatiques had held up their heads high.'

33. 18b. **not the preaching but the sweating-tub**. A preaching-tub was a pulpit, especially that of an ignorant, ranting dissenter. Cf. Pope, *Dunciad* 2. 2:

High on a gorgeous seat, that far outshone  
Henley's gilt tub, or Flecknoe's Irish throne.

The sweating-tub was used in the treatment of venereal diseases. Cf. *Timon of Athens* 4. 3. 85-7:

Season the slaves  
For tubs and baths; bring down rose-cheek'd youth  
To the tub-fast and the diet.

33. 20. **draw one way**. Pull together, or in the same direction.

33. 23. **these shall plough on their backs**. Lay open again the old furrows made by the lash of their royal masters. In *Plain English* (April, 1660), a pamphlet in which Milton is thought to have had a hand, we read: '[The incoming Royalists] 'will plow up the old Furrows upon our Backs' (L'Estrange, *Tracts*, p. 113). Cf. Ps. 129. 3.

33. 27. **the first inciters**, etc. Cf. *Tenurs* (Bohn 2. 27): 'The presbyterians, who now so much condemn deposing,

were the men themselves that deposed the king, and cannot, with all their shifting and relapsing, wash off the guiltiness from their own hands.' See note on 33. 28.

33. 28. **more then to the third part actors.** The Presbyterians had indeed been prominent actors in the beginning and in the prosecution of the war. They had had part in the vote of 'No Addresses' in January, 1648. During this year they regained their majority in the House. In August they voted to reopen negotiations. On Oct. 25 they had the largest part in the absolute rejection of Charles' final concession. But, repenting again, they voted on Dec. 5 that the king's terms were satisfactory. On the following day Colonel Pride 'purged' them out of Parliament. From this point onward, the Presbyterians opposed with all their might the summary measures taken against the king. They were not, therefore, actors in 'all that followd,' nor does Milton elsewhere accuse them of being direct participants in the trial and execution of the king. The worst he can find against them in the *Defense* is that their rebellion practically deposed the king, and that they had prepared the way for the final measures in which they refused to have part.

It is probable, therefore, that in the present instance Milton does not mean to say that the Presbyterians bore their third in all that followed, but rather that they were prominent actors in more than three parts (in five) of all that followed, conceiving the whole as a five-act tragedy. Such a conceit was then in fashion. Cf. *Defense* (Bohn 1. 194): 'You, yourselves, in the opinion of this everlasting talkative advocate of the king your accuser, "went more than half-way towards it; you were seen acting the fourth act and more, in this tragedy."'

33. 30. **the contrarie part.** The opposite party.

33. 30a. **standing armie.** Needham's thought closely parallels Milton's. Doubtless the two friends went over these subjects frequently in conversation. Cf. Needham's *Interest will not Lye*: 'What can either of these things produce, but the same necessity of keeping forces on foot to secure the tyranny n his own and his bishops' hands, against the rest of the people,

as the parliament is constrained now to do for securing liberty of conscience, and all the rights and liberties of the people, against the return of that tyranny' (Harris, *Life of Charles II* 1. 294).

33. 31. **this**. This army (see note on 33. 32a).

33. 31a. **fiercest Cavaliers**. See note on 32. 30.

33. 32. **Rupert**. Prince Rupert (1619–82) was the son of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, and of Frederick V, Elector Palatine. He visited England in 1636, and became a great favorite with his uncle, the king. At the outbreak of the war, Charles commissioned him general of the horse. As a cavalry-leader, he struck terror into the Parliamentarians through the swiftness and ferocity of his movements. He was beaten by Cromwell at Marston Moor (1644).

33. 32a. **this armie**. The expression refers to the Commonwealth-veterans—the army which had played so large a part in the events of the past twenty years, but which was now daily falling away from republicanism. Milton touches them in their tenderest place in warning them of dissolution, and the loss of arrears.

33. 37. **delinquents and compounders**. See note on 12. 14a. On Sept. 6, 1642, Parliament decreed 'that those great Charges and Damages wherewith all the Commonwealth hath been burthened . . . sithence his Majesty's Departure from the Parliament, may be borne by the Delinquents, and other malignant and disaffected Persons; and that all his Majesty's good and well-affected Subjects who, by the Loan of monies or otherwise, at their Charge, have assisted the Commonwealth . . . may be repaid all Sums of money by them lent for those Purposes . . . out of the Estates of the malignant and disaffected Party in this Kingdom' (*Com. Journ.*). This policy was continued during the Civil War and the commonwealth. But by act of Parliament, Jan. 30, 1644, Royalists were permitted to retain their estates by compounding—that is, by submitting to Parliament, and making a specified cash-payment.

34. 2. **them who have not lost that right**. Those of the Parliamentary side—Presbyterians, Independents, etc.

34. 3. **who can certainly determin?** An admission that

perhaps half of the republicans are now lost to the cause. Cf. notes on 9. 11 and 19. 5.

34. 13. **right to win it and to keep it.** Cf. *Def.* (Bohn 1. 143): 'What if the greater part of the senate should choose to be slaves, or to expose the government to sale, ought not the lesser number to interpose, and endeavour to retain their liberty, if it be in their power?' St. John remarks on this passage: 'No country can be governed by counting heads. It is the majority of intelligence, and energy of resolution, and aptitude for business that really govern mankind. The majority of numbers may be ignorant and slavish. But that can be no reason why the glorious minority of enlightened men should submit if they can avoid it to be slaves along with them.'

This undemocratic doctrine is found in Plato, *Laws* 1. 627: 'The state in which the better citizens win a victory over the mob and over the inferior classes may be truly said to be better than itself, and may be justly praised.' 'The sixth principle, and the greatest of all, is, that the wise should lead and command, and the ignorant follow and obey' (*ibid.* 3. 690). Cf. note on 11. 37.

34. 25. **more ample and secure.** The opposite position, of course, is taken by the Royalists. Thus the author of *England's Confusion* chides the people for 'their folly and madness in affecting to be governed as a commonwealth,' and points out 'how far the people are from enjoying that liberty under that government, which the people of England have always done under their kings.'

34. 27. **spiritual or civil libertie.** Cf. *Sec. Def.* (Bohn 1. 258): 'I had from my youth studied the distinctions between religious and civil rights; . . . I perceived that there were three species of liberty which are essential to the happiness of social life—religious, domestic, and civil.'

34. 30. **libertie to serve God,** etc. Milton's own words prove that Machiavelli's ideas of religious freedom exercised an influence upon his own. In the *Commonplace Book* we read: 'Machiavel. discors. 1.1 c.10: Opiniones hominum de Religione, oportere in Repub. vel sub bonis principibus liberar esse; quos dum laudat Machiavellus, inter cætera bona inquit,

videbis sub iis tempora aurea, dove ciascuno può tenere et difendere quella opinione che vuole.' Cf. Cromwell, *Speech*, Jan. 22, 1655: '... that liberty ... to worship God according to their own light and consciences.'

34. 35. **no supream ... rule ... but the scriptures**, etc. This doctrine of the Reformation was first set forth by Luther, as follows: 'Oportet enim Scriptura iudice hic sententiam ferre, quod fieri non potest, nisi Scripturæ demus principum locum in omnibus, quæ tribuuntur patribus, hoc est, ut sit ipsa per sese certissima, facillissima, opertissima, sui ipsius interpres' (*Works*, Weimar ed., 7. 97). See notes on 35. 2 and 35. 3.

35. 2. **another treatise**. Milton refers to his *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, a pamphlet written the preceding February by way of admonition to the Parliament soon to assemble. Therein he says: 'First, it cannot be denied, being the main foundation of our protestant religion, that we of these ages, having no other divine rule or authority from without us ... but the holy scripture, and no other within us but the illumination of the Holy Spirit, ... can have no other ground in matters of religion but only from the scriptures. ... It is the general consent of all sound protestant writers, that neither tradition, councils, nor canons of any visible church, much less edicts of any magistrate or civil session, but the scripture only, can be the final judge or rule in matters of religion, and that only in the conscience of every Christian to himself. Which protestation made by the first public reformers of our religion ... gave first beginning to the name Protestant; and with that name hath ever been received this doctrine, which ... acknowledges none but the scripture to be the interpreter of itself to the conscience' (Bohn 2. 523-4).

The subject is again and even more amply treated in the posthumous *De Doctrina Christiana*; but this work, although probably under way by 1660, belongs as a whole to the closing years of Milton's life.

35. 3. **publick declarations, confessions**, etc. Thus the *First Helvetic Confession* (1536) says: 'De Interpretatione

Scripturæ. Hujus interpretatio ex ipsa sola petenda est, ut ipsa interpres sit sui' (Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom* 3. 211). A portion of the *Belgic Confession* (1561) is as follows: 'We receive all these books as holy and canonical, . . . believing, without any doubt, all things contained in them, . . . because the Holy Ghost witnesseth in our hearts that they are from God' (*ibid.* 3. 386). Another declaration is found in the *Irish Articles of Religion* (1615): 'Although there be some hard things in the Scripture; . . . yet all things necessary to be known unto everlasting salvation are clearly delivered therein' (*ibid.* 3. 527). And, finally, in the *Westminster Confession* (1647) we read: 'The infallible rule of interpretation of Scripture is the Scripture itself; and therefore, when there is a question about the true and full sense of any Scripture (which is not manifold, but one), it must be searched and known by other places that speak more clearly' (*ibid.* 3. 605).

35. 5. **the Reformation.** The great religious revolt against Papacy in the sixteenth century was set in motion in 1517 by Luther's ninety-five theses against indulgences. Two cardinal principles of the Reformation were justification by faith and individual interpretation of the Scriptures. Zwingli in Switzerland, Knox in Scotland, and Henry and Elizabeth in England carried the work to its conclusion in the establishment of Protestant churches.

35. 8. **let him know**, etc. The establishment of a state church, with its compulsory tithes and uniformity in worship, was a project as dear to the Presbyterians as it was obnoxious to Milton. Even the members of the Rump contemplated something of this sort. Milton, as their champion, and as an Independent, felt it his duty to warn them against such intolerance. But in the second edition the passage is, for the most part, omitted, as certain to do no good, now that the Presbyterians are in power, and likely to ruin the main design of the treatise.

35. 18. **ordained by Christ.** See Matt. 16. 18.

35. 21. **such faction in chusing.** Such strife and unscrupulous intrigue. See *Introd.*, p. xxvii. In this particular election even Sir Ralph Verney himself became excited,

and recommended to 'good Mr. Yates' the use of rather substantial means: 'As to any matter of charge, I shall readily disburse it; those things are not to be had Drily: you know there is a time to cast away as well as a time to keepe' (*Verney Memoirs* 3. 475). The clergy were not idle. 'The Gallican Ministers,' writes Dr. Denton, 'have written to ours assuring them that the Kinge is a very good Protestant and much on his behalf' (*ibid.* 3. 477). But the Long Parliament itself furnishes the best illustration of faction (see notes on 14. 5 and 20. 19).

35. 27. **tyrannical designs.** See note on 20. 19.

35. 27a. **in summ.** In short.

35. 29. **fifth monarchie of the saints.** The Fifth-Monarchy men were a peculiar seventeenth-century sect who believed that the millennial reign of Christ was at hand, and that it was soon to be their privilege and duty to help establish it by force. Meanwhile, they acknowledged no king but Jesus. Thus Overton, Governor of Hull, vowed to hold that fortress till the coming of King Jesus. More specifically, their ideas were as follows: The Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman monarchies had passed away. The age of the fifth monarchy was just dawning. Christ, who was soon to appear, would utterly destroy all those anti-Christian kings, priests, and lawyers who now sat on his throne and usurped his powers. The saints were soon to possess the earth. Until Christ should appear, it was incumbent upon them 'to bring things as near as might be . . . to what they shall be when he is come' (Rogers, *Life and Opinions of a Fifth-Monarchy Man*, p. 40). They believed in using the sword.

Among the more prominent members were Harrison ('Butcher' Harrison, of Basinghouse fame), Overton, Venner, and Sir Henry Vane. The sect found a particularly congenial atmosphere in Cromwell's army.

In 1654 appeared a book by John Rogers, entitled, *Sagrir, or Domes-day drawing nigh, with Thunder and Lightning to Lawyers, in an Alarum for New Laws, and the Peoples Liberties from the Norman and Babylonish Yokes*, etc. This furnishes



still more definite information : 'Mark it, by Anno 1656 the flood begins. . . . By 1660 the work of this monarchy is to get as far as Rome, and by 1666, is to be visible in all the earth. It will come mysteriously, suddenly, and terribly, and will redeem the people—1st, from ecclesiastical bondage, decrees, councils, orders, and ordinances of the Pope, priest, prelate, or the like ; 2, from civil bondage and slavery, or those bloody, base, unjust, accursed, tyrannical laws . . . as now oppress and afflict the people' (*ibid.* p. 95).

The militant zeal of these Fanatics caused no little uneasiness. Thus the *Mercurius Politicus* reports a plot of Fifth-Monarchy men, Anabaptists, and Quakers 'to cut throats that night' (July 21, 1659). On Jan. 6, 1661, a very desperate rising of these men, under the leadership of Thomas Venner, did occur. They invaded London, declaring for King Jesus, fighting as those who believed that one should chase a thousand, slew many, and retired to Caen Wood. On the 9th they returned to the assault in two divisions, and were either cut down, or captured and subsequently hanged.

Cf. Thomas Fuller, *Mixed Contemplations* : 'I know not what Fifth-Monarchy men would have, and wish they knew themselves. If by Christ's reigning they only intend his powerful and effectual ruling by his grace in the hearts of his servants ; we all will, not turn, but continue Fifth-Monarchy men.'

Their favorite texts were : Dan. 8. 18, 27 ; Jer. 48. 10 ; Ezek. 21. 26, 27.

35. 30. **as the United Netherlands have found.** The great religious controversy in the Netherlands during the first quarter of the seventeenth century began in the University of Leyden, when Gomarus and Arminius, professors of theology, locked horns over Calvinism, the one holding to orthodox, the other to liberal, interpretation. Following their lead, the whole nation split into Calvinist and Arminian factions, headed politically by Prince Maurice, the house of Orange, and the States-General on the one hand, and by Barneveldt and the Provincial States on the other. Much strife and bloodshed followed. The central government strove to subdue the

provinces, which in turn stubbornly resisted, and persecuted Calvinists. Other conferences accomplishing nothing, the Synod of Dort (1618), to which were invited delegates from outside nations, ended, after 180 sessions, in a complete Calvinist triumph. Here Hales of England 'for ever bade John Calvin goodnight.' Episcopius was banished as a heretic, Grotius was imprisoned, and Barneveldt was condemned and executed. Only with the death of Maurice in 1625 did persecution cease, and the era of peace and unparalleled prosperity begin. 'In a few years, Holland became, as far as the government was concerned, the most tolerant country in the world, the asylum of those whom bigotry hunted from their native land. Hence it became the favorite abode of those wealthy and enterprising Jews, who greatly increased its wealth by aiding its external and internal commerce' (Rogers, *Story of Holland*, p. 241). Cf. Felltham, *Brief Character of Low Countries* (1652): 'It is a university of all religions. . . . You may here try all, and take at last what you like best.'

35. 32. **Arminians.** The followers of Arminius (see note on 35. 30). Their creed may be summed up thus: men need regeneration; Christ died for all; it is possible to resist, or to fall from, divine grace; the faithful are predestined to eternal life. The Wesleyan movement was virtually an expression of Arminianism.

36. 1. **I have heard from Polanders.** In all probability Milton here refers particularly to Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600—c. 1670), a Polander by birth, who settled in England about 1628. Milton dedicated to him his *Tractate on Education*. Hartlib's father, a Polish Protestant, was compelled to flee to Prussia to escape Jesuit persecutions. In their many and intimate conversations, Hartlib, therefore, would naturally have expressed to Milton some such sentiment.

36. 4. **that king . . . began to force the Cossaks.** This was Sigismund III (1566—1632), whose reign extended from 1587 to 1632. His predecessor, Stephen Batory, although he had married a Catholic princess and turned Catholic himself, had followed a policy of toleration. Jesuit emissaries at that time

entered Poland, and began to wield an influence over the throne. Under Sigismund their power became dominant in the policy of Poland. Assisted by zealous Jesuits, he went up and down suppressing Protestant churches, and enforcing conformity to the Catholic worship. Especially did the Greek church suffer persecution (Morfill, *Poland*, p. 129); and to this church belonged the Cossacks. In 1632, at the close of Sigismund's intolerant reign, the Cossacks were even debarred from the general Diet.

36. 4a. **Jesuites.** The Society of Jesus was founded in 1534 by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1536), who, with Xavier and five others, took vows of chastity, poverty, and a life devoted to the service of Christians and the conversion of infidels. The organization was sanctioned by the pope in 1540. Loyola was made general of the order in 1542. Its numbers rapidly increased, and its influence, political, educational, and religious, was very great in all Catholic countries for a hundred years.

36. 5. **Cossaks.** The term is derived from a Turkish word, *kazak*, meaning robber. The Cossacks were originally a heterogeneous community of outlaws who occupied certain islands in the river Dnieper. Their government was a sort of military republic, and they were, in general, adherents of the Greek church. They were organized as a frontier military defense by Stephen Batory, and were, to a certain extent, a dependency of Poland. Owing to religious oppression under Sigismund III, they revolted during the reign of his successor, and transferred their allegiance to Russia.

36. 18. **Q. Elizabeth.** The daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. During her illustrious reign (1558–1603), the Catholic policy of her predecessor and sister, Mary, was reversed, and the Anglican church was firmly established. Elizabeth, like her father, insisted upon the royal prerogative of headship in the church.

36. 19. **so good a Protestant.** Cf. Camden, *Hist. of Eliz.*, p. 377: 'The Reform'd Religion being now Establish'd by Parliament, the Queen's chief Care and Concern was how to guard and protect it from the several Attacks and Practices

of . . . its profess'd Enemies. . . . And as she would admit of no Innovations herein, so she studied to square her own Life and Actions by so even a balance, as to preserve the Character of one not given to change. . . . She chose for her Motto, *Semper Eadem.*'

36. 20. **confident of her subjects love.** See note on II. 34.

36. 20a. **would never give way,** etc. Queen Elizabeth, while very zealous in her support of the established church, was equally determined that there should be none other. Camden (*Hist. of Eliz.*, p. 371) says: 'And as for such of the Reformation, as were for setting up new Schemes and Models of Church-Discipline, they were to be suppressed betimes, and but one Religion to be countenanced and established.'

36. 22. **Camden.** William Camden (1551–1623), antiquary and historian, head master of Westminster, and founder of a lectureship in history at Oxford. Camden's most notable historical work was the *Annales Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnanti Elizabetha, ad Annum Salutis MDLXXXIX.*'

36. 23. **persecuted the verie proposers therof.** Cf. Camden, *Hist. Eliz.*, p. 371: 'In the mean while, some ecclesiasticks there were of a Temper too impatient to wait for the slower Remedies which the Laws might provide, who began to preach Reform's Doctrine with too unwary a Freedom, . . . and at length proceeded so far as to bandy controversial Topicks among themselves, and to wrangle about 'em with those of the Romish Communion. Insomuch that . . . the Queen put out a very strict Proclamation, forbidding any such Dispute for the future.'

36. 25. **would diminish regal authoritie.** Elizabeth soon secured an 'Act for Restoring to the Crown its antient Jurisdiction in Matters Ecclesiastical' (Camden, *Hist. of Eliz.*, p. 373). And this prerogative she defended against the prelates. 'The Queen being very sensible that their aim was to wound her Prerogative through the sides of Prelacy quash'd all this Violence without any Noise or Tumult, and found a way to assert the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in spite of all the Enemies' (*ibid.*, p. 565).

36. 27. **others far worse principled from the cradle.** Cf. *Defense* (Bohn 1. 208) : 'So that no reverence of laws, no sacredness of an oath, will be sufficient to protect your lives and fortunes, either from the exorbitance of a furious, or the revenge of an exasperated prince, who has been so instructed from his cradle, as to think laws, religion, nay, and oaths themselves, ought to be subject to his will and pleasure.' See note on 36. 28.

36. 28. **Popish and Spanish counsels.** Charles' mother, Henrietta Maria, was a zealous Catholic. Besides, the prince had spent many years abroad, at the Catholic court of France. In England, it was urged on the one side, and hotly denied on the other, that Charles had actually embraced that faith. It was very well known that he had been intriguing with the pope for an army, and that he had long been a pensioner of the king of Spain. 'He was under the wing of his mother's instructions in France, and what a nursery Flanders hath been for him since, which is the most jesuited place in the world' (Needham, *Int. will not Lye*). Milton was of the opinion that even his father's influence had been pernicious, and spoke of his 'retaining, commending, teaching to his son all those putrid and pernicious documents, both of state and of religion' (*Eikon.* : Bohn 1. 474).

36. 30. **reviv'd lately . . . the covenant.** See App. A, p. 166.

36. 33. **The last and strictest charge.** In the chapter of the *Eikon Basilike* (see note on 12. 37) addressed to the Prince of Wales, we read : 'If you never see my face again, . . . I do require and entreat you, as your father and your King, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against or disaffection from the true Religion as established in the Church of England. . . . In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to God's word for Doctrine and the Primitive Examples for government.' But see also the king's last letter to his son (Clarendon, *Hist. Reb.*, Bk. 11).

37. 1. **accounted Presbyterie one of the chief.** See notes on 12. 11, 12. 14, and 36. 33.

37. 7. **hear the Gospel speaking much of libertie.** The thought was probably suggested by Calvin (*Institutes* 4. 20) :

'They heare that libertie is promised by the Gospell, which acknowledgeth among men no King and no Magistrate, but hath regard to Christ alone.'

37. 11. **let our governors beware.** A hint to Monk and the Presbyterians. The latter were just then zealously endeavoring to pledge the king to national Presbyterianism, and had already revived the Covenant and the Westminster Confession of Faith. Milton restrains his indignation, however, hoping to get thereby a more favorable consideration for his political proposals.

37. 13. **as others have...don.** For example, Archbishop Laud and Charles.

37. 12. **the rock wheron they shipwrack themselves.** A favorite metaphor of the day. Cf. Wm. Allen, *Faithful Memorial* (1659): 'We may discover one, and that a most dangerous rock, which if not heeded, we may split upon.' And Monk, in declining the crown, made use of the same figure in describing 'the Experience of Cromwell's Fate' (see note on 9. 5a).

37. 16. **a wilfull rejection,** etc. In forcing conformity with Presbyterianism, the present governors were deserting the very principle of religious freedom for which the Reformation had contended.

37. 20. **advanc'ments...according to his merit.** Advancement in civil office according to merit—the modern civil-service idea—found an early advocate in Milton, but not its earliest. As far back as 1388 popular indignation against the tyranny of the feudal spoils-system gave rise, not only to Wat Tyler's rebellion, but to the following remarkably modern statute of Parliament: 'None shall obtain office by suit or for reward, but upon desert.' It further declares (1) that all officers 'shall be firmly sworn'; (2) that none shall have office 'for any gift or brokerage, favor or affection'; (3) 'that none that pursueth by himself or by others, privately or openly, to be in any manner of office, shall be put in the same office or any other'; (4) 'that they make all such officers and ministers of the best and most lawful men, and sufficient to their estimation and knowledge' (Eaton, *Civil Service in*

*Great Britain*, p. 33). But it was not until more than four hundred years of struggle for popular education and liberty had entirely changed the relations of subject, sovereign, and Parliament to each other that such an ideal could be realized. This was accomplished in the practical merit-systems of 1855, 1870, and 1883.

37. 24. **every county in the land . . . a little commonwealth.** This is the second of Milton's two fundamental proposals. It provides for the largest amount of independence in the several political units consistent with national coherence and efficiency. It is taken over, with some modifications, from the practice in the United Provinces and Swiss Confederacy—the English counties corresponding to the Dutch provinces and the Swiss states; but these republics were themselves concrete expressions of mediæval-classical theory (see *Introd.*, p. xlv).

Milton's scheme of local sovereignty is much less thoroughgoing than these. 'The Swissers,' says Bodin, 'are all but one Commonweale: and yet it is most certaine that they be thirteene Commonweals, holding nothing one of another, but everie one of them having the sovereignty thereof divided from the rest, . . . everie one of them having their magistrats apart, their state apart, their bursse, their demaine and territorie apart. In brief, their armies, their crie, their name, their money, their seale, their assemblies, their jurisdiction, their ordinances in everie estate divided' (*Repub.* i. 7). Grotius in 1622 described the United Provinces as 'an agglomeration of independent republics,' of which 'each province contains an individual nation and forms a complete State' (Barker, *Netherlands*, p. 160). Milton favored a more perfect union, a real subordination of provincial to national authority (see note on 39. 16).

37. 27. **a city.** In England, since the time of Henry VIII, the term has meant, specifically, an incorporated town containing a cathedral and a bishop's see. But Milton, who abhorred bishops, could not have intended any ecclesiastical reference. He invests the term with the significance of the Latin *civitas*, as it was anciently used by the Romans to

designate the chief towns of the independent states of Gaul.

37. 32. **judicial lawes.** Laws subject to the interpretation of purely secular tribunals; opposed to moral or ceremonial laws.

38. 1. **fewer laws.** Milton, in the *Second Defense* (Bohn 1. 293) complains that 'there are often in a republic men who have the same itch for making a multiplicity of laws, as some poetasters have for making many verses,' and declares that 'laws are usually worse in proportion as they are more numerous.' Cf. Bodin, *Repub.*, p. 244: 'Neither ever were there more cruell tyrants than were they, which bound their subjects with greatest multitude of edicts and lawes.'

38. 6. **deputies . . . to the Grand Council.** This was also a Dutch idea. The States-General proposed and debated measures. These were then carried back to the provinces and municipalities, to be considered and resolved upon. The deputies then returned to the States-General with the decisions of their respective constituencies. If these were unanimous, the measure became a law.

38. 13. **till their lot fall to be chosen.** This was small hope to hold out to ambitious local magistrates throughout the nation, since death could hardly be expected to favor them with more than one or two vacancies in the grand council annually.

38. 18. **commodious, indifferent place and equal judges.** Convenient, neutral place, and impartial judges.

38. 21. **they had,** etc. Cf. Aristotle, *Const. of Athens*, tr. Poste, p. 31: 'Next he formed a Senate of 500, . . . 50 . . . from each tribe. . . . The land as an aggregate of units, called townships, . . . was divided into thirty sections, . . . which were again united in three groups. . . . Municipal privileges were extended to all residents in the deme or municipality.'

38. 27. **not in grammar only.** The chief business of grammar-schools in Milton's day was the drilling of youths in the elements of Greek and Latin. The principal textbook in Latin grammar had long been William Lilly's famous *Short*



*Introduction of Grammar* (1574), which had been issued in different form in 1540, and even as early as 1513. From the pages of this famous book Shakespeare gleaned his 'small Latin'; and when we recall that Lilly had once been head master of St. Paul's School, we can understand how Milton, its most illustrious pupil, was early led to feel that undue emphasis was being laid upon this subject.

38. 30. **by communicating**, etc. In common with the mediævalists, Milton loves to indulge in anthropomorphic conceptions of the state. Cf. *Areopagitica* (Bohn 2. 94): 'Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep.'

38. 37. **a Commonwealth aims**, etc. See note on 15. 17. The following entries in the *Commonplace Book* indicate other influences in the shaping of this idea, and show how much Milton admired the Protestant zeal for education:

'Linguarum peritiam etiam in Ecclesiâ perutilem esse senserunt Waldenses, ut fideles aut pulsi patriâ, aut a suis ecclesiis missi, eo aptiores ad docendum essent.

Gilles, *Hist. Vaud.* c. 2. p. 16.

'Ordines Hollandiæ in medio etiam bellorum aestu tanquam pacatis rebus ne literarum cultum et liberorum institutionem rebus adhuc vel maxime dubiis negligere viderentur, Academiam Lugduni Batavorum instituerunt amplis ex sacro patrimonio vectigalibus attributis.

Thuan. *hist.* l. 60 p. 81.'

38. 39. **make the people . . . wealthy**. It had long been a mooted question among political writers whether it was the better policy for a sovereign to make his subjects wealthy, or to keep them poor. The dispute was perhaps initiated by Plato (see note on 39. 1). Already in the fifteenth century Sir John Fortescue applies the question to England, and thus quaintly delivers his opinion: 'Some Men have said, that it war good for the Kyng, that the Comons of England were made poer, as be the Comons of Fraunce. For than, thay would not rebell as now thay done often tymes; which the Comons of Fraunce do not, nor may do; for they have no

Wepon, nor Armor, nor Good to bye it withall. . . . Item, It is the Kyngs Honor, and also his Office, to make his Realme riche; and yt ys Dishonor whan he hath a poer Realme, of which Men woll say, that he reygnyth upon Beggars' (*De Dominio Regali et Politica: Wks.*, ed. Stubbs, p. 464). Sir Thomas More, perhaps replying to Machiavelli, declares that the king's 'honoure and sauitie is more and rather supported and upholden by the wealth and ryches of his people, then by hys owne treasures' (*Utopia*, ed. Lupton, p. 92). But, dropping down to Milton's day, we find the opposite view expressed in *The Grand Concernments of England Secured* (1659): 'It hath been always a maxim with monarchs, to keep the unruly plebeians from being overpursey, lest their wits should increase with their wealth, and they should begin to contend for their priviledges' (Harris, *Life of Charles II* i. 298).

39. 1. **wel-fleec't for thir own shearing.** Plato originated the comparison of subjects to sheep for the king's shearing. Cf. *Repub.* i. 343: 'And you further imagine that the rulers of states, if they are true rulers, never think of their subjects as sheep, and that they are not studying their advantage day and night.' George Buchanan, another of Milton's favorite political writers, asks whether he is truly a king 'who considers them [his subjects] as a flock entrusted to him, not for their preservation but for his own emolument' (*De Jure*, tr. Macfarlan, p. 146).

39. 6. **benches of judicature annexd to the throne.** The power of appointing and dismissing judges, and also of establishing special courts, such as the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission under Charles I, will belong to the king.

39. 10. **publick ornaments.** See Glossary.

39. 16. **exceed the United Provinces.** The weakness of the Dutch republic consisted in the lack of a supreme national authority. There was constant danger of the nation's disintegrating into distinct and hostile states. Besides, the States-General had no power to act swiftly and effectively in emergencies. This defect was fully realized by the wisest of the Dutch statesmen. Thus William in 1581 complained:

'It is true that a central council has been established, but it is without power. Where there is no authority, how can there be discipline? How can finance, justice, and other affairs be regulated?' (Barker, *Rise and Decline of the Netherlands*, p. 92). Barneveldt declared, in 1607, that 'when there is no danger of attack from without, this government will fall into absolute anarchy and disorder' (*ibid.*, p. 163).

39. 19. **many sovranities.** Many supreme and independent political authorities.

39. 21. **And when we have,** etc. Milton here gathers up, by way of summary, his arguments in defense of a perpetual council.

39. 23. **publick accounts under our own inspection.** This was much insisted upon by the opponents of the Long Parliament, explicitly in *The Case of the Army truly stated* (see note on 22. 1).

39. 30. **if all this.** Milton's arguments in defense of a perpetual council.

39. 36. **at present.** About the middle of February. Milton had much more to say a little later—in his answer to Dr. Griffith, and in the revised edition of the present treatise.

40. 1. **nothing but kingship can restore trade.** That trade had dwindled under the rule of Rump and army is apparent from the *Declaration of the Gentry of Devon*, who 'found diverse of the Inhabitants groaning under high oppressions, and a general defect of trade, to the utter ruine of many, and the fear of the like to others, 'a state' so visible in the whole Country' (Walker, *Hist. Ind.* 4. 88). And in his *Remonstrance* (Dec. 12, 1659) L'Estrange says: 'Not to insist upon the losse of Trade; how many thousand Families have nothing now to do, but Begg, and Curse these Wretches' (*Tracts*, p. 43). 'As to what concerns your trade,' says Marchamont Needham, 'it is easy to guess what will become of that, when it shall be counted reason of state to keep you poor and low. . . . And how do you think trade can thrive upon his restitution? When there will be a necessity of trebling taxes, . . . to maintaine another

kind of army than we have now, to tame dissenting parties, and to keep the nation in an asinine posture of submission. . . . As trade therefore is the particular interest of your city, so be wary, that the want of it at present do not irritate you to fall out with the publick interest of your country; but remember, that it being once settled, trade and all other concernments will soon flourish again' (*Interest will not Lye*: Harris, *Life of Charles II* I. 295).

40. 2. **frequent plagues.** In the year 1348 London suffered a terrific visitation of the plague. It is said that 50,000 people were then buried in one place alone. Other plague-years were 1349, 1361, 1363, 1569, 1603, and 1665. For an account of this last, see Defoe's fanciful but vivid description, the *Journal of the Plague Year*. Milton implies that plagues are divine judgments inflicted upon monarchies (see note on 40. 26).

40. II. **trifles or superfluities.** The general frugality and simplicity of the Netherlanders, then the foremost commercial nation in the world, contrasted sharply, in Milton's opinion, with the 'profuse living' of English tradesmen. We learn from the *Politia of the United Provinces* that the Dutch lived principally upon 'pickled herrings, turnepps, butter, rinch and a kind of pancake.' The writer continues: 'Few or none of the better sort eat roast-meate. . . . Their apparell is plain and decent, and generally black, both for burgers and bores; their women go all covered with a black vayle; . . . there is no difference of habit between a burgomaster and an ordinary man, a private merchant, and one of the States Generall, not that all are gallant, but all are plain.'

That it was not so with English tradesmen in 1659 appears from the following: 'It was a noble knack [in former times] to encourage trade and tradesmen, that care must be had lest they should be too fine, and be mistaken for gentry; and by all means their wives must be dressed according to court directions, lest they should vye gallantry with the madams of prerogative. By all means they must know themselves; and 't is pity some course is not taken now, that we may know a tradesman from his betters' (*Grand Concernments of England Secured*: Harris, *Life of Charles II* I. 297).

40. 12. **it might prove a dangerous matter.** Milton, a Christian idealist, always insists that temporal affairs shall be subordinate to spiritual interests—religion, liberty, honor, etc. His sarcasm, however, savors somewhat of the aristocratic contempt for tradesmen. Cf. the contemporary *Grand Concernments*: 'Trade and tradesmen, all along, hath been the very scorn and envy of the Court; not fit to keep a gentleman company, but at a distance. . . . A gentleman's son should be bred up for the gallows, rather than be dishonoured by a trade. . . . The time was when these were not fit to be numbered with the dogs of their flock. . . . Men will be content to be anything or nothing, to be base and dishonourable, to get riches in the way of trade.'

40. 15. **set to sale religion,** etc. Plato in the *Laws* (3. 697) ranks values, in their order of importance, as (1) goods of the soul; (2) goods of the body; (3) money, and property in general.

40. 17. **after all this light.** Advice furnished by Milton, Marchamount Needham, Harrington, Wither, Vane, etc.

40. 19. **made use of by the Jews.** See Ex. 16. 3.

40. 20. **idol queen.** Perhaps Milton alludes to Hathor, the ancient Egyptian 'goddess of love and joy.' She was 'the sum and substance of feminine godhead, and all goddesses were considered as forms or attributes of Hathor worshipped under different names. . . . Hathor is generally represented as a woman, sometimes with the ears, the horns, or even the head of a cow, that being the animal sacred to her' (Wiedemann, *Religion of Ancient Egyptians*, pp. 142-3). But she was also represented as a cow; for there is a 'bas relief at Florence, No. 1225 (Petrie, *Photographs*, No. 232),' which 'represents the king Horemheb sucking a cow, the embodiment of the goddess Hathor' (*ibid.*, p. 184). We know that the Jews did worship idols in Egypt (see Joshua 24. 14; Ezek. 20. 7-8; Amos 5. 26). We also read (Ex. 32. 4) of their relapsing into idolatry shortly after leaving Egypt, and that the image which they set up took the form of a golden calf. As Milton had doubtless read of Hathor, the Egyptian Aphrodite, in Greek authors, it would have been only natural for him to

associate the bovine symbolism under which she was worshipped with that of the children of Israel.

40. 26. **national judgments.** Visitations of God's wrath. See note on 40. 2.

40. 30. **with all hazard.** This is doubtless a reference to the tumults raging in London on, and immediately after, Feb. 11 and Feb. 21 (see *Introd.*, p. xiii). As 'champion of the Rump,' Milton might well expect even worse treatment than Barebone got. But as the vehement defender of the regicides, he could look for nothing less than death in case the king was restored.

41. 3. **want at no time who,** etc. Lack at no time men who, etc.

41. 3a. **good at circumstances.** Good at carrying out in detail some fundamental suggestion of another.

41. 4. **main matters.** Fundamental principles.

41. 7. **that which is not call'd amiss.** The good old cause of the commonwealth—that is, of the deceased, but lately resurrected, republic of 1649-53—had come to be a subject of derision, even among the Presbyterians. Prynne had lately written his *Winding Sheet for the Good Old Cause*. Milton is here reasserting the dignity of the phrase, probably in answer to the still more recent gibes of L'Estrange and *The Censure* (see Appendix B, p. 173).

41. 9. **convincing to backsliders.** This sentence was written while the Rump was still in authority. By the time Milton reached this point in the revision, it was evident that nothing was to be hoped for from the Presbyterians; so the contemptuous reference to backsliders is allowed to stand.

41. 11. **spoken only to trees and stones.** The peroration was probably written just after Monk's turn against the Rump (Feb. 11), and the outburst of anti-republican enthusiasm.

41. 12. **the Prophet.** Jeremiah (see note on 41. 17).

41. 15. **Thou . . . who didst create mankinde free.** See note on 28. 22.

41. 15a. **Thou . . . who didst redeem,** etc. See note on 37. 7.

41. 17. **determined of Coniah and his seed.** Never did Milton launch the Old Testament at his foes with more reckless

courage or more terrible force. The parallel seemed too striking to be neglected. And surely nothing could stay the usurper if not the tremendous denunciation of God himself against Jehoiakim and his son Coniah: 'And I will cast thee out, and thy mother that bare thee, into another country, where ye were not born; and there shall ye die. But to the land whereunto their soul longeth to return thither shall they not return. Is this man Coniah a despised broken vessel? is he a vessel wherein is no pleasure? wherefore are they cast out, he and his seed, and are cast into a land which they know not? O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord. Write ye this man childless, a man that shall not prosper in his days: for no man of his seed shall prosper' (Jer. 22. 26-30).

The reference is omitted in the second edition, as Charles *was* returning, despite Jeremiah and Milton.

41. 23. **resolutions . . . to give a stay**, etc. This is evidently an appeal for all republicans to come to the support of Lambert and the Fanatics, who were then making the last armed resistance to kingship. See *Intro.*, p. xxviii.

41. 25. **to exhort this torrent**. 'To exhort a torrent! The very mixture and hurry of the metaphors in Milton's mind are a reflex of the facts around him. Current, torrent, rush, rapid, avalanche, deluge hurrying to a precipice: mix and jumble such figures as we may, we but express more accurately the mad haste which London and all England were making in the end of April 1660 to bring Charles over from the Continent' (Masson, *Life of Milton* 5. 668).

## GLOSSARY

This glossary is designed to include all obsolete, archaic, dialectical, and rare words that occur in the text. For the sake of clearness or convenience, a few current words have been admitted. The principal authorities that have been consulted are the *New English Dictionary* (NED.), the *Century Dictionary*, Skeat's *Etymological Dictionary*, and Lockwood's *Lexicon*.

A dagger (†) before a word or meaning indicates that the word or meaning is obsolete; an interrogation (?), that the interpretation is doubtful.

†**Acquisite**, *a.* [ad. L. *acquisit-us* pa. pple. of *acquiere*.] Acquired; obtained for oneself. 25. 11.

**Addicted**, *ppl. a.* †Attached by one's own act; given up, devoted, inclined (*to* a person or party). 21. 22.

**Admirable**, *a.* †To be wondered at; wonderful, surprising, marvelous. 18. 26.

**Admiration**, *sb.* Wonder, astonishment, surprise. *Arch.* 10. 8.

**Admire**, *v. †intr.* To wonder, to marvel. 19. 13.

**Affected**, *ppl. a.* Disposed, inclined. 11. 17.

**Aftergame**, *sb.* '*Prop.* A second game played in order to reverse or improve the issues of the first; *hence* "The scheme which may be laid or the expedients which are practised after the original game has miscarried; methods taken after the first turn of affairs" Johnson.' NED. 15. 4.

**Enough**. *Obs.* form of *enough*. 11. 24.

**Answerable**, *a.* Corresponding; proportional. *Absol. Arch.* 25. 38.

**Apprehension**, *sb.* Notion; opinion; fixed idea. 40. 1.

**Assistances**, *sb.* Assistance; succour. *Arch. in pl.* 14. 27.

**Bandy**, *v. intr.* To contend, to strive. 26. 15.

**Briskest**, *a.* Most active; liveliest. 33. 7.

**Censur'd**, *v. trans.* †Judged to be. 13. 29.

**Charges**, *sb.* 'Expenses: often with sense scarcely or not at all distinguishable from the sing.' NED. *Arch. in pl.* 16. 5.

**Cheapning**, *v. trans.* †Haggling terms about; ?endeavoring to lower the price of. 16. 32.

**Circumstances**, *sb.* 'Subordinate matters or details: strictly, matters "appendant or relative to a fact" (Johnson), viewed as extraneous to its essence, but passing into the sense of "subordinate parts of the fact, details."' NED. *Obs. in pl.* 40. 35.

**Civilest**, *a.* †Having proper public or social order; well-ordered, orderly, well-governed. 31. 13.

**Commodious**, *a.* Convenient. *Arch.* 38. 18.

**Conceit**, *sb.* Notion, idea. 29. 5.



- Concernment**, *sb.* †Interest. 9. 20.  
**Conclude**, *v. trans.* †To prove. 18. 19.  
**Constantly**, *adv.* With mental constancy or steadfastness; steadily, resolutely, faithfully. 14. 12.  
**Constituted**, *ppl. a.* †Set up, established, ordained. 28. 5.  
**Constitutions**, *sb.* Existing order or arrangements of government. 9. 17.  
**Corruption**, *sb.* [Replaced by 'contagion' in 2d ed.] An infectious moral disease. 13. 31.  
**Cunning**, *a.* In a bad sense: crafty; skilful at underhand methods. 9. 10.  
**Default**, *sb.* †Failure in duty; misdeed. 28. 6.  
**Deferr**, *v. trans.* †To delay, to put off (a person). 12. 27.  
**Delinquents**, *sb.* 'Those who assisted Charles I or Charles II, by arms, money, or personal service, in levying war, 1642—1660.' NED. 12. 14.  
**†Democratie**, *sb.* [L. *democratia*.] Democracy. 25. 19.  
**Disaffected**, *a.* Unfriendly to the government. 20. 19.  
**Disallowance**, *sb.* Disapproval. 15. 21.  
**Discoveries**, *sb.* †Investigations. 32. 33.  
**Dooms-day**, *sb.* [OE. *dōmes dæg*.] Judgment day. 21. 3.  
**Driving**, *v. intr.* Moving energetically. 29. 7.  
**Effects**, *sb.* †Outward signs; evidence. 40. 34.  
**Election**, *sb.* †choice. 39. 10.  
**Endevord**, *v. trans.* Attempted. *Obs. exc. arch.* 11. 33.  
**Equal**, *a.* †Impartial. 38. 19.  
**Estates**, *sb.* Orders of society. 11. 16.  
**Event**, *sb.* Final outcome. 25. 17.  
**Expecting**, *ppl. a.* Awaiting. *Arch.* 20. 7.  
**Face**, *sb.* Aspect; visible condition. 9. 1.  
**Faces**, *sb.* Outward shows. 33. 6.  
**Facillite**, *sb.* Freedom from difficulty. 29. 3.  
**Faction**, *sb.* †Party-strife; intrigue. 35. 21.  
**Fain**, *adv.* Gladly; willingly. 31. 34.  
**Fine**, *sb.* End. *Obsolete* except in phrase *in fine*. 25. 19.  
**Fond**, *a.* Idiotic. 29. 5.  
**Force**, *sb.* †Compulsion. 11. 10.  
**Forgoe**, *v.* give up; renounce. 40. 14.  
**Frequent**, *a.* †Of persons, an assembly, etc.: Assembled in great numbers, crowded, full. Often in *full and frequent*. 9. 14.  
**Friendly**, *adv.* In a friendly manner. 16. 8.  
**Fluxible**, *a.* Inconstant; ready for change. 25. 12.  
**Gentilism**, *sb.* †Heathenism. 15. 21.  
**Gestures**, *sv.* Bodily movements (e. g., in drinking healths). 33. 7.  
**Gratulate**, *v. trans.* To congratulate. *Arch.* 27. 20.  
**Humour**, *sb.* Groundless fancy, or inclination. *Obs.* with *of*. 9. 9.  
**Imposition**, *sb.* Tax. 32. 25.  
**Indifferent**, *a.* †Neutral; 'Not more advantageous to one party than to another.' NED. 38. 19.  
**Inferr**, *v.* †Logically necessitates. 15. 35.  
**Ingenuous**, *a.* †Noble in character; highminded. 38. 33; 41. 20.  
**Judicatures**, *sb.* Courts of justice. 37. 34.  
**Judicial**, *adj.* Secular, as *opp.* to moral or ceremonial. 37. 32.

- Judgments**, *sb.* Visitions of divine wrath. 40. 26.
- Knockt**, *v. trans.* Phrase *knocked on* = driven on by a blow. 31. 4.
- Least**, *conj.* *Obs.* form of *lest*. 24. 1.
- Lieger**, *a.* *Obs.* form of *ledger*. Resident; stationary. 26. 5.
- Light**, *sb.* Instruction; advice. 40. 17.
- Longing**, *sb.* †Object of intense desire. 32. 10.
- Low**, *a.* Humble; dispirited. 31. 30.
- Lurch**, *v. trans.* †To get by stealth; to steal. 29. 8.
- Magnanimously**, *adv.* †Courageously; heroically. 10. 6.
- Magnifi'd**, *a.* †Lauded. 13. 13.
- Masks**, *sb.* Originally the same word as *masques*. 'A form of amateur histrionic entertainment, popular at Court and amongst the nobility in England during the latter part of the 16th c. and the first half of the 17th c.; originally consisting of dancing and acting in dumb show, the performers being masked and habited in character; afterwards including dialogue (usually poetical) and song.' NED. 16. 11.
- Maxim**, *sb.* 'A precept of morality or prudence expressed in sententious form.' NED. 36. 24.
- Minde**, *sb.* Opinion. 36. 24.
- Mischief**, *sb.* †Misfortune, calamity. 20. 15.
- Motion**, *sb.* Moving; ? †transportation. 26. 1.
- Motlond**, *v. trans.* pp. of *motion*. †Proposed. 11. 20.
- Neuters**, *sb.* Those of neither side. 32. 35.
- Novice**, *a.* Inexperienced. 25. 4.
- Noxious**, *a.* Harmful. 9. 8.
- Offer**, *adv.* comp. of *oft*. *Archaic.* Offener. 24. 19.
- Ordination**, *sb.* Induction into the ministry. 12. 12.
- Ornaments**, *sb.* [L. *ornamenta*.] Distinctions; public honors. 39. 10.
- Outlandish**, *a.* Of foreign birth; un-English. *Archaic.* 16. 15.
- Pageant**, *v.* To carry about as a show. 16. 37.
- Parlie**, *sb.* [From OF. *parler*, to speak.] Speech; conference. 27. 10.
- Peculiar**, *a.* †'Belonging specially to.' NED. 32. 6; †Individual. 38. 22.
- Popularities**, *sb.* *Obs.* Democracies. 25. 26.
- Pollele**, *sb.* †Government; political science. 24. 33.
- Precedence**, *sb.* Order of occurrence. 23. 16.
- †**Prejudecate**, *v.* Judge hastily; condemn in advance. 31. 15.
- Prescription**, *sb.* †Limitation; conformity to prescribed rules of conduct. 28. 23.
- Prettle**, *a.* Perhaps in OE. sense, †*cunning*; but possibly ironical. 29. 7.
- Principld**, *ppl. a.* Imbued with principles. *Rare* except in combination. 36. 27.
- Progress**, *sb.* †A state procession. 16. 37.
- †**Proprieties**, *sb.* Properties. 28. 27.
- Prostrations**, *sb.* Attitudes expressive of servility or adoration. 18. 26.
- Qualifie**, *v. trans.* †Regulate. 26. 21.
- Revels**, *sb.* Dances given in connection with masques, but not a part of them. 16. 11.
- Ribald**, *sb.* A base person; a profligate. 33. 12.

- Seek, to, †adj. phrase.** Ignorant. 25. 4.
- Shift, put to, Forced to devise new expedients.** 12. 7.
- Stay, vb. intr.** Wait patiently. 23. 3.
- Stay, sb.** Check; halt. 41. 29.
- Steorage, sb.** The course steered; the path or way. 37. 14.
- Suffrages, sb.** Control by means of popular votes. 39. 25.
- Summ, in, adv. phrase.** In short. 35. 27.
- †Suspence, a.** Suspended; held in doubt. 22. 32.
- Swell, v. intr.** Strut; put on airs. 18. 8.
- Temperament, sb.** Compromise; adjustment of differences. *Arch.* 23. 37.
- Then.** Obs. form of *than*. 9. 15.
- Thir, pron. pl.** Their. Obs. or *dial.* 15. 4.
- Thoroughly, adv.** By-form of *thoroughly*. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* 11. 3.
- Timely, adv.** [A. S. *timlice*.] In good time. 41. 30.
- Took, vb.** Deemed; judged. 10. 11.
- Umbrage, sb.** Shadow; slight appearance. 36. 13.
- Vassals, sb.** Subjects; underlings. 18. 20.
- Venereal pox, sb.** Disease due to sexual profligacy. 33. 19.
- Viceregent, sb.** One exercising delegated power. 19. 27.
- Voice, negative, sb.** Power of veto. 29. 34.
- Voices, sb.** Votes. 11. 18.
- Weight, sb.** Importance; effective influence. 12. 2.
- Whenas, conj.** When. *Arch.* 20. 26.
- Wonderd, be, v. †impers.** Be a cause for astonishment. 18. 16.
- Worthies, sb.** Persons of superior eminence and worth. 20. 27.

## APPENDICES

### A. THE PROCESS OF REVISION

There were other important reasons for Milton's radical revision besides his expressed one that, 'in the former edition through haste, many faults escap'd, and many books were suddenly dispersd, ere the note to mend them could be sent.' The course of events during the two months since the writing of the first edition had rendered whole sections of the treatise null and void; these needed to be eliminated. There had been innumerable criticisms of the book; these were to be met and answered. Along with criticisms of the book, there had been the most bitter and scurrilous attacks upon the author; and these must be repelled in his characteristic manner. There had doubtless been some unfavorable comparisons and frivolous remarks by the Harrington-men—certainly a fresh pamphlet, *The Rota*, after Milton's treatise was practically completed. All this called for further friendly but earnest argument against rotation, and in favor of a perpetual council. And, finally, as it was now apparent to every one that the Restoration was at hand, there should be at least an undaunted reassertion of republican principles, though there were none to cry to but 'trees and stones.' That these, rather than the correcting of minor errors, were the real motives of the reviser, will be apparent from the consideration of the changes in detail.

1. *The Influence of Current Events.* The first edition had been full of glowing tributes to the members of the Rump, and had urged that this body be perpetuated as a grand council. But the readmission of the secluded members, followed by the dissolution of the Long Parliament on the 16th of March, had put an end to all such ideas. Accordingly, large sections devoted to the 'worthy Patriots' and 'first Assertours,' and all allusions to their providential calling, present sitting,

being made a byword of reproach, and pet design of 'filling up,' are omitted. General Monk is now virtually dictator; so 'all those who are now in power,' etc., is no longer applicable. The largest single omission is a passage of nearly three hundred words urging liberty of conscience, and no meddling of state in church-affairs. This, of course, is no surrender of principle, but is due to the fact that the Presbyterian Parliament, heedless of Milton's advice, had revived the Covenant, and were zealously endeavoring to reestablish national Presbyterianism. It was useless and impolitic to antagonize further the Presbyterians—especially to brand them as 'unchristian, . . . irreligious, . . . inhuman, . . . and barbarous.' The allusion to Lambert and his 'hypocritical pretences . . . and . . . tyrannical designs' is significantly omitted, as Lambert had since proved to be one of the few uncompromising republicans, having just escaped from the Tower, and rallied about him the last armed guard of the 'good old cause.' Milton even ceases to urge his scheme as 'the most easie, most present, and only cure' of public 'distempers.'

The preface is expanded by the addition of references to the elections then in progress and the Parliament soon to assemble, and by an appeal to the people to be wise in their selection. The impending Restoration calls forth many new protests against the yoke and chains of the old bondage. The 'hard measure' likely to be dealt to liberty of conscience causes a fresh warning to present 'governors' to beware of 'shipwreck.' The real purpose of Monk, to bring in the king, was by this time apparent, and Milton's phrase, 'and thir leaders especially,' was added in direct allusion to Monk's apostasy. There are many new passages which acknowledge and deplore the mad enthusiasm for the king, which had now become a 'torrent,' a 'deluge.' Finally, the hopelessness of any human endeavor, in the face of their 'absolute determination to enthal,' and the universal eagerness for such thralldom, call forth from Milton the appeal to heaven with which the pamphlet closes.

2. *The Influence of Royalist Criticism.* The appearance of Milton's model was the signal for a general outburst of Royalist

criticism and vituperation. Among these anonymous pamphleteers none was more persistent and abusive than Roger L'Estrange. In his *Seasonable Word*,<sup>1</sup> written when all were 'in dayly expectation of Writs for another Session,' that is, about the middle of March,—two weeks after the first appearance of *The Ready and Easy Way*,—there are direct mention of Milton's pamphlet, and an assertion that the author is attempting to dictate. The old Rumpers, whom Milton defends, are denounced as 'those Sons of Belial, the perjurd remnant.' They had regarded 'Oaths and Covenants' as 'Jugglers knots.' They had thrown out seven eighths of the Parliament. They had 'murdered him [the king] that they might Rule themselves.' The question of being 'under a force' is gone into at length. So Milton, at the very beginning of the revised edition, adds a long defense of the Independents' attitude and actions in 1648—9.

L'Estrange loses no opportunity to abuse and revile his great antagonist. He refers to him as the 'Little Agitatour,' 'Half-Tutor,' 'Regicidall Babler,' etc. In his opinion, Needham and Milton are 'a Couple of Currs of the same Pack.' He suspects *Plain English*, 'a Bold, Sharp Pamphlet' that appeared April 4, 'by the Design, the Subject, Malice, and the Stile, . . . for a Blot of the same Pen that wrote *Icomoclastes*.' There are numerous glances at Milton's 'remedies,' and much play upon such expressions as 'and the work is done.' Milton had affirmed that his scheme was 'practicable.' L'Estrange, in his *Sober Answer* of March 27, says: 'How *practicable*, or how *prudent*, such a proposal may appear to *others*, I cannot say: To me it wears the Face of a *Design*, promoted by a *Factions, guilty Party, to sacrifice the Nation, to their private interests*.'<sup>2</sup> Again, he does not 'presume to direct, as our Imperious Commonwealths-man does.' The pamphleteer goes still further: he indulges in menaces, and actual recommendations of violence. As early as February 18 he urges people to 'knock Foxes and Wolves on the head as they can

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts*, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

be found.' But by this time (April 4) there are 'Ropes twisting'; 'those that have designed *Us* for *Slavery*,' says he, 'it is but reason to mark *them* out for Justice'; and, 'How does this scandall both of Providence, and Society, scape Thunder, or a Dagger!'

A similar sheet, *The Character of the Rump*, exults in the prospect of seeing 'John Milton, . . . their goose-quill champion,' hauled to Tyburn gallows in a cart: 'Now John, *you* must stand close [upon the scaffold] and draw in your elbows, that Needham, the Commonwealth didapper, may have room to stand beside you.'<sup>1</sup>

It was not in Milton to let such scurrilous attacks pass unnoticed or unresented. Whole paragraphs of bitter, stinging, coarse invective are added for the benefit of these 'tigers of Bacchus,' who, in 'thir infernal pamphlets, . . . not daring to name themselves, . . . traduce others by name.'

Another and still more important influence of this nature was the *Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's Book*<sup>2</sup> (see p. 173), an anonymous Royalist satire that appeared at the end of March, and probably helped to set Milton to work immediately upon his revised edition. It attempted to ridicule his arguments and proposals, and indulged in the customary abuse and accusation. But it was, upon the whole, rather happier in its design and execution than the common run of Royalist wit. There is evidence in the revision that some of its thrusts went home. Milton seems to have winced under its ridiculing him for a 'cunning' man himself—'cunning deceivers' appears in the second edition as 'deceivers.' He had boasted that the deeds of the English republic had amazed and startled the royalists in France. The *Censure* seizes upon the inconsistency of this statement with the later intimacy between Mazarin and the commonwealth. Milton gladly drops most of the passage. It relishes Milton's reference to Fifth-Monarchy men, 'who would have been admirable' for Milton's purpose, 'if they had but dreamed

<sup>1</sup> Masson, *Life of Milton* 5. 659.

<sup>2</sup> *Harl. Misc.* 4. 188.

of a fifth free state.' The unfortunate Fifth Monarchy is quietly abolished. It makes merry with Milton's 'Patriots' and 'Assertours,' and these worthies practically vanish in the revision. It twits Milton with being 'styled "The Founder of a Sect,"' and this is resented in the new edition. Milton replies at length to the pamphlet's attack on the Rump Parliament—its slight number, and the argument that it was no Parliament, but a tool of the army. The accusations of greed and sacrilege are made by the *Censure*, and answered in the revision. Perhaps the charge, 'our actions at home . . . savoured much of Goth and Vandal barbarism, . . . pulling down of churches and demolishing the noblest monuments in the land,' may have suggested to Milton his new assertion that these actions had not been 'uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to outlive detraction.'

Other evidences of the influence of hostile contemporary criticism are mentioned in the Notes. The general significance of it all is that it had much to do in spurring Milton to the task of thorough revision, and in determining certain eliminations and additions.

3. *The Desire 'Somewhat to Enlarge.'* Apart from changes made imperative by the drift of events and the pressure of criticism, there was an intense desire to make a final appeal that should be bolder and more emphatic than the former, and somewhat analogous, in its way, to Lambert's final, desperate appeal to arms. Indeed, the desire 'to enlarge' seems to have been the most powerful single motive back of the revision. The addition is so large that it can hardly be more than indicated in general. New arguments are brought forward against the Restoration; as, for example, the loss of all Scotland, the certainty of a Papist queen and queen-mother, and the inevitable retinues of dissolute courtiers. The projects of a perpetual council, local sovereignty, and general education are amplified, and buttressed with new arguments and the authority of Aristotle. A local judiciary and a higher general court of appeals are advocated, and defended by the aid of ancient precedent. The referendum in legislation, and the inspection or censorship of public service and accounts, are



recommended as safeguards against corruption. The nation is solemnly bidden, upon the authority of 1 Sam. 8. 18, to beware of God's displeasure at kingship. Powerful appeals are made to the sense of national pride—what will the world say of 'the whole English name'!—and to the instinct of fear. The common people may look to be ground into the earth, and kept too 'low' ever to rise again. Let the country be terrified at the coming of Rupert and the fierce cavaliers. An attempt is made to reclaim the backsliding Presbyterians, who may look to be called to account for the past. Even the army may well fear, for they are sure to be disbanded, and without arrears—perhaps even punished for rebellion. And, finally, Milton 'exhorts' the mad 'torrent' of the people 'not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel.'

The influence of the Harrington-ideas upon both the original edition and the revision is discussed in the section entitled *The Rota Club*.

4. *Improvements in Expression.* The minor alterations introduced prove that Milton gave considerable painstaking attention to improvement in matters of expression. Changes in diction make for greater precision and force:

<i>First Edition</i>		<i>Second Edition</i>
corruption	>	contagion (13. 31)
unsound (humour)	>	noxious (humour) (9. 8)
successfully (fought for)	>	prosperously (fought for) (13. 4)
conceit	>	notion (22. 10)
said	>	shewd (29. 18)
gracious (condescension)	>	divine (condescension) (14. 31)

'prettie' (29. 7), omitted as too trivial.

Certain redundancies are eliminated; as:

(readmitted) to sit again in

Parlament > readmitted (9. 4).

Brevity is aimed at in such changes as :

When they were once un-

deceivd	>	once undeceivd (20. 22)
unless they be faultie	>	not faultie (22. 26)

A few possible ambiguities as to meaning are removed, and other vague expressions made definite :

Lacedæmon	>	Sparta (24. 15)
just accusation	>	just conviction (23. 34)
other treatises	>	another treatise (35. 2)
make (laws)	>	make or propose (laws)
		[22. 2]
hath been prov'd	>	I have prov'd (35. 1)

Greater force is secured by slight omissions or additions ; as :

never likely to have	>	never to have (14. 25)
what will they say of us	>	what will they at best say
		(13. 34)

Grammatical construction, or rather the lack of it, is remedied at a few points ; as in the omission of the dangling phrase, 'to become of no effect,' etc. (14. 33). At some points the discourse is made less stiff and formal ; as in the omission of such expressions as 'I answer, that' (20. 15), and in the turning of 'I shall make mention of another way' (23. 38) into the simpler, smoother introductory, 'Another way will be' (26. 20). Finally, a few partial inaccuracies are corrected ; as :

whole (senate)	>	Senate (24. 33)
Commons	>	Lords and Commons
		(27. 10).

Thus the revised edition, while it preserves the main outlines of the former treatise, is nevertheless to a remarkable extent the product of contemporary events, of hostile criticism ; of the 'courage never to submit or yield,' but rather to reassert more defiantly than ever the principles of a lost cause, even at the hazard of life itself ; and, finally, of the dexterous craftsmanship of a literary artist. The changes introduced radically affect every page and paragraph. The omissions

vary in length from a single letter to about three hundred words ; the interpolations, from a single word to several pages. Yet all is done, not only without prejudice to the sequence of thought, but with the effect of strengthening the production, both in detail and as a whole. The work is enlarged to nearly twice its original volume, and is, indeed, practically a new composition. To realize how remarkable was this achievement, we have only to recall that Milton was at this time totally blind.

## B. CONTEMPORARY CRITICISM

*The Ready and Easy Way* fell from the press into a multitude of eager hands. Royalists and Commonwealth-men alike were anxious to hear what Milton, still nominally Latin secretary, had to say about the question of settlement. Naturally, his unretracted championship of the dethroned Rump, his advocacy of a perpetual council, his decided stand against the Royalists, and particularly his terrific denunciation of the Stuarts, brought down instantly upon the author a tremendous storm of criticism, ridicule, and abuse. Royalist pamphlets appearing in March and April are full of allusions to Milton and *The Ready and Easy Way*.

1. *A Seasonable Word*, written by L'Estrange immediately before the dissolution of Parliament (March 16), contains, besides many indirect references to Milton, the following :

'I could only wish his *Excellency* had been a little civilier to Mr. Milton ; for, just as he had finished his *Modell of a Common-wealth*, directing in these very Terms, the *Choyce*, . . . "men not addicted to a Single Person, or House of Lords, and the Work is done." In come the *Secluded Members* and spoyle his Project. To this *admirable discovery*, he subjoyne a *sutable Proposition* in favour of the *late sitting Members*, and This is it, having premised the *Abilities* and *Honesty*, *desirable in Ministers of State*, he recommends the *Rumpers* to us as so *Qualified* ; advises us to quit that *fond Opinion* of *successive Parliament* ; and suffer the Persons then in Power, to perpetuate themselves under the name of a *Grand or Generall*

*Counsel*, and to rule *us*, and our *Heirs* for ever. It were great pitty these Gentlemen should lose their longings.<sup>1</sup>

2. The following passage from *The Character of the Rump* (March 17) is especially vitriolic: 'An ingenious person hath observed that Scott is the Rump's man Thomas; and they might have said to him, when he was so busy with the General,

Peace, for the Lord's sake, Thomas! lest Monk take us,  
And drag us out, as Hercules did Cacus.

But John Milton is their goose-quill champion; who had need of a help-meet to establish anything, for he has a ram's head and is good only at batteries,—an old heretic both in religion and manners, that by his will would shake off his governors as he doth his wives, four in a fortnight. The sunbeams of his scandalous papers against the late King's Book is [*sic*] the parent that begot his late *New Commonwealth*; and, because he, like a parasite as he is, by flattering the then tyrannical power, hath run himself into the briars, the man will be angry if the rest of the nation will not bear him company, and suffer themselves to be decoyed into the same condition. He is so much an enemy to usual practices that I believe, when he is condemned to travel to Tyburn in a cart, he will petition for the favour to be the first man that ever was driven thither in a wheelbarrow. And now, John, *you* must stand close and draw in your elbows, that Needham, the Commonwealth didapper may have room to stand beside you. . . . He [Needham] was one of the spokes of Harrington's Rota, till he was turned out for cracking. As for Harrington, *he's* but a demi-semi in the Rump's music, and should be good at the cymbal; for he is all for wheeling instruments, and, having a good invention, may in time find out the way to make a concert of grindstones.'<sup>2</sup>

3. A clever Royalist satire which came from the press on March 28 has the following title-page:

'*The Censure of the Rota upon Mr. Milton's Book, intituled, "The ready and easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth," &c.*

<sup>1</sup> *Tracts*, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Masson, *Life of Milton* 5. 569.

'*Die Lunæ*, 26 Martii, 1660.

'Ordered by the Rota, that Mr. Harrington be desired to draw up a Narrative of this Day's Proceeding upon Mr. Milton's Book, called, "The ready and easy Way," &c. And to cause the same to be forthwith printed and published, and a Copy thereof to be sent to Mr. Milton.'

'Trundle Wheeler, Clerk to the Rota.'

'Printed at London by Paul Giddy, Printer to the Rota, at the Sign of the Windmill in Turn-again Lane, 1660.'

The pamphlet purports to be the record of proceedings at a session of the famous Rota Club, upon which occasion *The Ready and Easy Way* was the subject of debate. The design of spitting, as it were, both great commonwealth-champions at one thrust is a rather happy one; the wit is often far from bad; and the literary quality in general gives the *Censure* preëminence over other contemporary scurrilities. As we have already seen, Milton winced under its ridicule. It is, upon the whole, the most interesting and important criticism that appeared upon *The Ready and Easy Way*. And as it exercised so large an influence upon the second edition, it has seemed worth while to present in the following excerpts all that bears direct relation to Milton's book:

'Sir,

'I am commanded, by this ingenious convention of the *Rota*, to give you an account of some reflections that they have lately made upon a treatise of yours; . . . I must first bespeak your pardon for being forced to say something, not only against my own sense, but the interest, which both you and I carry on. . . .

'It is our usual custom to dispute every thing, how plain or obscure soever, by knocking argument against argument, and tilting at one another with our heads, as rams fight, until we are out of breath, and then refer if to our wooden oracle, the box; and seldom anything, how slight soever, hath appeared, without some patron or other to defend it. I must confess, I never saw bowling-stones run so unluckily against any boy, when his hand has been out, as the ballots did against

you, when anything was put to the question, from the beginning of your book to the end ; for it was no sooner read over, but a gentleman of your acquaintance [Cyriack Skinner, or Needham ?] said, he wished, for your own sake, as well as the cause you contend for, that you had given your book no name, like an Anabaptist's child, until it had come to years of discretion, or else you had got some friend to be gossip, that has a luckier hand at giving titles to books than you have : for it is observed, you have always been very unfortunate that way, as if it were fatal to you, to prefix bulls and nonsense to the very fronts of your learned works. . . . But in this book, he said, you were more insufferable ; for you . . . style your declamation, "The ready and easy Way," as if it were the best or only way, to the disparagement of this most ingenious assembly, who are confident, they have proposed others much more considerable. . . .

'To this another added, he wondered you did not give over writing, since you have always done it to little or no purpose. . . .

'After this, a grave gentleman of the long robe said, . . . you had plaid false in the very first word of your treatise : for the parliament of England, as you call the Rump, never consisted of a packed party of one house, that, by fraud and covin, had disseised the major part of their fellows, and forfeited their own right. . . . But this, he said, you stole from patriot Whitlock, who began his declaration for a free state with the same words ; and he wondered you would filch and pilfer nonsense and fallacies, that have such plentiful store of your own growth. Yet this was as true as that which follows, That a great number of the faithfulest of the people assisted them in throwing off kingship ; for they were a very slight number, in respect of the whole, and none of the faithfulest. . . . This, being put to the ballot, was immediately carried on in the affirmative, without a dissenting pellet. . . .

'Presently a gentleman, that hath been some years beyond-seas, said, he wondered you would say anything so false and ridiculous, as that this commonwealth was the terror and admiration of France itself ; for, if that were true, the

cardinal and council were very imprudent to become the chief promoters of it, and strive, by all means to uphold that, which they judged to be dangerous to themselves ; . . . for, if this free state be so terrible to them, they have been very unwise in assisting it to keep out the King all this while. . . . As for our actions abroad, which you brag of, he said, he never heard of any where he was, until Oliver Cromwell reduced us to an absolute monarchy, under the name of a free state ; and then we beat the potent and flourishing republick of the United Provinces. But, for our actions at home, he had heard abroad, that they savoured much of Goth and Vandal barbarism, if pulling down of churches and demolishing the noblest monuments in the land . . . amount to so much. . . .

‘After a little pause, a learned gentleman, of this society stood up, and said, he could not but take notice of one absurdity in your discourse, and that is, where you speak of liberty gloriously fought for, and kingly thralldom abjured by the people, &c. . . . He wondered you could be so weak, or impudent, to play foul in matters of fact. . . . But he was of opinion, that you did not believe yourself, not those reasons you give, in defence of a commonwealth ; but that you are swayed by something else, as either by a stork-like fate (as a modern Protector-poet calls it, because that fowl is observed to live nowhere but in commonwealths), or, because you have inadvisedly scribbled yourself obnoxious, or else you fear, such admirable eloquence, as yours, would be thrown away under a monarchy, as it would be, though of admirable use in a popular government, where orators carry all the rabble before them : for who knows to how cheap a rate this goodly eloquence of yours, if well managed, might bring the price of sprats ; as no wiser orators than yourself have done heretofore, in the petty factions, Greek republicks, whom you chiefly imitate ; for all your politicks are derived from the works of declaimers. . . .

‘You have done your feeble endeavours to rob the church, of the little which the rapine of the most sacrilegious persons hath left, in your learned work against Tithes ; you have slandered the dead, worse than envy itself, and thrown your dirty

outrage, on the memory of a murdered prince, as if the hangman were but your usher. These have been the attempts of your stiff, formal eloquence, which you arm accordingly, with anything that lies in your way, right or wrong, not only begging, but stealing questions, and taking every thing for granted, that will serve your turn ; for you are not ashamed to rob Oliver Cromwell himself, and make use of his canting, with signal assistances from heaven, and answering condescensions. . . .

‘If you did not look very like a cunning man, nobody would believe you, nor trust your predictions of the future, that give so ill an account of things past. But he held you very unwise to blab any such thing ; for that party you call *we*, have gained so abundantly much more than they have spent, that they desire nothing more, than to fight over the same fight again, at the same rate . . . : for how vile soever you make the blood of faithful Englishmen, they have made such good markets of it, that they would be glad at any time to broach the whole nation at the same price, and afford the treasure of miraculous deliverances, as you call it, into the bargain.

‘This he added was easier to be understood than your brand of Gentilism, upon Kingship, for which you wrest Scripture most unmercifully, to prove, that though Christ said, ‘His kingdom was not of this world’ ; yet his commonwealth is. For if the text which you quote, “The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship . . .” &c. be to be understood of civil government, (and to infer commonwealth, as you will have it right or wrong), and not to be meant of his spiritual reign, of which he was then speaking, and expressly calls so ; you must prove that he erected a republick of his Apostles, and that, notwithstanding the Scripture everywhere calls his government, The Kingdom of Heaven, it ought to be corrected, and rendered, The Commonwealth of Heaven, or rather, The Commonwealth of this world ; and yet the text does as well prove benefactors heathenish as kings ; for if our Saviour had meant to brand Kingship with any evil character, he would never have styled himself ‘King of the Jews, King of Heaven, King of Righteousness,’ &c. as he



frequently does ; but no where a Stateholder or Keeper of the Liberties.

'To this a young gentleman made answer, That your writings are best interpreted by themselves ; and that he remembered in that book, wherein you fight with the King's picture, you call Sir Philip Sidney's princess Pamela (who was born and bred out of Christian parents in England) a Heathen woman ; and, therefore, he thought that by Heathenish, you meant English ; and that in calling kingship Heathenish, you inferred, it was the only proper and natural government of the English nation, as it hath been proved in all ages.

'To which another objected, that such a sense was quite contrary to your purpose : to which he immediately replied, That it was no new thing with you to write that, which is as well against as for your purpose. After much debate they agreed to put it to the ballot, and the young gentleman carried it without any contradiction.

'That done, a gentleman of good credit here, . . . said, you . . . had made as politic provision for spiritual, as civil liberty, in those pious and orthodox (though seemingly absurd and contradictory) grounds you have laid down . . . : That the church of Christ ought to have no head upon earth, but the monster of many heads, the multitude . . . : that all Christian laws and ordinances have a coercive power, to see themselves put in execution, and yet they ought to be subject to every man's will and humour (which you call his best light), and no man to them but in his own sense. That the Scripture only ought to interpret itself (just as it can read itself) . . . : that every man may do what he pleases in matters of religion. . . . That no man can serve God, nor save his own soul, but in a commonwealth, in this certainty, you go after your own invention, for no man ever heard it before. . . . That any man may turn away his wife, and take another as often as he pleases, as you have most learnedly proved upon the fiddle, and practiced in your life and conversation, for which you have achieved the honour to be styled "The Founder of a Sect." . . .

'Certainly, the most ready and easy way to root out relig-

ion, is to render it contemptible and ridiculous ; which cannot be sooner done, than by giving licence and encouragement to all manner of frenzies, that pretend to new discoveries in matters of faith. . . . And this is the way you go, which will never fail you, as long as there are fools and mad-men to carry on the work. . . . The Fifth-Monarchy men . . . would have been admirable for your purpose, if they had but dreamed of a fifth free state.

'By this time, they began to grow weary of your perpetual falsehoods and mistakes, and a worthy knight of this assembly stood up and said, that if we meant to examine all the particular fallacies and flaws in your writing, we should never have done ; he would therefore, with leave, deliver his judgment upon the whole, which, in brief, was thus : That it is all windy foppery, from the beginning to the end, written to the elevation of that rabble, and meant to cheat the ignorant. That you fight always with the flat of your hand, like a rhetorician, and never contract the logical fist. That you trade altogether in universals, the region of deceits and fallacy, but never come so near particulars, as to let us know which, among divers things of the same kind, you would be at. For you admire commonwealths in general, and cry down kingship as much at large, without any regard to the particular constitutions, which only make either the one or the other good or bad, vainly supposing all slavery to be in the government of a single person, and nothing but liberty in that of many. . . .

'Besides this, as all your politicks reach but the outside and circumstances of things, and never touch at realities, so you are very solicitous about words, as if they were charms, or had more in them than what they signify. For no conjurer's devil is more concerned in a spell, than you are in a mere word, but never regard the things which it serves to express. For you believe liberty is safer under an arbitrary unlimited power, by virtue of the name Commonwealth, than under any other government, how just or restrained soever, if it be but called Kingship.

'And therefore, you would have the name Parliament abolished. . . . But in this you are too severe a Draco, to

punish one word, for holding correspondence with another, when all the liberty, you talk so much of, consists in nothing else but mere words. For though you brag much of the people's managing their own affairs, you allow them no more share of that in your Utopia, as you have ordered it, than only to set up their throats and bawl, instead of every three years, which they might have done before, once in an age, or oftener, as an old member drops away, and a new is to succeed, not for his merit or knowledge in state-affairs, but because he is able to bring the greatest and most deep-mouthed pack of the rabble into the field. . . .

'After this said, he moved the assembly that I might be desired to deliver my judgment upon the book, as he and others had done, which being immediately passed, I knew not, though unwilling, how to avoid it ; and therefore I told them as briefly as I could, that that which I disliked most in your treatise was, that there is not one word of the balance of propriety, nor the Agrarian, nor Rotation in it, from the beginning to the end ; without which together with a Lord Archon, I thought I had sufficiently demonstrated, not only in my writings but public exercises in that coffee-house, that there is no possible foundation of a free commonwealth. To the first and second of these, that is, the Balance and the Agrarian, you made no objection, and therefore, I should not need to make any answer. But for the third, I mean Rotation, which you implicitly reject in your design to perpetuate the present members, I shall only add this to what I have already said and written on this subject, That a commonwealth is like a great top, that must be kept up by being whipped round, and held in perpetual circulation, for if you discontinue the Rotation, and suffer the senate to settle, and stand still, down it falls immediately. And if you had studied the point as carefully as I have done, you could not but know, there is no such way under heaven of disposing the vicissitudes of command and obedience, and of distributing equal right and liberty among all men, as this of wheeling.

'But I wondered most of all, at what politic crack in any man's skull, the imagination could enter of securing liberty

under an oligarchy, seised of the government for term of life, which was never yet seen in the world. . . .

'But I could not but laugh, as they all had done, at the pleasantness of your fancy, who suppose our noble patriots, when they are invested for term of life, will serve their country at their own charge : this, I said, was very improbable, unless you meant as they do, that all we have is their own, and that to prey and devour is to serve. . . . For though many may laugh at me for accounting 300,000 pounds in wooden ware, toward the erecting of a free-state, in my Oceana, but a trifle to the whole nation ; because I am most certain that these little pills the ballots are the only physick that can keep the body-politick soluble, and not suffer the humour to settle, I will undertake, that if the present members had but a lease of the government during life, notwithstanding whatsoever impeachment of waste, they would raise more out of it to themselves in one year, than that amounts to ; beside the charge we must be at in maintaining of guards to keep the boys off them. . . .

'To conclude ; I told them, you had made good your title in a contrary sense ; for you have really proposed the most ready and easy way to establish downright slavery upon the nation that can possibly be contrived, which will clearly appear to any man that does but understand this plain truth, that wheresoever the power of proposing and debating, together with the power of ratifying and enacting laws, is entrusted in the hands of any one person, or any one council, as you would have it, that government is inevitably arbitrary and tyrannical, because they may make whatsoever they please lawful or unlawful. And that tyranny hath the advantage of all others that hath law and liberty among the instruments of servitude.

J. H.'

4. For the reference contained in *Brief Notes upon a late Sermon*, see note on 9. 9c.

5. *No Blinde Guides* appeared on April 20. It was from the pen of Milton's relentless and now brutally exultant foe, L'Estrange. Although written in reply to the *Brief Notes*, it contains several references to *The Ready and Easy Way*.

L'Estrange, now confident of Royalist victory, is in mocking mood :

'What do you think of "Grand, Arbitrary, & Perpetual Counsel; and no more Parliaments?" (according to your Gracious Proposition, [Page 8] of your *Free and easie way*, &c.) And, in regard that in a *free Commonwealth*, "they who are greatest are Perpetual Servants. . . . [Page 4] What do you think of the Rump-Parliaments "Perpetuating itself" *under the name of that grand Counsl* ? [Page 10.] *the Government being in so many "Faithful" and "Experienced" hands, next under God, so Able; especially Filling up their number, as they intend, and abundantly sufficient so happily to govern us* : [P. 11, &c.] . . .

'Alas . . . for your ready, and easie way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, what will . . . become then of Your Standing Council ?'

6. *The Dignity of Kingship Asserted: in answer to Mr. Milton's 'Ready and Easie Way to establish a Free Commonwealth.'* . . . By G.S., a Lover of Loyalty, is the title of the most serious and voluminous reply provoked by Milton's book. It appeared sometime in April or May. Its author, George Searle (?), acknowledges 'the ability of Mr. Milton,' and also the 'fluent elegant style' of the *Defense*. He affirms that Milton 'then did, and doth now, want nothing on his side but truth.' As for the Greek republics, they were so ancient that nothing could be certainly known about them. The Hollanders were a herd of swine. And, highest argument of all, Christ himself was born under an emperor.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stern, *Milton und seine Zeit* 2. 247.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ARISTOTLE, Politics. Tr. Jowett. Oxford, 1885.  
 — — The Constitution of Athens. Tr. Poste. London, 1891.  
 — — Ed. Sandys. London, 1893.  
 AUBREY, JOHN. Brief Lives. Ed. Clark. Oxford, 1898.  
 — — Collections for the Life of Milton, appended to Lives of Edw. and John Philips. Ed. Godwin. London, 1815.  
 AUGUSTINE, ST. The City of God. Ed. Dods. 2 vols. Edinburgh, 1871.  
 BACON, SIR F. The Advancement of Learning (Essays, ed. 1900).  
 — — New Atlantis. In Morley's Ideal Commonwealths. London, 1885.  
 BAKER, SIR RICHARD. A Chronicle of the Kings of England, From the Time of the Romans Government, to the Death of King James the First. With a Continuation to the Year 1660. By E. Phillips. London, 1733.  
 BARKER, J. E. The Rise and Decline of the Netherlands. New York, 1906.  
 BAUDRILLART, HENRI. Jean Bodin et Son Temps. Paris, 1853.  
 BLOK, P. J. History of the People of the Netherlands. Tr. Bierstadt and Putnam. 5 vols. New York, 1898-1907.  
 BODIN, JEAN. De Republica. Frankfort, 1641.  
 — — The Six Bookes of a Commonweale. Tr. Knolles. London, 1606.  
 BOTSFORD, G. W. History of Greece. Boston, 1899.  
 BRADSHAW, JOHN. Concordance to Milton. London, 1894.  
 BUCHANAN, GEORGE. De Jure Regni apud Scotos. Edinburgh, 1579. Tr. Macfarlan. London, 1799.  
 — — History of Scotland. Tr. Watkins. London, 1827.

- BURNET, GILBERT. *The History of My Own Time*. Ed. Airy. 3 vols. London, 1897.
- BUTLER, H. C. *The Story of Athens*. New York, 1902.
- BUTLER, SAMUEL. *Characters*. Ed. Waller. Cambridge, 1908.
- CALVIN, JOHN. *The Institution of Christian Religion*. Tr. Norton. Folio. London, 1611.
- CAMDEN, W. *The History of Elizabeth*. Vol. 2 of Kenet's *Complete History of England*. London, 1706.
- CARLYLE, THOMAS. *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*. 5 vols. London, 1870.
- CERISIER. *Tableau De L'Histoire Générale Des Provinces-Unies*. 10 vols. Utrecht, 1779.
- CHARLES I, KING. *Bibliotheca Regia, or, The Royal Library*. London, 1659.
- — *Works*, 2 vols. Aberdeen, 1766.
- CHEYNE and BLACK. *Encyclopædia Biblica*. 4 vols. London, 1899.
- CICERO, OPERA OMNIA. *Delphin Classics*. London, 1830.
- CLARENDON, EDWARD, EARL of. *History of the Rebellion*. Ed. Macray. 6 vols. London, 1888.
- Clarendon State Papers. Ed. Ogle, Bliss, Macray. 3 vols. Oxford 1869-76.
- CLARKE PAPERS, THE. Ed. C. H. Firth. 4 vols. London, 1891-1901.
- COBBETT, EDW. W. *Parliamentary History of England*. 12 vols. London, 1806.
- CORBET, JULIAN. *Monk*. London and New York, 1889.
- CRAWFORD, F. M. *The Rulers of the South*. 2 vols. New York, 1900.
- DANTE. *Monarchia*. Ed. Henry. New York, 1904.
- DUNNING, W. A. *A History of Political Theories Ancient and Mediæval*. 2 vols. New York, 1905.
- DUPLESSIS-MORNAY. *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. Edinburgh, 1580.
- DURUY, V. *History of Greece*. Ed. Mahaffey. Boston, 1892.
- DYCE, A. *Glossary to Shakespeare*. Ed. Littledale. London, 1902.
- EATON, D. B. *Civil Service in Great Britain*. New York, 1880.

- EVELYN, JOHN. *Diary*. Ed. Wheatley. London, 1906.
- FELLTHAM, OWEN. *A Brief Character of the Low Countries under the States*. London, 1652.
- FERRERO, G. *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*. Tr. Zimmern. 4 vols. New York and London, 1907.
- FIGGIS, J. N. *Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge History, Vol. 3. Cambridge, 1904.
- FIRTH, C. H. *Cromwell*. New York and London, 1900.
- FORTESCUE, SIR JOHN. *His Life, Works, and Family History*. Ed. Claremont. 2 vols. London, 1869.
- FULLER, THOMAS. *Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*. London, 1660.
- GARDINER, S. R. *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution*. Oxford, 1899.
- — *History of England*. 1603–42. 10 vols. London, 1883–4.
- — *The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution*. Boston, 1876.
- GARNETT, R. *Life of Milton*. London, 1890.
- — *Prose of Milton: Selected and Edited, with an Introduction*. London, 1894.
- GAUDEN, JOHN. *Eikon Basilike*. London, 1649.
- GEFFROY, A. *Etude sur les Pamphlets Politiques et Religieux de Milton*. Paris, 1848.
- GIERKE, OTTO. *Political Theories of the Middle Age*. Tr. Maitland. Cambridge, 1900.
- GOOCH, G. P. *History of Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, 1898.
- GUICCIARDINI, F. *Aphorismes Civil and Militarie*. London, 1613.
- GUIZOT. *History of France*. 6 vols. Tr. Black. Boston, 1872.
- — *Histoire de la Révolution d'Angleterre (1625 à 1660)*. 6 vols. Paris, 1850–5.
- HALE, EDW. *The Fall of the Stuarts*. New York, 1899.
- HALLAM, H. *Constitutional History of England*. 3 vols. London, 1884.



- HARLEIAN MISCELLANY. Ed. T. Park. 10 vols. London, 1808-13.
- HARRIS, W. *Life of Charles the Second*. 2 vols. London, 1766.
- HASTINGS, J. *A Dictionary of the Bible*. 5 vols. New York, 1898-1904.
- HAUSER, H. *Saumaise*. In *La Grande Encyclopédie*.
- HOBBS, THOMAS. *Leviathan*. London, 1658.
- HODGSON, F. C. *The Early History of Venice*. London, 1901.
- HORWOOD, A. J. *A Common-Place Book of John Milton*. Camden Soc. Publications. London, 1876.
- HOTMAN, FRANCIS. *Franco Gallia*. Tr. Molesworth. Second edition. London, 1738.
- HOWELL, JAMES. *Familiar Letters*. Ed. Bennett. London, 1890.
- HUTCHINSON, MRS. LUCY. *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*. 2 vols. Ed. Firth. London, 1885.
- IHNE, W. *History of Rome*. 4 vols. London, 1871.
- IVIMEY, JOSEPH. *Life and Times of Milton*. New York, 1833.
- JAMES, G. P. *Louis XIV.* London, 1851.
- JOHNSON, DR. S. *Life of Milton*. In *Lives of the Poets*. 6 vols. London, 1886.
- KEIGHTLEY, THOMAS. *Life, Opinions, and Writings of John Milton*. London, 1855.
- LEE, SIDNEY. *Dictionary of National Biography*. 63 vols. London, 1885-1901.
- LEIGHTON, R. F. *History of Rome*. New York, 1880.
- L'ESTRANGE, SIR ROGER. *Tracts*. London, 1659-80. 1 vol. Yale Library.
- LOCKWOOD, LAURA E. *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton*. New York, 1907.
- LONGUEVILLE, THOMAS. *Life of Sir Kenelm Digby*. London, 1896.
- LUDLOW, EDMUND. *Memoirs*. 2 vols. Ed. Firth. Oxford, 1894.
- MACAULAY, T. B. *History of England*. 5 vols. New York, 1849-71.
- MACHIAVELLI, N. *Works*. London, 1720.

- MARIANA. De Rege et Regis Institutione. Second edition. Toledo, 1611.
- MASSON, DAVID. The Life of John Milton, narrated in Connection with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of His Time. 6 vols. London and New York, 1859-80.
- MAY, THOMAS. The History of the Parliament of England which began Nov. 3, 1640. London, 1854.
- MEDLEY, D. J. Manual of English Constitutional History. Oxford, 1894.
- MERCURIUS POLITICUS. By M. Needham. London, 1650-60.
- MILTON, J. The readie and easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth. First edition. London, Feb., 1660. (Full title—page reproduced on p. 5 of this volume.)
- — The readie and easie way to establish a free Commonwealth; and the excellence therof compar'd with the inconveniencies and dangers of readmitting Kingship in this Nation. The second edition revis'd and augmented. The author J. M.
- *et nos*
- consilium dedimus Syllae, demus populo nunc.*
- London, Printed for the Author, 1660.
- — A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton, Both English and Latin. With som Papers never before Publish'd. In Three Volumes. To which is Prefix'd The Life of the Author, Containing Besides the History of his Works, Several Extraordinary Characters of Men, Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions. Amsterdam, Finish'd in the Year M.DC.XC.VIII.
- — Prose Works. Amsterdam (really London), 1694. Incorporated in the Toland edition of 1698.
- — Prose Works. London, 1697.
- — The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a free Commonwealth. Octavo. London, 1791.
- — A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton. Ed. Birch. 2 vols. London, 1738.

- MILTON, J. *The Works of John Milton, Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous.* Ed. Birch and Barron. London, 1753.
- — *The Prose Works of John Milton.* Ed. Symmons. 7 vols. London, 1806.
- — *The Prose Works of John Milton.* With an Introductory Review by R. Fletcher. London, 1833.
- — *The Prose Works of John Milton.* Ed. St. John. 5 vols. London, 1848–53. (Bohn edition.)
- — *Areopagitica.* Ed. Hales. London, 1878.
- MOMMSEN, T. *The History of Rome.* Tr. Dickson. 5 vols. New York, 1895.
- MORE, Sir THOMAS. *Utopia.* Ed. Lupton. Oxford, 1895.
- MORFILL, W. R. *The Story of Poland.* New York, 1893.
- MORLEY, H. *Ideal Commonwealths.* London, 1885.
- NOBLE, M. *The Lives of the English Regicides.* 2 vols. London, 1798.
- OLIPHANT, Mrs. M. *The Makers of Venice.* New York, 1887.
- PAGITT, EPHRAIM. *Heresiography, or a Description of the Hereticks and Sectaries of These Latter Times.* London, 1651.
- PARDOE, JULIA. *Louis the Fourteenth.* 2 vols. New York, 1847.
- PATTISON, MARK. *Milton, an Account of His Life and Works.* London, 1879.
- PAULY, *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* Ed. Wissowa. Stuttgart, 1894.
- PEPYS, S. *Diary and Correspondence.* Ed. Bright. 9 vols. New York, 1884.
- PLATO. *Dialogues.* Ed. Jowett. 5 vols. New York, 1892.
- PLUTARCH. *Life of Lycurgus.* In Morley's *Ideal Commonwealths.* London, 1885.
- — *Life of Solon.* Tr. Langhorne. Cassel's Natl. Lib., No. 107. New York, 1888.
- POLLARD, Sir F. *The History of Politics.* London, 1890.
- POOLE, R. L. *Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought.* London, 1884.
- POWELL, YORK. *England to 1509.* London, 1885.

- POYNET, JOHN. A. Short Treatise of Politike Power, and of the True Obedience which Subjects owe to Kynge. London, 1556.
- PRYNNE, W. A Winding Sheet for the Good Old Cause. London, 1659.
- RALEIGH, Sir WALTER. The Cabinet Council. Published by Milton in 1658.
- RALEIGH, W. A. Life of Milton. London, 1900.
- ROGERS, E. Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man. London, 1867.
- ROGERS, J. E. The Story of Holland. New York, 1889.
- ROSCHER, W. H. Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie. Leipzig, 1884-6.
- RUSHWORTH, JOHN. Historical Collections 1618-48. 8 vols. London, 1721.
- SAINT-AMAND, I. The Court of Louis XIV. Tr. Martin. New York, 1893.
- SELDEN, JOHN. Opera Omnia. Ed. Wilkins. 3 vols. London, 1726.
- — Table Talk. Ed. Reynolds. Oxford, 1892.
- SKINNER, T. Life of General Monk. Ed. Webster. Dublin, 1724.
- SMITH, Sir THOMAS. The Commonwealth of England. London, 1621.
- SOMERS TRACTS. Ed. Scott. 13 vols. London, 1809.
- STERN, ALFRED. Milton und seine Zeit. 2 Teile. Leipzig, 1877-9.
- STUBBS. Constitutional History of England. 3 vols. Oxford, 1874.
- TAYLOR, H. The Origin and Growth of the English Constitution. 2 vols. Boston and New York, 1898.
- THOMASON, GEORGE. Catalog of the Pamphlets, Books, Newspapers, and Manuscripts relating to the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Restoration, 1640-1661. Printed for the British Museum, 1908.
- THORNBURY, W. Old and New London. 6 vols. New York.
- TOLAND, J. The Oceana and Other Works of James Harrington, Esq. With an Exact Account of his Life Prefixed. London, 1737.

- TOLAND, J. *The Life of Milton, containing, besides, the History of His Works, Several Extraordinary Characters of Men, Books, Sects, Parties, and Opinions.* London, 1699.
- TRENT, W. J. *John Milton, His Life and Works.* New York, 1899.
- VERNEY, FRANCES P. *Memoirs of the Verney Family.* 4 vols. London, 1892-9.
- WALKER, CLEMENT. *The History of Independency.* 4 parts. London, 1648-60.
- — *The Mystery of the Two Juntoes.* London, 1648.
- WELLS, J. *A Short History of Rome.* London, 1899.
- WHITELOCK, B. *Memorials of English Affairs.* 4 vols. Oxford, 1853.
- WIEDEMANN, A. *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.* London, 1897.
- WIEL, A. *Venice.* New York, 1894.
- WINDSOR, A. L. *Milton, His Politics, Prose Writings, and Biographers.* In *Ethica.* London, 1860.
- WITHER, GEORGE. *A Perpetual Parliament.* Spenser Society Publications, Third Collection. Manchester, 1872-8.
- WOOD, A. *Athenæ Oxonienses.* Ed. Bliss. 4 vols. London, 1813-20.

# INDEX

## A

Absolutism, regal, xli.  
 Actors, to the third part, 140.  
 Aegyptian task-masters, xxvi, 80.  
 Affected, the best, 63.  
 Africa, great men scarce in, 85.  
 Agrarian laws, liv, 126, 180.  
 Alignment, the political, xx.  
 Althusius, *Politica Methodice Digesta*, xli.  
 America, savage deserts of, 80.  
 Anabaptists, xxii.  
 Anarchy, xvii, xxviii, xxxiii, 63.  
 Ancients, the, 114.  
 Anglo-Saxon diction, lxvii.  
 Ant, the, an exemplar, 94.  
 Antwerp, the sacking of, 77.  
 Aquinas, Thomas, *De Regimine Judaeorum*, xli; *De Regimine Principum*, 100; *Summa Theologiae*, xlii.  
 Aragonian coronation formula, 99.  
 Areopagus, the, lvii, 111, 114.  
 Aristocracy, a perpetual, xxxiv.  
 Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, lvii; chief instructor, 131; *Politics*, lxiii, 82, 131ff.; preferred to Plato, xxxvii, lvii; on the ship of state, 110.  
 Arminians, 147.  
 Army, the, xviiif., 103, 141; a standing, 133, 140.  
 Army-officers, rule of the, xviii, xxx.  
 Army-régime, the, xviii, xix, xxviii.  
 Asia, few great men in, 85.  
 Assemblies, ordinary, 122.  
 Assertours, first, 75, 105.  
 Assistances from heaven, 81.  
 Athens, the commonwealth of, lviif.

Atlantis, New, xxxviii.  
 Aubrey, J., xlix; his account of the Rota Club, lff.  
 Augustine, St., xxxviii, xl, lix, 83, 86, 98.

## B

Bacchus, tigers of, 138.  
 Backsliders, 159.  
 Bacon, F., *Advancement of Learning*, 110.  
 Balance, the idea of, lviii.  
 Ballot, the secret, liv.  
 Barebone, Praise-God, xiii, 47, 49, 135.  
 Bartholomew's, St., xlvii.  
 Batory, Stephen, 147.  
 Beans used as ballots, 120, 181.  
 Bishops, the removal of, 67.  
 Bishops' lands, 68; — wars, 66ff.  
 Blood-guiltiness, 70.  
 Bodin, Jean, *De la République*, lxff.; his conception of a perpetual grand council, 94, 111, 116, 119, 153; his faith in education, 117; his remarks on the Italian and Swiss republics, 114—5, 111, 120, 152; his opinion of kings, 129, 130; his observations about seashore folk, 116; his views on delegated sovereignty and popular sovereignty, 131, 83.  
 Bondage of kingship, 48, 106.  
 Booth, Sir George, xvii, xx.  
 Bradshaw, John, 54, 69.  
 Breda, Declaration of, 90.  
 Browne, Sir Thomas, lxv.  
 Buchanan, George, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, lxiv, 82, 91, 118, 155.  
 Burnet, G., xlix.  
 By-word of reproach, 104.

## C

Calvin, John, xlvi, lxx, 83.  
 Calvinists, xlvi, 146.  
 Camden, W., *The History of Elisabeth*, lxx, 65, 148, 149.  
 Canons, ecclesiastical, 61.  
 Cant, Puritan, 81.  
 Carew, Thomas 88, 113.  
 Catherine of Portugal, 88.  
 Cause, the good old, 159.  
 Cavaliers, 141.  
 Censors, Roman, 118.  
 Cerisier, *L'Histoire Générale des Provinces-Unies*, 115.  
 Champion, the goose-quill, 63, 173.  
 Chapman, Livewell, vii, 43.  
 Charles I, chief author of wars, 69; his support of the bishops, 67, 68; his last charge to his son, 150; his *Eikon Basilike*, 60, 68, 72, 150; his execution, its effect in France, 55; his part in the Irish Massacre, 56ff.; his judges, 136; his obstinacy, 58; his Oxford Parliament, 60; his treaty with the Scots, 137; his trial, 67, 69, 140.  
 Charles II, abjuration of, 107; his standing army, 133; his Declaration of Breda, 90; Coniah, xv, 160; longed for, 47; his marriage, 88; Monk's feigned opposition to, xxxiii, 46; negotiations with, xxi, xxvii, 90; offspring, 89; his Popish inclinations, 150; results of his restoration, lxx.  
 Christ, His disapproval of kingship, 85, 86, 99; as king, 125, 145.  
 Christina, queen of Sweden, 74.  
 Church and state, the union of, 79.  
 Church of England, the, classified politically, xx.  
 Church-reformation, 61.  
 Cicero, lviii, lxiii, 60, 110.  
 Cipher, a king a, 91.  
 Circumscriptions, perilous, 126.  
 City, a, 152.  
 Classical precedent, lvi.  
 Claypole, Lady, xlix.

Committee of safety, xviii.  
 Committees, xxxiv, 122.  
 Commonwealth, advantages of a, 85, 154; an equal, xxxiii; a free, 54, 100; of God's ordaining 133; the term, 46.  
 Commonwealth-men, xx, xxi.  
 Compounders, 141.  
 Concessions, Charles', 70.  
 Confessions of faith, 143, 144.  
 Coniah, lvi, 159.  
 Cooper, Sir Anthony, speech of, 117.  
 Constantinus Magnus, xli, 99.  
 Construction, defective grammatical, lxxviii.  
 Consuls, Roman, 118.  
 Contract, doctrine of, xlii, liv.  
 Corruption, degenerate, 76; in Parliament, 64, 76.  
 Costanzo, lxx.  
 Cossacks, the, 147, 148.  
 Council, a supreme representative, mediæval, xliii—xliv; Milton's and others, xxx, xxxviii, 93, 108, 111, 115; Vane's xxx.  
 Council of state, a, xxvi, xxxv, 54, 109, 129.  
 County, every, a little commonwealth, 152.  
*Coup d'état*, Lambert's, xviii.  
 Court, a dissolute, 87.  
 Court-poet, 91.  
 Covenant, the, 51, 55.  
 Criticism, contemporary, 172ff.; the influence of Royalist, 166.  
 Cromwell, Oliver, 62, 63ff., 81, 97, 110; Richard, xx, 103.  
 Cromwellians, xxi, xxii.  
 Cure, the only, 124.  
 Current events, the influence of, 165ff.

## D

Dante, *Divina Commedia*, xlv, 80; *De Monarchia*, xlv.  
 Dates of composition and publication, xff.  
 Deceivers, cunning, 48.  
 Delinquents, 68ff., 141.  
 Deliverances, 82.  
 Demigod, a king as a, 87.

Desire to enlarge, the, 169ff.  
 Didapper, the commonwealth, 173.  
 Divine right of kings, the, xlvi, 95.  
*Divorcers*, 131.  
 Dutch republic, the, 127.

## E

Editions, viiff.  
 Education, good, 117; faulty, 121.  
 Elections, general, xxvii; qualifications to participate in, 107; need of reform in, 120; the sifting process of, 121; Spartan manner of, 121.  
 Eli's sons, 134.  
 Elizabeth, Queen, 148, 149.  
 Eloquence, Milton's formal, 177.  
 Engagement, the, 58, 137.  
 Engelbert, *De Ortu*, xlii.  
 Ephori, the, 117—8.  
 Equality, proportioned, 84.  
 Estates, the three, 63; men's, 134.  
 Evangelic rules, 61.  
 Evelyn, John, 135.  
 Expense, 80, 87, 89.  
 Expression, improvements in, 170ff.  
 Expulsion of the kings, 120.

## F

Faction, 144.  
 Factions, 77.  
 Fanatics, the, xvi, xxviii, 139.  
 Felltham, Owen, *Brief Character of the Low Countries*, 78.  
 Fickleness, 116.  
 Fifth Monarchy, 145, 179; — men, xxii, 77.  
 Fingers, a forest of, 120.  
 Flaminian laws, 126.  
 Flanders, a good wind from, 47, 93.  
 Fleetwood, General, xvii, xviii, 103.  
 Florence, the government of, 93.  
 Foppery, Milton's windy, 179.  
 Force, under a, 62.  
 Formative influences, two, xxxix.  
 Fortescue, Sir John, 83, 154.  
 France, the rebellion in, 54.  
 French, immorality of the, 88.

Fronde, the rebellion of the, 55.  
 Full and frequent, 49—50.  
 Fuller, Thomas, lxxv; *Mixed Contemplations*, 146.

## G

Geneva, the council of, 111.  
 Genius, Milton's poetic, lxxviii.  
 Gentilism, kingship as, 85, 133, 177.  
 Gifford, Sir Roger, xxiii.  
 Gilles, lxxv.  
 Girard, lxxv.  
 Governors, our, 151.  
 Gracchus, Tiberius, 126.  
 Grammar, over-emphasis upon, 153.  
 Grandees, 64, 76.  
 Greek commonwealth-theory, lviff.  
 Greenville, Sir John, xv, xxvii.  
 Griffith, Matthew, 48.  
 Guicciardini, 83; *Aphorismes*, 84.

## H

Harrington, James, his chief proposals, liv-lv, 112, 126; of the Rota Club, xlviii ff.; satirized, 174ff.  
 Hartlib, Samuel, 147.  
 Haslerig, Arthur, xxiv, 46.  
 Hell, a tavern, 137.  
 Henrietta, Queen, 56, 88.  
 Henry III, xlvii, lxi.  
 Herbert, George, 89.  
 Historical setting, xvii.  
 Hobbes, Thomas, *Leviathan*, 94.  
 Holland, the supremacy of, 78, 95.  
 Hotman, Francis, *Franco-Gallia*, xlv, xlviii, lxiv, 83, 94, 99, 108.  
 Howell, James, *An Inquisition for Blood*, 67; *Familiar Letters*, 78.  
 Huguenot writers, xlv.  
 Hutchinson, Colonel, 136.  
 Hyde, Lord Chancellor, 48.

## I

Ignominy, an, 96.  
 Independents, 64, 76, 77.



Inspectors, 109, 156.  
 Intentions, bad, 64.  
 Interruptions of Parliament, 74, 101.  
 Invective, Milton's command of, lxviii, 168.  
 Ireland, xviii, xxvi, 56.  
 Irish Massacre, 56ff.  
 Iscariot, Judas, 65.  
 Italy, the republics of, lix, 93ff., 114-5.  
 James II, 79, 128.  
 Jesuits, 148; their writings, xlvii ff.  
 John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, xli, xliii; *On the End of Tyrants*, xliii.  
 Johnson, Dr., 99, 122.  
 Jones, Inigo, 88.  
 Judges, equal, 153.  
 Judgments, national, 159.  
 Judgment Day, 125.  
 Judicature, benches of, 155.  
 Justinian, lix.  
 Juvenal, adaptation of, viii.

## K

Keats, *Ode to a Nightingale*, 139.  
 Keepers of liberty, 107.  
 King, Christ as, 125, 145; divine right of, 95; a good, 93, 129.  
 Kingship, the abolishing of, 54; Milton's opinions of (see under Milton).  
 Knights and Burgesses, 107.

## L

Lacedæmon, 114.  
 Lambert, General, xvi, xvii, xviii, xxviii, 51, 82, 103.  
 Laud, Archbishop, 69.  
 Lawes, Henry, 88.  
 Laws, judicial, 153; fewer, 153.  
 Leaders, ambitious, 103.  
 Lenthall, William, xvii, xxiii, 48, 102.  
 L'Estrange, Roger, *No Blind Guides*, xvi, r81ff.; *Reply to Plain English*, 62; *Seasonable Word*, xlii, 167, 172; *Sober Answer*, 167.  
 Libels, 137.

Liberty, due, 84; native, 125; spiritual or civil, 142, 150-1, 178.  
 Licence, 138.  
 Licinio-Sextian laws, 118.  
 Light, all this, 158.  
 Lilly, William, *Short Introd. to Grammar*, 153.  
 Londoners, attitude of, xxff., 46, 49, 53.  
 Lords, temporal and spiritual, 126.  
 Louis XIV, the court of, 89.  
 Ludlow, General, xxvi.  
 Luther, Martin, xli, lxxv.  
 Lycurgus, lvi, 82, 114.

## M

Machiavelli, N., lix ff.; on commonwealths and great men, 85, 130; on French looseness, 88; on God's preference for a commonwealth, 133; on the republics of Italy, 93; on the pomp of kings, 91; on religious freedom, 142; on the ship of state, 110.  
 Madness of the people, 92.  
 Mariana, *De Rege*, xlvii, xlviii.  
 Marius, Caius, 118.  
 Marsilius, *Defensor Pacis*, xlii.  
 Masques, 88.  
 Masson, David, his speculations about *The Ready and Easy Way*, vii ff., 43, 78.  
 Mazarin, 54, 55, 88, 89.  
 Mediæval republican thought, xxxix.  
 Merit-system, the, 151.  
 Miles' Coffee-House, xlviii.  
 Militia, 113.  
 Milton, John, his acquaintance with 16th-century political thought, xlviii; his proffer of advice, xx, 158; his leaning toward aristocracy, xxxiv, 83, 84, 96-7; a disciple of Aristotle, xxxvii; on the army, xviii, 101-4; his use of Bodin, lx ff.; on the union of church and state, 79-80, 144; his embryonic constitution, xxxiii ff.; his courage,

xiv, lxxi, 49; his belief in education, 117, 121; his conception of liberty, 83; his Puritan cant, 81; his contempt for courts and courtiers, 88, 89, 134; his loyalty to Cromwell, 101; his defense of the commonwealth, 72, 73; his eloquence, 176, 179; a Fanatic, xvi; his high regard for Greek and Roman lawgivers, lviff.; his tilt with Griffith, 48; his criticism of Harrington's ideas, livff.; his idealism, xxxviiiiff.; a master of invective, lxxviii, 139, 168; his opinions of kingship, 48, 54, 69, 70, 82—3, 87, 91, 92, 99, 129; his idea of local sovereignty, 155; his interest in Machiavelli, lixff.; his relation to mediæval thought, xxxixff.; his distrust of Monk, 43, 166; on the law of nature, 59, 60; his admiration for the Netherlands 77, 78; his opinion of the people, 59, 66, 71, 75, 76, 83—4, 121; in peril, xiii, 136; his political group, xxii; his fear of Popery, 56, 88, 150; his attitude toward the Presbyterians, 61, 65, 136, 140; on the freedom of the press, 50, 52, 138; the significance of his *Ready and Easy Way*, lxixff.; his *Ready and Easy Way* satirized, 173—81; his belief in religious liberty, 142, 150—1; his ideal republic, xxxvff.; as a reviser, 165ff.; on rotation, liv, 109—16; his victory over Salmasius, 72—3; his interest in the Rota Club, xlviiiiff., 127; champion of the Rump, xxv, 59, 75, 104, 105, 173; his use of Scripture, lv, 85—6, 143, 159, 177; the founder of a sect, 131; on service, 86; his prose style, lxxvff.; his contempt for Utopian politics, xxxvii; his regard for Sir Henry Vane, xxixff.; his opinion of vicegerency, 99.

Miscellaneous contributors, lxiv.

Modells, aierie, xxviii; exotic, 125.

Modern political theorists, lix.

Molina and Suarez, xlvii.

Monk, General George, xixff.; his *Speech and Declaration*, xxxiii; 43, 46, 90.

Monk, Nicholas, xxi.

Monument, a written, 73.

More, Sir Thomas, xxxix, 83, 154.

Municipal party, the, xx.

## N

Nassau, the house of, 127.

Nature, the law of, xlv, xlvii, lviii, 59, 60.

Needham, Marchamont, 52, 89, 92, 127, 135, 156, 173.

Negative voice, 128.

Neighbors, our, 54, 76, 77.

Neuters, 136.

Nevill, H., xlix.

New Royalists, xx.

Newcastle Propositions, 58.

Newcome, Thomas, Milton's publisher, vii, 43.

Newport, the treaty of, 66.

Nineteen Propositions, the, 58.

No-Addresses, vote of, 62—3, 140.

Norman Conquest, the, 123; — king, 123.

## O

Old George, xix, xx.

Old Royalists, xx.

Oliverians, 77.

Ornaments, public, 155.

Overton, Colonel, 48, 145.

Oxford, the Parliament of, 60.

Oxford Propositions, 58.

## P

Pacification, the, 137.

Pageant, 91.

Pagitt, Ephraim, *Heresiography*, 131.

Payne, Dr. J. F., his copy of the second edition, ix.

Pamphlets, infernal, 138.

Papist, the queen a, 88.

Parallels, lxii.

Parliament, the Barebone, 60, 97; dissolution of, xxvi; its vote to fill up, xiv; a free, 50, 107; Lambert's turn against, xviii; the name, 123; Pride's purging of, 44; recall of, xix, xvii; the Restoration, xxvii; the Rump (see Rump); its secluded members, xx, xxv, 44.  
 Patricians, the, 120.  
 Patriots, old, 75.  
 People, the English a free, 59; His peculiar, 134; Milton's opinions of (see under Milton).  
 Pepys, Samuel, his account of the rump-roasting, xxiv; his notes on the Rota Club, li, 47, 103.  
 Phillips, Edward, Milton's nephew, xiv, xvi, xix.  
 Philippus Decius, *Consilia*, xliii.  
 Plagues, 157.  
 Plato, xxxvii, xxxviii, lvii, lxiii, 82, 116.  
 Plough on their backs, 139.  
 Plutarch, lvi, 117.  
 Polanders, 147.  
 Polybius, lix.  
 Pope, A., *Dunciad*, 139.  
 Pope, the, a servant, xlii; vicegerency of, 100.  
 Popish counsels, 150; — religion, 56.  
 Positive laws, 62.  
 Praetors, Roman, 118.  
 Prayer-meeting, Cromwell's, 69.  
 Preaching-tub, 139.  
 Prerogative, royal, 106, 129, 149.  
 Presbyterians, xx, 61, 65, 136, 140.  
 Press, freedom of the, 50, 52, 138.  
 Pride's Purge, xxv, 44, 64, 137.  
 Prince's Lodgings, xxiii.  
 Prophecy, the pamphlet as a, lxx.  
 Proportion, geometric, 96.  
 Prose-writers, pre-Restoration, lxxv.  
 Protectorate, the Cromwellian, xvii.  
 Protestation, the, 58.  
 Provincial states, 115.  
 Prynne, William, xxxi, 45, 107, 124.  
 Puritan, Milton as a, lxxi.

## Q

Quadrivium, the, 131.  
 Qualifications, 107.

## R

Raleigh, Sir Walter, *Cabinet Council*, 83.  
 Reason, right, 60—1; the rule of, 94.  
 Reformation, the, xlv, 144.  
 Regicides, the, 136.  
 Remnant, God's, 97—8.  
 Repentance, prophecy of, 78, 128.  
 Representatives, the only true, 129.  
 Republic, the English, xvii, xxii, xxviii, 71; the Greek, lvi ff.; of Holland, 78, 95, 127; Milton's ideal, xxxv ff.; Italian, 93, 114—115; Roman, lvii ff.; the Swiss, 120, 152.  
 Resistance, the doctrine of, xlii, xlv.  
 Revenges, 134 ff.  
 Revenue, a royal, 134.  
 Revision, the, 165 ff.  
 Rhetorician, Milton a, 176, 179.  
 Rising of Royalists, xvii.  
 Rochester, Lady Anne, xxvii.  
 Rogers, John, *Sagris*, 145.  
 Rome, another, 76.  
 Rota Club, the, xlviii ff., li, 174 ff.  
 Rotation, 1, lii ff., 111, 112, 180.  
 Royalists, xx ff.  
 Rump, the, xiii, xvii—xix, xxii, 104, 105.  
 Rupert, Prince, 141.

## S

Sacrilege, 68.  
 Salary, Milton's, 86.  
 Salmasius, 72—4, 83.  
 Samuel's sons, the case of, lv, 134.  
 Sanhedrim, the, 113.  
 Schools, free, xxxvi, 122.  
 Scotland, xviii, xxvi, 81, 82.  
 Scott and Robinson, xxii.  
 Scripture, Milton's use of, lv, 85—6, 143, 159, 177.  
 Searle, George, *The Dignity of Kingship*, 182.

Secluded members, the, xiii, xx, xxv, 44.  
 Sect, Milton the founder of a, 131, 178.  
 Sectarian, 131.  
 Selden, John, 61, 116.  
 Senate, of Athens, 117; the Roman, 114; of Venice, 115. See under Council.  
 Sentence, length of, lxviiff.  
 Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, 139; *Winter's Tale*, 91.  
 Sheep for the king's shearing, 155.  
 Ship of the commonwealth, the, 110.  
 Shroving-time, 52.  
 Sifting process of election, 121.  
 Sigismund III, 147, 148.  
 Significance of the pamphlet, lxix.  
 Simon the magician, 65.  
 Single person, a, xxviii, 92, 94, 127.  
 Six, a council of, 114.  
 Skinner, Cyriack, 1, 127.  
 Sleidan, lxv.  
 Smith, Sir Thomas, 83.  
 Solon, lvi, 82.  
 Sources, lvff.  
 Sovereignty, delegated, 109; local, 152; popular, xlff.  
 Spartan election, lvi, 121.  
 Speed, lxv.  
 Spirit, the English, 71.  
 State, Greek conception of the, xlv.  
 States, provincial, 115.  
 States-General, 77, 115, 153.  
 Stationers' Registers, viii.  
 Stern, A., *Milton und seine Zeit*, 78, 182.  
 Stewkeley, John, 47.  
 St. John, J. A., 142.  
 Stow, lxv.  
 Strafford, Earl of, 57, 69.  
 Style, Milton's, lxv.  
 Subjection, law of, 130.  
 Subsidies, 128.  
 Sulla, 7, 43, 119.  
 Superfluities, 157.  
 Sweating-tub, 139.

## T

Tarquins, the, 120.  
 Taylor, Jeremy, lxv.  
 Terms proposed to Charles, 90.  
 Text, note on, 3.  
 Thomason collection, the, viii, 71.  
 Thorough, the policy of, 69.  
 Thou, De, lxv.  
 Title-page of first edition, a reproduction of, 5; of the second edition, 7.  
 Titles, Milton's unhappy, 175.  
 Toland, J., xlviii, xlix, liv, 72.  
 Torrent, this, 160.  
 Trade, 156, 158.  
 Tradesmen, English, 157, 158.  
 Tragedy, the pamphlet as a, lxx.  
 Treatise, another, 143.  
 Tribunes, the, 118.  
 Trivium, the, 131.  
 Tyrannicide, the doctrine of, xliii, xlv.

## U

Ulster, the rebellion of, 58.  
 United Provinces, the, 77, 78, 115, 155, 157.  
 Unity, the mediæval achievement of, xlv.  
 Utopia, xxxviii, xxxix, 180.  
 Utrecht, the Union of, 78, 127.  
 Uxbridge Propositions, 58.

## V

Vane, Sir Henry, xxixff., 145.  
 Venice, Duke of, 82, 127; government of, 93, 114.  
 Venner, Thomas, 145-6.  
 Verney, Sir Ralph, xxvii, 44, 102, 144.  
 Vicegerency, the doctrine of, 99, 100.  
 Virtue, a republic favorable to, 85, 130.  
 Voices, the odds of, 66.

## W

Walker, Clement, xxv-xxvi, 44, 45, 64, 67, 122.  
 Walton, Isaac, lxv.

Wealth under kingship, 154.  
 Wheel of Fortune, 112.  
 White, W. A., ix, 3.  
 Whitehall, xxiii, xlix, 57.  
 Whitelock, Bulstrode, xv, xviii, 45.  
 William of Ockham, xlii.  
 William of Orange, 79.  
 William the Conqueror, 123.  
 Wise, the, their right to rule,  
 96-7, 142.  
 Wither, George, *A Perpetual Par-*  
*liament*, 112.

Wood, A., his note on the date  
 of the first edition, xii; his  
 account of the Rota Club, li;  
 his allusion to Milton's model,  
 liii.  
 Words, Milton's regard for, 179.  
 Worthies, faithful, 104-5.  
 Writs for elections, x, 44.

## Y

Yoke, the new gilded, 134.

## YALE STUDIES IN ENGLISH

ALBERT S. COOK, EDITOR

- I. The Foreign Sources of Modern English Versification. CHARLTON M. LEWIS, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- II. *Ælfric*: A New Study of his Life and Writings. CAROLINE LOUISA WHITE, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- III. The Life of St. Cecilia, from MS. Ashmole 48 and MS. Cotton Tiberius E. VII, with Introduction, Variants, and Glossary. BERTHA ELLEN LOVEWELL, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IV. Dryden's Dramatic Theory and Practice. MARGARET SHEERWOOD, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- ✓ V. Studies in Jonson's Comedy. ELISABETH WOODBRIDGE, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VI. A Glossary of the West Saxon Gospels, Latin-West Saxon and West Saxon-Latin. MATTIE ANSTICE HARRIS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- VII. Andreas: The Legend of St. Andrew, translated from the Old English, with an Introduction. ROBERT KILBURN ROOT, Ph.D. \$0.50.
- VIII. The Classical Mythology of Milton's English Poems. CHARLES GROSVENOR OSGOOD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- IX. A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances dealing with English and Germanic Legends, and with the Cycles of Charlemagne and of Arthur. ANNA HUNT BILLINGS, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- X. The Earliest Lives of Dante, translated from the Italian of Giovanni Boccaccio and Lionardo Bruni Aretino. JAMES ROBINSON SMITH. \$0.75.
- XI. A Study in Epic Development. IRENE T. MYERS, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XII. The Short Story. HENRY SEIDEL CANBY, Ph.D. \$0.80.
- XIII. King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$1.00.

*Yale Studies in English*

- XIV. The Phonology of the Northumbrian Gloss of St. Matthew. EMILY HOWARD FOLEY, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XV. Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great, translated from the Greek, with an Introduction. FREDERICK M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XVI. The Translations of Beowulf: A Critical Bibliography. CHAUNCEY B. TINKER, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- X XVII. The Alchemist, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. CHARLES M. HATHEAWAY, JR., Ph.D. \$2.50. Cloth, \$3.00.
- XVIII. The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose. HUBERT GIBSON SHEARIN, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XIX. Classical Mythology in Shakespeare. ROBERT KILBURN ROOT, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XX. The Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage. ELBERT N. S. THOMPSON, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XXI. The Elene of Cynewulf, translated into English Prose. LUCIUS HUDSON HOLT, Ph.D. \$0.30.
- XXII. King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies, turned into Modern English. HENRY LEE HARGROVE, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXIII. The Cross in the Life and Literature of the Anglo-Saxons. WILLIAM O. STEVENS, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXIV. An Index to the Old English Glosses of the Durham Hymnarium. HARVEY W. CHAPMAN. \$0.75.
- X XXV. Bartholomew Fair, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. CARROLL STORRS ALDEN, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XXVI. Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics. FREDERICK M. PADELFORD, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XXVII. Poetaster, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HERBERT S. MALLORY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- X XXVIII. The Staple of News, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. DE WINTER, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.

*Tale Studies in English*

- XXIX. *The Devil is an Ass*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. WILLIAM SAVAGE JOHNSON, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXX. *The Language of the Northumbrian Gloss to the Gospel of St. Luke*. MARGARET DUTTON KELLUM, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- ✓ XXXI. *Epicoene*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. AURELIA HENRY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXII. *The Syntax of the Temporal Clause in Old English Prose*. ARTHUR ADAMS, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXIII. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HERBERT S. MURCH, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXIV. *The New Inn*, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. GEORGE BREMNER TENNANT, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth, \$2.50.
- XXXV. *A Glossary of Wulfstan's Homilies*. LORING H. DODD, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXVI. *The Complaint of Nature*, translated from the Latin of Alain de Lille. DOUGLAS M. MOFFAT. \$0.75.
- XXXVII. *The Collaboration of Webster and Dekker*. FREDERICK ERASTUS PIERCE, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XXXVIII. *English Nativity Plays*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. SAMUEL B. HEMINGWAY, Ph.D. \$2.00. Cloth \$2.50.
- XXXIX. *Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose*. JOSEPHINE MAY BURNHAM, Ph.D. \$1.00.
- XL. *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, by John Milton, edited with Introduction and Notes. WILLIAM TALBOT ALLISON, Ph.D. \$1.25.
- XLI. *Biblical Quotations in Middle English Literature before 1850*. MARY W. SMYTH, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLII. *The Dialogue in English Literature*. ELIZABETH MERRILL, Ph.D. \$1.00.



*Yale Studies in English*

- XLIII. A Study of Tindale's Genesis, compared with the Genesis of Coverdale and of the Authorized Version. ELIZABETH WHITTLESEY CLEVELAND, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- ✓ XLIV. The Presentation of Time in the Elizabethan Drama. MABLE BULAND, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- XLV. Cynthia's Revels, or, The Fountain of Self-Love, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. ALEXANDER CORBIN JUDSON, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLVI. Richard Brome: A Study of his Life and Works. CLARENCE EDWARD ANDREWS, Ph.D. \$1.25.
- XLVII. The Magnetic Lady, or, Humors Reconciled, by Ben Jonson, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. HARVEY WHITEFIELD PECK, Ph.D. \$2.00.
- XLVIII. Genesis A, translated from the Old English. LAWRENCE MASON, Ph.D. \$0.75.
- XLIX. The Later Version of the Wycliffite Epistle to the Romans, compared with the Latin Original: A Study of Wycliffite English. EMMA CURTISS TUCKER, Ph.D. \$1.50.
- L. Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross between the Years 1607 and 1861. ALBERT STANBURROUGH COOK. \$1.50.
- LL. The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, by John Milton, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary. EVERT MORDECAI CLARK, Ph.D. \$1.50.











3 2044 019 265 982

The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

*Non-receipt of overdue notices does **not** exempt the borrower from overdue fines.*

<b>Harvard College Widener Library</b> <b>Cambridge, MA 02138      617-495-2413</b>
--

	<b>WIDENER</b> <b>MAY 09 2003</b> <b>CANCELLED</b>
--	--

**Please handle with care.**  
Thank you for helping to preserve  
library collections at Harvard.

